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A COMPANION TO

RENAISSANCE POETRY

EDITED BY

CATHERINE BATES

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Notes on Contributors

Catherine Bates is Research Professor at the University of Warwick. She has published five monographs on Renaissance poetry and poetics, including *Masculinity, Gender and Identity in the English Renaissance Lyric* (2007), *Masculinity and the Hunt: Wyatt to Spenser* (2013)—winner of the British Academy Rose Mary Crawshay Prize, 2015—and *On Not Defending Poetry: Defence and Indefensibility in Sidney's* Defence of Poesy (2017). She is editor of *The Cambridge Companion to the Epic* (2010).

Kenneth Borris is Professor of English at McGill University, and serves on the Editorial Board of *Spenser Studies*. A former Canada Research Fellow and winner of the MacCaffrey Award, he has authored *Visionary Spenser and the Poetics of Early Modern Platonism* (2017), *Allegory and Epic* (2000), and *Spenser's Poetics of Prophecy* (1990). His four edited and co-edited books include *The Sciences of Homosexuality in Early Modern Europe* (2007) and *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance* (2004).

Gordon Braden is Linden Kent Memorial Professor of English Emeritus at the University of Virginia. He is author of *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradtion* (1985), *The Idea of the Renaissance* (1989; with William Kerrigan), and *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance* (1999), and co-editor (with Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie) of the Renaissance volume of *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* (2010).

Andrea Brady is Professor of Poetry at Queen Mary University of London, where she runs the Centre for Poetry and the Archive of the Now (www.archiveofthenow.org). She is currently writing a book on poetry and constraint across several historical periods. Scholarly works include *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century* (2006). Her books of poetry are *Dompteuse* (2014), *Cut from the Rushes* (2013), *Mutability* (2012), and *Wildfire* (2010).

Joseph Campana is a poet, arts critic, and scholar of Renaissance literature and author of *The Pain of Reformation: Spenser, Vulnerability, and the Ethics of Masculinity* (2012), *The Book*

of Faces (2005), *Natural Selections* (2012), and co-editor of *Renaissance Posthumanism* (2016). He received the Isabel MacCaffrey Essay Prize, the MLA's Crompton-Noll Award for LGB studies, and grants from the NEA and Bread Loaf Writers' Conference. He teaches at Rice University, where he is editor of *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*.

Patrick Cheney is Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Penn State. With Catherine Bates, he is co-editor of *Sixteenth-Century British Poetry*, volume 4 in *The Oxford History of Poetry in English*, for which he serves as General Editor.

A. E. B. Coldiron, the Berry Chair in English Literature at the University of St Andrews, is author of *Printers Without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (2015) and other books and essays on late-medieval and Renaissance literature, translation, poetics, and print culture. In 2014–15 she directed the Folger Institute's Year-Long Colloquium on Translation. She guest-edited *The Translator's Voice*, a special double issue of *Philological Quarterly* (2016), a collection of Colloquium participants' research.

Barbara Correll teaches English Renaissance literature and culture at Cornell University. She is the author of *The End of Conduct: Grobianus and the Renaissance Text of the Subject* (1996) and co-editor of *Disgust in English Renaissance Literature* (2016). She has published essays on Shakespeare, Donne, Marlowe, Spenser, Webster, Erasmus, and cinema.

Jonathan Crewe is the Leon Black Professor Emeritus of Shakespearean Studies at Dartmouth College. He has edited five Shakespeare plays and the narrative poems for the New Pelican Shakespeare. His extensive publications include three books and numerous articles on English Renaissance poetry and prose; he has also published on cultural memory, and on writing in South Africa.

Stephen B. Dobranski is Distinguished University Professor of English at Georgia State University. His publications include *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (1999), *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (2005), *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton: "Samson Agonistes"* (2009), and *The Cambridge Introduction to Milton* (2012). His most recent book is *Milton's Visual Imagination: Imagery in "Paradise Lost"* (2015).

Jim Ellis, Professor in the Department of English at the University of Calgary, is the author of *Sexuality and Citizenship: Metamorphosis in Elizabethan Erotic Verse* (2003) and *Derek Jarman's Angelic Conversations* (2009). His more recent work concerns poetry and performativity in the early modern period, particularly in relation to the Renaissance pleasure garden and progress entertainments.

Lynn Enterline is Nancy Perot Mulford Professor of English at Vanderbilt University. Her publications investigate the overlapping histories of rhetoric, affect, gender, and sexuality from the classical to the early modern periods. She is the author of *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (2012), *The Rhetoric of the Body from Ovid to Shakespeare* (2000), and *The Tears of Narcissus: Melancholia and Masculinity in Early Modern Writing* (1995).

Patricia Fumerton is Professor of English at the University of California, Santa Barbara, Director of UCSB's online English Broadside Ballad Archive, and author of *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (2006) and *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (1991). She has just completed a book on moving media and tactical publics in English broadside ballads, 1500–1800.

Jonathan Gibson is Senior Lecturer in English at The Open University (UK). Earlier in his career he worked as a researcher on the Perdita Project on early modern women's manuscript writings. His publications span many topics, including Ralegh, Shakespeare, Sidney, Spenser, translation, early modern letter-writing, italic script, codicology, and Elizabethan fiction. His most recent book is *Elizabeth I's Foreign Correspondence* (2014), co-edited with Carlo M. Bajetta and Guillaume Coatalen.

Stephen Guy-Bray is Professor of English at the University of British Columbia. He specializes in Renaissance poetry and queer theory. Forthcoming are essays on love and war in Renaissance sonnets, on *Venus and Adonis*, and on women and textual production. He is currently working on Renaissance inactivity.

Andrew Hadfield is Professor of English at the University of Sussex. He is the author of a number of studies of early modern literature, culture, and history, including *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (2012) and *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (2005). He is currently working on a study of lying in early modern culture and is general editor, with Joe Black, Jennifer Richards, and Cathy Shrank, of the *Complete Works of Thomas Nashe*, both forthcoming. He is chair of the Society for Renaissance Studies, a regular reviewer for the *Irish Times* and a visiting professor at the University of Granada.

Hannibal Hamlin is Professor of English at The Ohio State University, author of *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (2004) and *The Bible in Shakespeare* (2013), and co-editor of *The Sidney Psalter: The Psalms of Philip and Mary Sidney* (2009) and *The King James Bible after Four Hundred Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences* (2010). He is currently editing *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Religion* as well as an anthology of Psalms for the MHRA Tudor & Stuart Translations.

Danijela Kambaskovic-Schwartz is Research Associate, Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotion 1100–1800, formerly Assistant Professor, Shakespeare and Renaissance Studies, University of Western Australia. She was born in the former Yugoslavia, migrated to Australia in 1999, and writes in Serbian and English. She has published widely on Shakespeare, history of genres, social and religious history, history of love and courtship, early modern mental health, and religious doctrine and the history of the senses; she is an award-winning poet.

William J. Kennedy is Avalon Foundation Professor in the Humanities in the department of Comparative Literature at Cornell University. His publications include three books on European Renaissance poetry: *Authorizing Petrarch* (1994), *The Site of Petrarchism: Early*

Modern National Sentiment in Italy, France, and England (2003), and *Petrarchism at Work: Contextual Economies in the Age of Shakespeare* (2016).

Gary Kuchar is Associate Professor of English at the University of Victoria. He is the author of *Divine Subjection: The Rhetoric of Sacramental Devotion in Early Modern England* (2005), *The Poetry of Religious Sorrow in Early Modern England* (2008), and *George Herbert and the Mystery of the Word: Poetry and Scripture in Seventeenth-Century England* (2017), and co-editor of *The Return of Theory in Early Modern English Studies, Volume II* (2015).

Seth Lerer is Distinguished Professor of Literature at the University of California at San Diego, where he served as Dean of Arts and Humanities from 2009 to 2014. He has published widely on medieval and early modern literature, children's literature, the history of the English language, and the institutions of scholarship and criticism. His most recent book is *Tradition: A Feeling for the Literary Past* (2016).

David Loewenstein is Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of English and the Humanities at Penn State-University Park. He has published widely on Milton and on politics and religion in early modern English literature. His book *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (2013) examines the construction of heresy and heretics from More to Milton. With Thomas Corns, he is editing *Paradise Lost* for the Oxford University Press edition of *The Complete Works of John Milton*.

Joseph Loewenstein is the author of two books on Jonson and another on the history of intellectual property and the rise of "possessive authorship." He has edited *The Staple of News* for the *Cambridge Ben Jonson* (2012) and is one of the editors of the *Oxford Collected Works of Edmund Spenser*. He currently directs the Humanities Digital Workshop and the Interdisciplinary Project in the Humanities at Washington University in St. Louis.

Willy Maley is Professor of Renaissance Studies at the University of Glasgow. He is the author of *A Spenser Chronology* (1994), S*alvaging Spenser* (1997), and *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare to Milton* (2003). Edited collections include *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660* (1993), *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (2002), *Shakespeare and Scotland* (2004), *Shakespeare and Wales* (2010), *This England, That Shakespeare* (2010), and *Celtic Shakespeare* (2013).

Arthur F. Marotti is Distinguished Professor of English Emeritus at Wayne State University and Director of its Emeritus Academy. He is the author of *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (1986), *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (1995), *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (2005), and (with Steven W. May) *Ink, Stink Bait, Revenge, and Queen Elizabeth: A Yorkshire Yeoman's Household Book* (2014).

Robert Matz is Professor of English and Senior Associate Dean in the College of Humanities and Social Sciences at George Mason University. He is the author of *Defending Literature in Early Modern England: Renaissance Literary Theory in Social Context* (2000) and *The World of*

Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Introduction (2008), which was designated a *Choice* 2008 Outstanding Academic Title. His most recent book is an edition of two early modern marriage sermons.

Steven W. May is adjunct Professor of English at Emory University, Atlanta. His books include *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets* (1991), an edition of *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works* (2004), *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603* (2004), and most recently (with Alan Bryson), *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland* (2016). His research interests center on English Renaissance manuscript culture, the Tudor court, and editing early modern documents.

Shannon Miller is a Professor in and Chair of the English and Comparative Literature Department at San José State University. She is the author of *Engendering the Fall: John Milton and Seventeenth-Century Women Writers* (2008) and *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (1998), as well as numerous articles on women writers in the Renaissance and Restoration including Aemilia Lanyer, Mary Sidney, Mary Wroth, and Aphra Behn.

Femke Molekamp has held Leverhulme and AHRC early career fellowships at the University of Warwick, and more recently a Global Research Fellowship at Warwick's Institute of Advanced Study. Her work explores the history of reading, women's writing, and engagements with religion and emotion in early modern literature. She is the author of *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (2013).

Susannah Brietz Monta is Glynn Family Honors Associate Professor of English at the University of Notre Dame. Her books include *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (2009), *Teaching Early Modern English Prose* (2010, ed. with Margaret W. Ferguson), and *A Fig for Fortune by Anthony Copley: A Catholic response to The Faerie Queene* (2016). She edited *Religion and Literature* from 2008 to 2015 and is a co-editor of *Spenser Studies*.

Catherine Nicholson is Associate Professor of English at Yale University. In addition to articles and essays on Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, and the early modern art of rhetoric, she is the author of *Uncommon Tongues: Eloquence and Eccentricity in the English Renaissance* (2014). She is at work on a book about reading, reception history, and *The Faerie Queene*.

Michelle O'Callaghan is Professor of Early Modern Literature in the Department of English Literature at the University of Reading. She is the author of *The 'shepheards nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612–1625* (2000), *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (2007), and *Thomas Middleton, Renaissance Dramatist* (2009), and co-editor of *Verse Miscellanies Online*, a digital edition of Elizabethan poetry anthologies.

Syrithe Pugh is a Senior Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Aberdeen and works mainly on classical reception in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English poetry. Among her publications are various articles on Jonson, Herrick, and Fanshawe, and a

monograph on the politics and allusive practices of the latter pair. She has also published extensively on Spenser: her latest monograph is *Spenser and Virgil: The Pastoral Poems* (2016).

Sarah C. E. Ross teaches English at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. She is the author of *Women, Poetry, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Britain* (2015), *Katherine Austen's 'Book M': British Library, Additional Manuscript 4454* (2011), and numerous articles on early modern women, religious writing, and manuscript culture. She is the co-editor, with Paul Salzman, of a volume of essays titled *Editing Early Modern Women* (2016).

Michael Schoenfeldt is the John Knott Professor of English at the University of Michigan. He is the author of *Prayer and Power: George Herbert and Renaissance Courtship* (1991), *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* (1999), and *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's Poetry* (2010), and editor of the *Blackwell Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets* (2006). He is currently editing *John Donne in Context* for Cambridge University Press, writing on a book entitled *Reading Seventeenth-Century Poetry* for Blackwell, and researching pain and pleasure in early modern England.

Cathy Shrank is Professor of Tudor and Renaissance Literature at the University of Sheffield. She is author of *Writing the Nation in Reformation England* (2004) and co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature* (2009). She is co-editor of *Shakespeare's Poems* (Annotated English Poets, forthcoming) and general editor of the AHRC-funded *Collected Works of Thomas Nashe*, in preparation for Oxford University Press. With a Major Leverhulme Research Fellowship, she is writing a monograph on dialogue.

Rosalind Smith is an Associate Professor in English at the University of Newcastle, Australia. She is the author of *Sonnets and the English Woman Writer, 1560–1621: The Politics of Absence* (2005), as well as articles and chapters on gender, genre, politics, and history in early modern women's poetry. She is the lead researcher on a large, multi-institutional project funded by the Australian Research Council on the production, transmission, and circulation of early modern women's writing, and from that project has edited both the collection *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing* (2014) as well as a digital archive of early modern women's writing: http://hri.newcastle.edu.au/emwrn/da/index.php?content=digitalarchive.

Adam Smyth is Professor of English Literature and the History of the Book at Balliol College, Oxford University. His publications include *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (2010) and *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (2017). He writes regularly for the *London Review of Books*.

Chris Stamatakis, Lecturer in Renaissance Literature in the Department of English at University College London, is author of *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting* (2012) and articles on Gabriel Harvey, early Tudor literary criticism, and sixteenth-century poetics. Works in progress include a monograph on the influence of Italian literature on sixteenth-century English poetry; essays on the transmission of Petrarch in England; and an edition of Thomas Nashe's *Christs Teares ouer Ierusalem*.

M. L. Stapleton is Chapman Distinguished Professor of English at Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne. He is editor of *Marlowe Studies*: *An Annual* and *The New Variorum Shakespeare Julius Caesar*. His most recent book is *Marlowe's Ovid: the "Elegies" in the Marlowe Canon* (2014).

Richard Strier, Frank L. Sulzberger Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus in English at the University of Chicago, is the author of *Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert's Poetry* (1983), *Resistant Structures: Particularity, Radicalism, and Renaissance Texts* (1996), and *The Unrepentant Renaissance from Petrarch to Shakespeare to Milton* (2011), which won the Warren-Brooks Prize for Literary Criticism. He is co-editor of *Shakespeare and the Law*, *The Theatrical City*, *The Historical Renaissance*, and other interdisciplinary collections.

Gordon Teskey, professor of English at Harvard University, is author of *Allegory and Violence* (1996), *Delirious Milton* (2006), *The Poetry of John Milton* (2015), and numerous essays on Spenser, including the major entry "Allegory" in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*. He is editor of the Norton Edition of *Paradise Lost* (2005; 2nd ed. forthcoming). His next book, *Spenserian Moments*, is in progress.

Douglas Trevor is Professor of English and Director of the Helen Zell Writers' Program at the University of Michigan. He is the author of *The Poetics of Melancholy in Early Modern England* (2004), the short story collection *The Thin Tear in the Fabric of Space* (2005), and the novel *Girls I Know* (2013). He is currently completing a study of radical interpretations of charity in late medieval and early modern Europe.

Wendy Wall, Avalon Professor for the Humanities at Northwestern University, is author of *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (1993), *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (2002), and *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (2015). Professor Wall has published articles on topics such as editorial theory, gender, early modern poetry, national identity, authorship, food studies, domesticity, theater, women's writing, and Jell-O.

Christopher Warley is Professor in the Department of English at the University of Toronto. He is the author of *Reading Class through Shakespeare, Donne, and Milton* (2014) and *Sonnet Sequences and Social Distinction in Renaissance England* (2005). His current project is "Auerbach's Renaissance: Literature, History, Criticism."

Helen Wilcox is Professor of English at Bangor University. Her research interests lie in early modern devotional poetry, Shakespearian tragicomedy, early women's writing, and the relationship between literature and music. Recent publications include *The English Poems of George Herbert* (2007), *1611: Authority, Gender and the Word in Early Modern England* (2014), and (with Andrew Hiscock) *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion* (2017).

Jessica Wolfe is Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and director of UNC's program in Medieval and Early Modern Studies. She is the author of *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (2004) and *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes* (2015), and is currently editing Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* for the forthcoming *Complete Works of Thomas Browne* (Oxford).

Preface

This book aims to do two things. The first is to situate its readers from the outset amid current debates that are shaping the discipline and to position them at the forefront of new directions in which contemporary work on Renaissance poetry is taking forward our understanding of the early modern period and of poetics more generally. Major developments in the last 20 years or so have opened up whole new areas of study (great projects of archival recovery, for example, which have restored the centrality of manuscript culture to the period) and introduced fresh topics of inquiry, many of which—concerning technology or the environment, for example—show the issues of today to have been just as live in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Areas formerly neglected are being brought into the light (the current project to archive the "street" poetry of ballads and broadsides is one example). Positions formerly established are being tested and reinvigorated (the identity of a distinctly "Protestant" poetics, for example, or the supposed antipathy between historicist and formalist approaches to poetry). Theoretical approaches long familiar are being self-critiqued and stretched (as feminism and queer studies provide an impetus to renewed investigations into early modern masculinity, or psychoanalysis to questions of performance and embodiment, or Marxism to the so-called economic criticism). And new—often interdisciplinary—areas of collective interest and excitement have emerged (such as the history of the emotions, chorography and the poetics of place, "archipelagic" as opposed to national identities, materiality and the world of objects). The aim of this book is to capture this energy and to provide readers with a snapshot of the field in its early twenty-first century articulation.

The second aim of the book is to present a picture of Renaissance poetry and poetics that remains attuned to the period's own literary categories and structures of thought and that, even allowing for the changes of half a millennium or more, a reader of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries would not find wholly alien or strange. Many of the terms with which we identify the most basic poetic genres or types—words such as ballad, elegy, epic, epigram, georgic, lyric, ode, pastoral, satire, or sonnet—entered the language for the first time in the sixteenth century (or for the first time in a distinctly literary sense). This was

the period in which the idea of English poetry as an intellectual category—with its own linguistic, formal, and generic boundaries—began to emerge in its own right, the history, traditions, and possibilities of which came to be shaped and scoped by a host of figures (Gascoigne, Lodge, Sidney, Spenser, Harvey, Puttenham, Webbe, Carew, Campion, Daniel, Drayton, Chapman, Jonson), most of them poets themselves. It was their theories and practice that forged and mapped a poetic domain that—however open to subsequent adaptation, extension, revision, and subversion—we have largely inherited today. Much of the impetus for their projects came from the new: the impact of humanist scholarship, the unprecedented availability of new or previously unknown texts, and their rapid absorption into the language and culture by means of translation and imitation. But continuities with the past were no less important. Other familiar literary terms (epistle or complaint, for example) derived from Chaucer, a figure whom—as they "walk so stumblingly after him" (Sidney) and "follow here the footing of thy feete" (Spenser)—the poets of this period had no doubt was the great progenitor of English poetry. In capturing that period's unique spirit of inquiry and definition, its synthesis of past and present in making sense of a new and emerging field, this book aims to offer an Art of English Poesy for our own times.

The volume thus seeks to combine a deep respect for and sensitivity toward the ways in which poets of the period understood and fashioned a distinctively English poetry with an engagement with some of the debates and departures that are currently animating the discipline. The last of the book's three sections consists of a series of discrete essays that focus on some of these key debates, but the questions driving them are not, as a result, cordoned off as if in a designated area.

Part I provides a contextual framework designed to explain the many and complex factors that made possible the formation of an "English poesie" in the period. The emphasis throughout this section is on breaking down such hegemonic entities as the "Renaissance" or "Reformation" in order to recover as nearly as possible the mixture and mess of actual lived experience, with all its compromises, contingencies, and irrationalities. As with the volume as a whole, this section aligns itself with those revisionist approaches that seek to set the sudden breaks, traumas, and decisive turns that history undeniably delivers alongside the persistence of deep and pervasive continuities, however contradictory and illogical the results. A number of subsections organize these essays around a series of key headings that aim to negotiate such scenes of complexity. "Transitions and Translations," for example, sets the unmistakable innovations of the "new learning" against the pervasive influence of Chaucer, considers ways in which translation "naturalized" (or otherwise) classical and continental models, and gauges the effects of a humanist pedagogy that, as Lynn Enterline has recently argued, included its recipients' taste for reproducing Ovidian elegy, epyllion, or female complaint—rather than more culturally approved forms such as epic—among its unintended consequences. "Religions and Reformations" fields the sheer welter of competing doctrines that are now accepted as forming the experience of the English Reformation. What used to be branded as a "Protestant" poetics is increasingly being differentiated into inflections of a Lutheran or Calvinist cast, or modified by the ongoing sacramental or visionary poetics of what one critic has recently termed the "Catholic Imaginary." As Donne suggested, "To adore, or scorn an image, or protest" presented alternatives that contemporaries might accept, reject, or hold in ingenious or

uneasy combination. Essays under the next heading, "Authorships and Authorities," consider the impact that the thoroughly mixed picture of manuscript and print transmission had on the contemporary evaluation of poetry in the period. They ask what kinds of poetic "status" these different forms of material record were taken to signify, whether the differences between them were exaggerated or downplayed (as in printed miscellanies, for example), for what reasons, and with what success. Questions of self-presentation—the stigmas or otherwise of being a "poet in print"—mutate naturally into questions of authorship and the authority, if any, that could be assumed by or accorded to the writer of poetry, be it as originator or translator or both (compositions by female hands posing a distinctive set of variations on this theme). The last subsection, "Defenses and Definitions," assesses the period's own answers to some of these questions in its many justifications and apologia (not all of them self-consistent) and, by looking in particular at its preoccupation with matters of definition and form—what could be said to constitute English verse, rhyme, and given forms and genres (inherited or hybrid)—it sets the scene for Part II.

The second and central section of the volume offers a comprehensive analysis of non-dramatic poetry in English between Wyatt and Milton and is organized along the broadly generic lines with which the period classified its poetic productions. The first subsection therefore focuses on epic, considered the master of all poetic forms in the Renaissance on account of its literary credentials, inclusiveness, and ambition. Given the scope of the great literary epics of the English Renaissance, individual essays are devoted to specific texts, *The Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*, of course, but also Lucy Hutchinson's recently edited *Order and Disorder*. The last essay in this subsection looks at the mini-epic or epyllion—the racy narrative poems of Lodge, Marlowe, Shakespeare, and so forth—which, in identifying with Ovid rather than Virgil, exemplify the complexity of period's response to its classical inheritance: as receptive to contending, alternative, "counter" forms as to approved or official ones. The following subsection is devoted to lyric and, in much the same way, considers the "songs and sonnets" tradition of the period as existing from the very outset in self-conscious relation with an inherited master discourse, in this case Petrarch's. Recent descriptions of the lyric output of the period as, variously, "anti-," counter-," pseudo-," or "post-" Petrarchan testify to this complex mesh of imitation and contention, proximity and divergence, although such self-contradiction is as prevalent in the master discourse as in its counter forms and thus, arguably, endemic to lyric itself. An opening essay that sets this scene gives way to individual essays on specific authors ranging from Wyatt and Surrey through to the Cavalier poets of the 1630s and 1640s. Subsequent subsections go on to consider a whole range of literary genres and forms, including the complaint, various epistolary and dialogic forms, the funeral elegy, pastoral, verse satire, popular poetry, and religious poetry (including the tradition of female devotional poetry, and Psalm translations). With a view to combining coverage with depth, essays focus either on individual works or authors or on more largely defined categories as appropriate. Within each subsection, topics are arranged more or less chronologically, so that readers can trace the etiologies, developments, and deviations within a particular form in order to garner a deeper understanding of both individual works and the form as a whole. At the same time, they can learn about individual authors across a range of different essays—reading about Spenser under the categories of epic, lyric, and pastoral, for example—gaining, through a diversity of approaches, a richer understanding of the poetry in both its Renaissance and contemporary contexts.

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Part I
Contexts

TRANSITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

1
The Medieval Inheritance of Early Tudor Poetry

Seth Lerer

Among the many poems attributed to Sir Thomas Wyatt that have been preserved in the famous Devonshire Manuscript (British Library MS Add 17,492), the one beginning "Absence absenting causeth me to complain" has largely been ignored. Unlike the sonnets, lyrics, and ballades that have defined Wyatt's "unquiet" sensibility for generations—poems such as "They flee from me," "Mine own John Poyntz," and the Petrarchan translations—this poem lacks what we have come to expect from the poet at his best. Rather than strut in careful iambs, this verse seems to limp along in uneven stresses. Rather than looking forward to the Italianate *sprezzatura* of Sidney or Spenser, this one seems to look back to the aureate diction of Stephen Hawes or John Lydgate. And rather than developing an argument through sinuous logic, the quatrains of this poem appear only to repeat themselves. The poet's isolation builds through iteration, echoing the final phrasing of each quatrain in the opening words of the next. And while the text is no less clear than that of any other poem in the Manuscript, its verbal insecurities have led one of its most recent editors, R. A. Rebholz, to emend its phrasings for regularization and, most strikingly, to edit its final two lines out of existence (Rebholz 1978, 277, 524).

Readers of late medieval and early modern English poetry will recognize the problems posed by such a poem. Scholarship since the 1980s has revealed that there was no clear break between the "medieval" and the "Renaissance" in English literature (Spearing 1985; Ebin 1988; Lerer 1993, 1997; Scanlon 1994; Trigg 2002; Meyer-Lee 2007; Wakelin 2007). Chaucer, for example, continued to be read and copied, imitated and alluded to, throughout the Tudor age. The Devonshire Manuscript itself (compiled by members of the Howard and Shelton families in the 1520s and 1530s) offers a remarkable poetic exchange drawn from selected stanzas of *Troilus and Criseyde* (Heale 1998). Richard Tottel printed Chaucer's "Truth" (albeit unattributed) in his *Songes and Sonettes* of 1557. And provincial

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anthologists included selections from Chaucer's poetry, as well as that of Lydgate and Hawes, until well into the reign of Elizabeth I (Lerer 1997).

Our categories of medieval and Renaissance are both cultural and retrospective. While we may find Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* or Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* to be irrevocably grounded in fifteenth-century allegory and idiom, they were among the most popular texts published by England's earliest printers. Wynkyn de Worde, Robert Copeland, and Richard Tottel kept these authors in circulation well into the middle of the sixteenth century (King 1987; Gillespie 2006). It was only with the Elizabethan rejection of much of this earlier poetry as "papist" and sacramental that it fell out of favor. Roger Ascham's comment, in his *Scolemaster* of 1570, represents changes in literary ideology and taste that firmly demarcated medieval verse for early modern readers:

> In our forefathers' time, when papistry as a standing pool covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of chivalry, as they said, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in monasteries by idle monks or wanton canons. (Ryan 1967, 68)

John Lydgate, known in his afterlife as the "Monk of Bury," could not have been far from Ascham's contempt for these "idle monks," and the reference to those books read "for pastime and pleasure" cannot but evoke the title of Hawes's best known poem. These were, in fact, precisely the writers that the Marian interregnum saw reprinted—as if Mary Tudor's resurgent Catholicism gave permission, after Henry VIII's condemnations, to recirculate those narratives of pilgrimage and chivalry characteristic of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (King 1987).

For the modern reader coming to Wyatt's "Absence absenting causeth me to complain," there will be much that resonates with the legacy of the Monk of Bury and the author of the *Pastime of Pleasure*. Is this a modern or a medieval poem? Is it a throwback to an earlier, aureate practice or is it an example of how a distinctively forward-looking writer could adapt old idioms to new aesthetics?

This essay begins with a literary text that straddles old and new forms of poetic expression. It seeks to expose our critical presuppositions about literary periods, but also to expose our expectations of aesthetic value in the early modern lyric. What is the relationship between the medieval and the early modern, and how do our categories of authorship inflect our sense of literary history? What are the canons of vernacular verse-making and how do they bear on the social, cultural, and political contexts of, in this case, the early Tudor court? In the course of answering these questions, this essay will look back to the inheritances of Chaucer's vernacular authorship: to his synthesis of Boethius' philosophical laments with contemporary courtly complaint and to the impact of that synthesis on writers such as Lydgate, Hawes, Skelton, and Charles D'Orleans. This is an essay, then, less about shifts from medieval *to* Renaissance than about how the English verse associated with those periods could coexist and couple.

> Absens absenting causithe me to complaine
> my sorowfull complaints abiding in distresse
> and departing most pryvie increasithe my paine
> thus lyve I vncomfortid wrappid all in hevines

In hevenes I am wrapid devoyde of all solace
Nother pastyme nor pleasure can revyve my dull wytt
My sprites be all taken and dethe dothe me manace
With his fatall knif the thrid for to kitt

Ffor to kit the thrid of this wretchid lif
And shortelye bring me owt of this cace
I se yt avaylith not yet must I be pensif
Sins fortune from me hathe turnid her face

Hathe turnid with cowntenance contrarious
And clene from her presens she hathe exilid me
Yn sorrowe remaining as a man most dolorous
Exempte from all pleasure and worldelye felicitie

All wordelie felicitye nowe am I private
And left in deserte most solitarilye
Wandring all about as on withowt mate
My dethe aprochithe what remedye

What remedye alas to reioise my wofull herte
With sighis suspiring most rufullie
Nowe welcome I am redye to deperte
Fare well all pleasure welcome paine and smarte
(Devonshire Manuscript, 81v–82)

To read Wyatt's poem not in a modernizing paperback but in an edition faithful to this manuscript is to read it through in the legacy of late medieval poetics (see *A Social Edition*). Absence here is a personification, a kind of embodied condition on a par with the personifications of late medieval complaint. Old Age, Sorrow, Fortune—all stand, in the poetry from Lydgate through Charles D'Orleans, as instigators of the poet's complaining. Here, in a bit of repetitive verbal trickery, the poet affirms what Absence does: it creates a state of absence. The poem also affirms what Fortune does: turns her face away and generates a heaviness and lack of comfort in the poet. His "dull wit" (a touchstone phrase of post-Chaucerian abnegation; see Lawton 1987) cannot be revived by "pastime nor pleasure"—a verbal collocation that, much like Ascham's rebuke half a century later, evokes Hawes's courtly allegory. Fortune has turned her face "with countenance contrarious," an alliterative pairing worthy of Skelton, whose character Counterfeit Countenance in the play *Magnyficence* embodies all that is duplicitous about the courtly life. But such duplicity hearkens back to the *Consolation of Philosophy* itself, whose prisoner laments that Fortune's "clouded, cheating face has changed" (*fallacem mutavit nubile vultum*) (Stewart, Rand, and Tester 1973, 132–133). The poet's exile from felicity recalls, too, the terms of the Boethian prisoner's opening condition, while the request for a remedy similarly brings to mind the figure of Lady Philosophy as the soul's physician. The narrator's is now a "dolorous" state, and that word chimes with the laments of Lydgate, Skelton, and Hawes throughout their poetry. Indeed, a search of this poem's key words against the online databases of medieval and early Tudor verse firmly enmeshes the text in the verbal net of Chaucer's heirs. There is, here, a pervasive aureation, an insistent repetition, and a use of alliteration far less evocative of Langland or *Sir Gawain* than it is of Skelton.

"Absence" had emerged as a characteristic term of Chaucerian and post-Chaucerian lament. It shows up as early as the *Book of the Duchess*, when Alcyone fears the worst when her husband, Cyex, does not return: "His absence filled her with alarm" (Benson 1987, line 81). This sense of abandonment—by a lover, a friend, a ruler, a set of joys and rewards—inspires the complaints of Lydgate, and the word "absence" appears repeatedly in just about everything he wrote, from devotional verse to courtly lyrics to historical epic to social satire. Chaucer's son, Thomas, for example, in the poem Lydgate wrote on his departure to take up the French ambassadorship, generates a sense of mourning and loss on his leaving: "His absence eke ye aught to compleyne .... For he absent, farewell youre reconfort" (MacCracken 1934, 659). In the *Complaint for My Lady of Gloucester and Holland*, the poet writes of "A solytarye, soore compleyning," who along with others "wepped for hir long absence / And cryed owte on false Fortune" (MacCracken 1934, 608–609). In the *Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary*, the poet opines: "Of hevynessys Oon the moost grievous / Is of Absence the importable peyne" (MacCracken 1911, 276).

Absence is everywhere in Lydgate. It is everywhere, too, in Charles D'Orleans (who, in his English poetry, reveals himself a careful reader of post-Chaucerian tradition). It crystallizes the condition of the bereft lover. It collocates with such words as "complain," comfort," "dull," and "heaviness." It stands on the fulcrum of courtly longing, political and epistemological confusion. It bridges the Chaucerian and the Boethian conditions. As Charles would aphorize it at the close of one of his ballades:

> Wo worth is me to be thus in absence
> Go dulle complaint my lady þis report.
> (Arn 1994, 354)

But for the poets of the fifteenth century, the greatest absence was of Chaucer himself. So much verse from Lydgate through Hawes begins with a lament for the death of Chaucer and his absence from the worlds of poetry and making that it seems a trope of authorship itself (Lerer 1993; Meyer-Lee 2007). Hardly anybody writing between 1400 and the mid-1500s in English could begin a text without avowing the simple fact that Chaucer is missing. "Chaucer is dead," wrote Lydgate in one of his earliest poems, *The Floure of Courtesye* (*c.*1400–1402; MacCracken 1934, 417). So, too, was Chaucer's contemporary, John Gower. So too, by the middle of the fifteenth century, was Lydgate. By the 1460s, George Ashby could begin his *Active Policy of a Prince* with their names, "Maisters Gower, Chauucer & Lydgate," and praise them for "embelysshing" the English language and writing poems that serve as "oure consolation" (Bateson 1899, 13). But they are now all gone: "Alas! Saufe goddess will, & his pleasaunce, / That euer ye shulde dye & chaunge this lyffe." In the 1510s, Stephen Hawes began his *Conforte of Louers* by reflecting on how Lydgate, Gower, and Chaucer "are deed / & theyr bodyes layde in chest" (Gluck and Morgan 1974, 27). Fifteenth-century verse-making lives in these idioms of elegy. Taken together with the language of Boethian loss, the phraseology of Romance departure, and the political conditions of exile or imprisonment, this sense of having been abandoned—of having to fill a gap in literature as well as life—may well be what makes late medieval English poetry "late medieval."

By hearkening back to late Middle English Boethianism and the complaints of the post-Chaucerian tradition, "Absens absenting" shows us how alive this "late medieval"

was for courtly readers in the first third of the sixteenth century. But this late medieval poetics was as much Boethian as Chaucerian (Minnis 1993). Boethius shaped Chaucer's writing from its start: in the laments of the Black Knight and the remediating dialogue of the *Book of the Duchess*; in the emotional imprisonment of Troilus, and the mock pedagogy of Pandarus, in *Troilus and Criseyde*; in the imaginative conditions of the paired lovers in *The Knight's Tale*; in his many short lyrics that adapted allegorical and mythological figures; and, of course, in his own translation of the *Consolation*. Chaucer had given English voice to the bereft Boethian prisoner, turning him into a courtly lover whose meditations on departure, loss, and above all, absence, provided later writers with a governing literary model. King James I's *Kingis Quair*, Lydgate's *Lament of the Black Knight*, and John Walton's verse translation of the *Consolation* have their cultural meaning largely in the ways in which they sustain a Chaucerian tradition of transforming Boethius' epistemological conditions into the social and affective conditions of the courtier (Johnson 1997). The English poetry of Charles D'Orleans is as much Boethian as it is Chaucerian. So, too, is George Ashby's *A Prisoner's Reflections*. The fact that both poets were imprisoned or exiled only enhances the fictional self-presentations of their literary personae. The *Consolation* may have been a guide for the politically wronged. But it was also a guide for the poetically aspirational.

The "dullness" of the fifteenth-century poet—so brilliantly exposed by David Lawton (1987) as both a cultural and political state—is, in addition, a philosophical condition. Chaucer's brilliance may intimidate his imitators. But Chaucer's largely Boethian subject matter provided them with the language through which they could express their ineptitude. The excuses of ineptitude in the face of Chaucer's example are more than versions of a modesty topos. They are the language of the Boethian prisoner, incapable of sustaining the poetic flourishing of his youth, unable to see clearly, unable to give voice to virtue and to verse:

> *Carmina qui quondam studio florenti peregi*
> *Flebilis heu maestos cogor inire modos.*

> Once, I wrote verses flowing with knowledge;
> Now I must begin by writing sad meters.
> (Stewart, Rand, and Tester 1973, 130)

And the poet responds to himself, in John Walton's English of the first metrum of the *Consolation*, "But owt! Allas! How dull & deef he esse" (Science 1927, 14). In "Absens absenting," the poet's wit is "dull" precisely because he is bereft: "my sprites be all taken." The "vncomfortid" condition of this poem's speaker, ready to depart this life, brings back the idioms of the Boethian prisoner, in Walton's phrasing:

> Thys wrecchid lyf þat is vnconfortable
> Wyll draw a-long and tarieth now allas.
> (Science 1927, 15)

And Charles D'Orleans, in the couplet I quoted earlier, makes up his "dull" complaint precisely out of the condition of loss that is both amorous and philosophical. Elegy becomes

self-elegy. Laments for Chaucer's passing become laments for the loss of inspiration. The poet looks back on an earlier, florescent youth and now sees only *maestos modos*: the sad meters of a tearful self; the dull wit of an uncomforted lover.

Of course, complaints of loss did not end with the late medieval tradition. Wyatt, most pointedly, is a poet of abandonment. Yet, even at his most characteristically Wyatt-like, he remains Chaucerian. Compare, for example, "Absens absenting" with another, far more famous poem of Wyatt's, "They flee from me" (the modern edition is Rebholz 1978, 166–167; the diplomatic edition, with manuscript reproduction, is in *A Social Edition*). This, too, is a poem about distance and distress. It locates its speaker in the uneasy space between companionship and loneliness. But the unsureness of this locale—has it all been a dream? No, I lay broad waking—has led modern readers to see the poem as quite unlike anything that had gone before. Some have found in the strange passivity of the narrator a deliberate shift away from fifteenth-century male identities. Others have found in it a transformation of old, Chaucerian idioms (gentleness, "newfangleness") into something powerfully Petrarchan. Stephen Greenblatt, over 35 years ago, crystallized these critical perceptions into aphorism. "Petrarch's idealism is not *replaced* by Wyatt's sense of weariness and emptiness but rather *fulfilled* by it" (Greenblatt 1980, 150). For Greenblatt, and the critics in his wake, "They flee from me" is Wyatt's "greatest achievement" precisely because it fulfills the Petrarchan ideal in this way. "Power over sexuality," he noted, "produces inwardness" (Greenblatt 1980, 125). And, unlike what Greenblatt called the "relatively slight lyrics in the Devonshire MS," Wyatt's most powerful verse ("They flee from me" included) lives in the "blend of playfulness and danger that marks them as the product of the court" (for a challenge to this critical tradition, see Solomon 2014).

For all its innovation and achievement, "They flee from me" has longer legs in the Chaucerian inheritance than we might wish to think. True, the poem shares much with what we have come to expect from the Wyatt canon: a lithe rhythmical control; a tension between sentence endings and line endings finessed through arresting enjambments; a barely restrained eroticism; and a first-person voice consistent with a notion of the poet as an introspector of the self, a chronicler of the unquiet heart (Greenblatt 1980; Crewe 1990; Heale 1998). True, too, many of these expectations have been conditioned by centuries of editorial ministration: cleaning up the pentameter, regularizing the spelling and grammar, punctuating for particular effect (Crewe 1990; Solomon 2014). "They flee from me," in the Devonshire Manuscript, appears only a dozen folios away from "Absens absenting," written in the same scribe's hand. Reading it in this version, old idioms leap out. The line "beselye seeking contynuall chaunge" hearkens back to Chaucer suspicious, frequently in short poems, of "business" and "change." "Newfangleness," whatever its mutations, returns us to Chaucer's Boethian rejection of things new for newness' sake. There is much of Chaucer's "Lak of Stedfastnesse," here, much as there is a reflection of his "Gentelnesse," and even *The Merchant's Tale*, in the "armes long and small" of the beloved ("Hir myddel small, hire armes long and sklendre" *Merch.Tale*, line 1602).

But the Chaucerian short poem that stands behind this, as well as the range of Wyatt's amorous and courtly critiques, is the one known as "Truth." It was without question the most popular of Chaucer's lyrics, appearing in 24 different manuscripts throughout the

fifteenth and the sixteenth century and, in six printed versions, running from Caxton's *Temple of Bras* (*c.*1477) to the Chaucer edition of John Stowe of 1561 (Pace and David 1982, 52–53). The poem famously begins:

> Flee fro the prees and dwelle with sothfastnesse.

This opening injunction instructs readers in Boethian stability. Be happy with what you have; control your temptations; take what you receive gratefully; do not wrestle for worldly goods; you are pilgrim, a beast who can attain true human, spiritual virtue by recognizing that your true home is in the heavens. All of these paraphrases look back to the prose teachings of Lady Philosophy and the exemplary, mythological poems of her tutelage. In Wyatt's hands, Chaucer's injunction becomes a guide to the art of courtiership, and echoes of this lyric's opening appear in no fewer than seven of Wyatt's surviving poems (I list here only those in which the form "flee" appears; "fleeth" appears five times; "fled" appears seven times; "fleeing" appears once—clearly this is a verb central to Wyatt's poetics):

> If thou wilt mighty be, flee from the rage
> (Rebholz 1978, 120)

> What vaileth truth? Or by it, to take pain?
> To strive by stedfastnesse, for to attain
> How to be just and true and flee from doubleness?
> (Rebholz 1978, 72)

> And from this mind I will not flee;
> (Rebholz 1978, 279)

> Now am I proof to them that list
> To flee such woo and wrongful pain
> (Rebholz 1978, 245)

> Flee therefore truth (Rebholz 1978, 193)

> If that for weight the body faile, this soul shall to her flee
> (Rebholz 1978, 112)

> Mine own John Poyntz, since ye delight to know
> The cause why that homeward I me draw
> (And flee the press of courts whereso they go
> Rather than to live thrall under the awe
> Of lordly looks) …
> (Rebholz 1978, 186)

These radical departures from desire or deceit or truthfulness all hearken back to the defining opening of "Truth." Someone is always, it would seem, about to flee, or fleeing, or fled in Wyatt's verse. The sense of distance and distress is everywhere. Chaucer's legacy of philosophical counsel becomes Wyatt's charge for courtly service. And if the court is but a place of untruth and duplicity, the poet must find a more secure home.

These themes pervade the courtly poetry of the first decades of the Tudor age. But nowhere do they so pointedly address the Chaucerian heritage as in Wyatt's satire to John Poyntz. This is a poem about relocations, about tensions between physical and moral homelands. Such tensions lie at the heart of the Consolation's counsel—know your true home, Lady Philosophy iterates—and they lie at the heart of Chaucer's "Truth." "Her is non hoom, her nis but wildernesse," the poem enjoins toward its close. This world is not our true home, but only a form of exile from spiritual belonging. Wyatt turns this cosmic instruction into domestic statement. His phrase about the thralldom of lordly looks recalibrates the image of the yoked beast at the close of "Truth" ("Forth, beste, out of thy stal!").

The satire to John Poyntz is shot through with such courtly transformations of Chaucerian instruction, to the point where, 50 lines into the poem, Wyatt can poke fun of the courtier who would, mistakenly, "Praise Sir Thopas for a noble tale / And scorn the story that the knight told." And at this poem's end, the Chaucerian critique comes full circle:

> But here I am in Kent and Christendom
> Among the Muses, where I read and rhyme,
> Where if thou list, my Poyntz, for to come,
> Thou shalt be judge how I do spent my time.

Ensconced in the Home Counties, Wyatt reads and rhymes, and he invites Poyntz to judge these private efforts of verse-making. To spend one's time here is not just to take time reading and writing, but to make meters. Spending time is making verse, and if we had any doubt about this metaphorical association, we need only look at the version of this poem in the Parker Manuscript (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker MS 68, long regarded as an authoritative text of this poem, especially for its first 52 lines) to see how Wyatt once again is steeped in Chaucerian poetics: "Thow shalt be judge how I dispende my tyme." In breaking off that horrible *Tale of Sir Thopas*, Harry Bailly had accused Chaucer of dispending time exactly in this way:

> "Thou doost nought ells but despendest tyme.
> Sire, at o word, thou shalt no lenger ryme."

To invite John Poyntz to judge how Wyatt now dispends his time is (in the restored reading from the Parker Manuscript) to seek his playful impersonation of the Host to Wyatt's inept Chaucer. Behind this final line now lies the Chaucerian moment of failed poetry: a moment of radical mis-taking of poetic intention and performance. Such a moment is the comic foil for the satire to Poyntz.

But it is, as well, the foil for many of the early Tudor poet's poses. For whether we flee the press or flee the truth or watch those who flee from us, we remain in a condition of departure and absence. They flee from me. Such a line could be voiced about unrequiting lovers, dismissive or dismissed courtiers, or the muses that have left us by our bedside.

Absence is a condition; fleeing is an action. What Chaucer did in "Truth" was to provide a later courtly readership and writership with a new trope of departure. The fifteenth-century condition of absence is precisely that: a condition. It is the state of

loss or longing left by Chaucer's death, or the lover's departure, or the distance of the friend or patron. It is a state of being, and so much of the fifteenth-century reflection on that state contributes to the static quality of much of its verse. But fleeing is a verb of action. It is the result of will or agency. Its power in the poems written in the wake of Chaucer's "Truth" lies in the ways in which it crystallizes people making decisions and doing things. It requires not the static lament of the dulled but the active responses of the alert. Indeed, the very condition of the Boethian prisoner had been a dullness that Lady Philosophy seeks to alleviate: wake up, look up, grow up. Her initial diagnosis of his state is one of lethargy, in Walton's translation: "This man is wiþ litargie arrest" (Science 1927, 22). And so, Lady Philosophy, like Chaucer in his "Truth," advises action. Absence and fleeing might be thought of as the two poles of the post-Chaucerian poetic voice, whose words may leave the reader only with lament or may enjoin us to movement.

Wyatt is but the most canonical and most sophisticated of the early Tudor poets to negotiate these tensions, but he is not alone. The poetry of Stephen Hawes, only recently reassessed for its political and social acumen and its technical achievement, often balances between complaint and action—between the tropes of a post-Chaucerian dullness and a more immediate, courtly will to action (Gluck and Morgan 1974; Edwards 1984; Lerer 1997; Wakelin 2009). His *Conforte of Louers* (printed by Wynkyn de Worde sometime between 1510 and 1511) explores the imbalance between loss and fulfillment in a dream-vision format that had a demonstrably wide readership throughout the first half of the sixteenth century (all quotations are from Gluck and Morgan and cited by line number). In language resonant with "Absens absenting," Hawes's *Conforte* bridges Chaucer's world of Boethian advice with the Tudor world of courtly service. "Conforte yourselfe / and muse not so alone," his poem counsels (152). In words that echo the advice of Chaucer's "Truth" ("the wey is slider"), Hawes states: "Clymbe not so fast / lest sodenly ye slyde" (157). Hawes offers a verbal fulcrum on which Chaucer and Wyatt balance. His phrasings chime with both: "my body had but lytell rest" (173); "many one wrytest throuthe / yet conforte hath he none" (558); "beware / The snares and nettes" (903–904). And in a moment comparable to Wyatt's own engagement with the Psalms, Hawes translates from Psalm 129 and expounds: "though many a one / vnhappely do rage / They shall haue sorowe that shytte me in a cage" (564–565).

Hawes's *Conforte* is as much a poem of the unquiet heart as anything by Wyatt, and Greenblatt's influential formulations about power, inwardness, and courtly performance could be as applicable to this as to any sustained verse of the first decades of the sixteenth century. The point is not that Hawes is something of a proto-Wyatt here, or that "Absens absenting" shows the latter poet as regressing to the former. The point is that all of these texts—and many others, well known and forgotten—constitute a poetry of courtly counsel in a period of competing and contested literary and linguistic voices.

If Wyatt and the Devonshire Manuscript offer what we think of as the forward-looking, flowering of "Renaissance poetics," the contemporary manuscript assembled by the Staffordshire lawyer and bibliophile Humphrey Wellys presents what seems to us as dusty antiquarianism (Wilson 1990; Jansen and Jordan 1991; Lerer 1997). This compilation (now Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 813) brims with strange

things: bits and pieces of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Hawes excerpted into lyric outbursts or assembled into centos of amorous and courtly fantasy; political poems of satire and complaint; verse letters of colloquial intimacy; and a sustained transcription of the bulk of Skelton's *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?* Read not for its individual entries but in the arc of its literary accomplishment, Wellys's manuscript illustrates that, for a sophisticated reader of the 1530s and 1540s, the poetry of the previous century and a half was still vital. But that vitality lay largely in the possibilities of new assemblies and transformations. Each line of late medieval verse finds a new place when collocated with others. Its fragments and quotations reassemble themselves into a personal statement about courtly love and courtly fear: the work of someone who, so rattled by the reforms of the age of Thomas Cromwell, went back and forcibly crossed out the word "Pope" whenever it appeared in the text.

Wellys's assembly may be distinctive, but it is far from unique. Manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries often brought together stanzas from Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate into new compositions, or excerpted sections into free-standing, lyrical utterances. Such manuscripts show not just copying but compiling in all senses of that word: bringing old things together into new contexts. Devonshire, too, worked something of this alchemy, as I have already mentioned, excerpting poetry contained in Thynne's 1532 Chaucer edition and placing them in sequence to create amorous narratives of exchange.

But what distinguishes Wellys is his taste for Stephen Hawes and his sensibility that, well into the last years of Henry VIII's reign, the poetry of late medieval Boethian elegy still had power to comfort. On several occasions in his manuscript, Wellys copies out selections from Hawes's poetry that were, in their original longer narratives, self-contained lyric utterances, letters, or complaints. One "poem" in his manuscript is made up of the stanzas of *The Pastime of Pleasure*, running from lines 3951 to 4076, that offers a letter written by the figure of Sapience to the poet lover. Wellys has recast some of the wording of this text to make it a free-standing amorous, verse epistle. In the process he illustrates how a long, allegorical, and didactic poem such as the *Pastime* could be read as something of an anthology of potentially excerptable love lyrics. Hawes may, in the words of the scholar Daniel Wakelin, have turned "the literature of leisure into the literature of learning" (Wakelin 2009, 57). But what Wellys did was turn this literature of learning into the lyrics of courtly loss:

> To yow, swete-harte, thys byll ys presentyd
> By your true loue, whose harte yn-dures.
> Ye haue fast fetterd, nott to be absentyde
> Frome your person with mortall heuynes,
> His hart and seruyce. With all gentylnes
> He to yow oweth as to be obeyente
> For to fulfill your swete commandemente.
> (Jansen and Jordan 1991, 132)

One way of reading such a stanza in Wellys's manuscript would be to say that it is the characteristic mark of an anthologizing commonplace-book maker: a way of *reading for use* that had become a central feature of the culling habit of mind of the sixteenth-century

compiler (Grafton and Jardine 1990; Crane 1993). But another, more literary way of approaching this selection is to say that it represents Hawes read through the lens of Wyatt: a reconsideration of old allegorical instruction with an eye for inwardness. And from that inwardness comes the vocabulary of absence and constraint, of heaviness and gentleness, of owing and obedience.

Such is the language of "Absens absenting." For, by all the poems I have offered here together, we may see that lines between the "medieval" and the "Renaissance" are not as clear as we might once have wished. These verses would not have been discerned as archaic. The distinction we now make between Middle English and modern English was not sensed until the later sixteenth century, when a printer such as Richard Tottel could smooth out Wyatt's pentameters in the late 1550s, or an editor such Thomas Speght could gloss Chaucer's verbal archaisms in the late 1590s. Historians of English have come to realize that, well into the first decades of Henry VIII's reign, the language of Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and Malory was far from incomprehensible (Machan 2006). Nor was the language of Skelton and Hawes necessarily seen as deliberately old-fashioned (in contrast, for example, with the way in which Spenser's language of *The Faerie Queene* was deliberately archaic for the 1590s). Humphrey Wellys seems to have had little trouble copying and manipulating their language in a knowing way. So, too, members of the Howard and the Shelton families who copied selections from William Thynne's 1532 edition of *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* into the Devonshire Manuscript had little difficulty with their exemplars. Portions of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Anelida and Arcite*, of the Chaucerian *Remedy of Love*, of Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid*, and of Richard Roos's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* appear on its pages. In fact, in both the Wellys and Devonshire manuscripts, it is clear that the medieval inheritance lived in print for them: Thynne's edition capped over 50 years of publishing Chaucer (from William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde on); Lydgate was in printed book form since the 1470s; and Hawes, for whom we have no surviving contemporary manuscript copies, seems only to have circulated in the printed books brought out by Wynkyn de Worde from 1509 until 1530.

The literary inheritance of Middle English was not swallowed passively and whole by early Tudor literates. This body of work was there for the reworking. It offered opportunities for literary creativity shaped through pastiche and posturing. Early Tudor writers and readers were, often, ventriloquists of the medieval literary imagination. By adapting texts for new purposes, they took up the voices of the old poets and made them live in particular courtly, amorous, political, and social contexts.

The relationship between the Wyatt that we want ("They flee from me") and the one we do not ("Absens absenting") may therefore be a relationship not of the poet on a good and bad day, but of the poet trying out different voices. The relationship of Hawes to Wyatt may not be one of late medieval to early modern. "Absens absenting" may be seen as something of a ventriloquism of a fifteenth-century, Boethian complaint, much as a poem such as Wyatt's "Whoso list to hunt" may be understood as a ventriloquism of a fourteenth-century Petrarchan sonnet.

Such an approach may move us away from the teleologies of medieval *to* Renaissance and may help us understand how a variety of voices and poses could coexist on the manuscript page, in the courtly audience, and in the printed book. It is important to engage

with the decades of early Tudor England not as a period of transition (from something to something else) but as a time of multiple media. Script and print, the old Chaucerianism and the new Petrarchism, Boethius and his legacies, absence and fleeing: all contribute to the lively insecurities of these neglected literary decades. To begin a volume with a review of the medieval legacies is, therefore, not to show how later writers moved beyond the past, but instead to expose how that literary past informed a present and how the writing and the reading of vernacular poetry went on with old books on the table and familiar words from new pens.

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2
Translation and Translations

A. E. B. Coldiron

Introduction

In the late fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, translation was central to the systems of textual preservation and reiteration that structured the literary field. Translations, reprints, and reprinted translations were valuable both in active foreign trading and as durable domestic goods; printers in England filled and refilled their lists with titles already proven successful abroad and at home. The reiterative habits of what we might call a reprint culture, and what has been called a "culture of translation" (Burke and Hsia 2007; Demetriou and Tomlinson 2015), thus fostered a long-term continuity with the pasts we now study as "medieval" and "classical." Yet the translation/reprint culture was in no way dull or derivative, but rather was a charged, long-term site of aesthetic innovation and experiment. Poetic translation obviously brought foreign content into the English literary system, but it also brought foreign aesthetics, foreign forms, foreign habits of style. These stimuli to English practices sometimes cluster under import labels such as "courtier poetry," "Petrarchism," "Ovidianism," or "baroque," but the English importation of such foreign poetic movements by means of translation necessarily involved filtering, adaptation, and selection. From a wider view, the result was a fascinating transnational variability: for instance, English Ovidianism was not the same thing, nor did it have the same literary or critical consequences, as continental Ovidianism; English courtier poetry and Italian courtier poetry are meaningfully distinct; and despite sharing a 12-syllable count, the French *alexandrin* is quite unlike the English hexameter in rhythmic momentum and in literary-historical implications. And even a foreign poetics entirely rejected in England can matter to literary history: what is not translated can be quite revealing of English poetic particularities. In fact, nearly any attention to translation soon shows "English" Renaissance poetry to be inseparable from the "englished" poetry generated in translation.

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An older view of translation as inferior to "real" authorship, and of translations as best when fluently invisible, suffers not only from a post-Romantic "originality" hangover. It is, as Warren Boutcher (2000) shows, and as Pierre Bourdieu would no doubt agree, an anachronistic misreading, or at least an insufficiently historicized view, of the position of translation in the Renaissance literary habitus. From a newer view, translation *is* the Renaissance literary habitus: the pervasive condition and practices forming the generative matrix for literary production and reception. This view has strong historical justification. Translation permeated every sphere of life in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. It was crucial in trade, in diplomacy, in politics, in natural philosophy and the new sciences, and of course in underlying ideological or religious struggles, where translation and printing animated Reformation and Counter-Reformation theologies alike (Higman 1993; Kelly 2010; Taylor 2010a, 2010b). Integral to humanist philological projects of textual recovery, translation was also the foundation of early modern educational programs (as in Ascham's advocacy of double translation as the essential pedagogy), and of training in rhetoric and oratory. Nearly all Renaissance poets began as translators, and many continued so.

Tudor translators such as Thomas Elyot, William Barker, Roger Ascham, and Richard Mulcaster, among many others, would return repeatedly to translation as a means of linguistic, pedagogical, literary, and political nation-building. Debates ensued about how much, and in what ways, translation should influence English lexicon and letters (Clarke 2010, 17–23). These debates necessarily interpenetrated controversies about poetic diction, versification, and rhyme (e.g., Puttenham on poetic diction or Harington on rhyme and meter; Vickers 1999, 288–289, 322–323). Metaphors and commonplaces used for translation inscribe variety and imaginative force in what was clearly a hot topic for Tudor and Stuart literati (Hermans 1985; Tymoczko 2010), and the ongoing felt need for translation into English was in little doubt. As Itamar Even-Zohar explained, translations activate literary polysystems most energetically when "(a) a literature is 'young', in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either 'peripheral' (within a large group of correlated literatures) or 'weak' or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature" (Even-Zohar 1990, 47). That was precisely the situation of early modern England with respect to the European literary polysystem. In translating one of the most important books of the age, *Il Cortegiano*, Thomas Hoby famously asserted that if England hoped to gain esteem among nations, it would need to engage with foreign letters so as to overcome barbarically insular manners and language, and that "translation is learning itself" (1561).

Not that translation has ever been absent from Renaissance/early modern studies. But until the late twentieth century, most translation criticism focused on author-to-author influence, language change, and political and religious content (Amos 1920; Matthiessen 1931; Ebel 1967; Kelly 1979; Barnstone 1995). Modern critics still use the dominant early modern paradigm for translation, the *translatio studii* (based on Sallust's *translatio imperii)*. Karlheinz Stierle explores the *translatio* in terms of the ever-shifting, cross-cultural status of languages, thereby explaining much about Latinity and vernacularity in England (Stierle 1996).[1] Untold scores of source-and-influence studies have demonstrated, poem by poem, Renaissance translators' role in creating English poetry from foreign texts; these tend to treat source-and-translation as dyads, often with an evaluative goal: a translation is good if faithful, or equivalent, to a source. On the other hand, a translation may be valued

for its fluency, for not sounding like a translation, for what Lawrence Venuti calls "the translator's invisibility" (Venuti 1995). As Venuti explains, this erasure of both the translator's labor and any marks of the foreign in the text has, over the long term, also devalued translations and reinforced their exclusion from national literary histories. The problem of translation's invisibility has been exacerbated by critical positions that assume a certain kind of authorship as a chief literary organizing principle. In that older, Romantic-born conceptual frame—favoring sole "original" authorship and the translator's invisibility—source-influence studies often took up one work and one translation, assumed a direct, linear relation between them, and too often ended in Drydenesque classifications (as paraphrase, metaphrase, or imitation), Hieronymian solemnities ("nec verbum verbo"), and hierarchical evaluations of translators as "faithful" (i.e., not authors themselves and subservient to an author) or "fluent" (i.e., invisible).[2] On the contrary, for Renaissance poets, visibility—visible engagement with recognizable foreign antecedents—was important in *imitatio* (even as disingenuously performed, for example, by Astrophil in *Astrophil and Stella* 1). Although many studies of collaborative (e.g., Bistué 2013; Taylor 2014) and anonymous (e.g., North 2003; Starner 2011) literature have performed successful, historicized critiques of older assumptions about authorship, related assumptions about translation persist even today.

In the past two decades or so, the questions we ask of translations have changed radically, and work on translation has taken several new directions. After the "cultural turn" in translation studies, analysis today almost always connects with broader sociocultural and historical matters. That is, any translation is understood to be at once a verbal transformation and a "cultural translation" embedded in, generated from, and received through complex sociocultural matrices. Notable in this line are postcolonial and political translation studies (Cheyfitz 1991; Pratt 1992; Spivak 2000; Baker 2010). Also aligned with the cultural turn are studies of gender in/or translation (Simon 1996; von Flotow 1997). Recent studies of Renaissance women and translation (Clarke 2009; Belle 2012; Uman 2012; Boro 2014; Hosington 2014) have updated the questions initiated for England by Hannay (1985), Chamberlain (2004), and Krontiris (1997). While Florio may have gendered translation as secondary and derivative, many more women translators, and more secular women translators, were at work in Renaissance England than has previously been acknowledged.

The archival-textual turn has also been significant for Renaissance poetic translation. New book-historical studies have examined printing houses as sites of translation, the underlying relations between the Renaissance book trades and translation (Wilson-Lee and Pérez-Fernández 2015), printer-translators as co-creators (Coldiron 2015), and the book as a world phenomenon (Suarez and Woudhuysen 2014). Databases such as the ISTC (Incunable Short Title Catalogue), USTC (Universal Short Title Catalogue), and RCCP (Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Project) have greatly expanded the factual basis for studying early modern translation. Primary book-historical work lets us read poetic translations not as we now, or our antiquarian canon-founders or modernist forebears, might imagine them, but *as they were actually written, produced, and read in the Renaissance*. This new (old) knowledge necessarily changes our literary histories, and may also change editorial practices, canons, and curricula. The substantive *Oxford History of Literary Translation into English 1550–1660* samples further new work (Braden, Cummings, and Gillespie 2010),

and contiguous volumes, pre-1550 and post-1660, enrich the long view. New collections (Schurink 2011; Schmidt 2013; Newman and Tylus 2015) and readers (Baker 2010; Venuti 2012) showcase recent trends. Journals both general (e.g., *Renaissance Studies* and *Comparative Literature*) and specialized (e.g., *Translation & Literature* and *Translation Studies*) regularly make space for new research on Renaissance translation. Extensive reviews of research have appeared in *English Literary Renaissance* (Cummings 2007, 2009a, 2009b). Joshua Reid's recent field survey agrees that "translation studies in the English Renaissance has reached an unprecedented efflorescence" (Reid 2014, 2).

Such developments promise that early modern English scholars have begun to register in new ways how formative translation was, and particularly how very early those formative powers were active. More scholars are now aware, for instance, that the first book printed in English, like so many other earlier printed English books, was a translation from French, and it was not even printed in England: William Caxton "englished" Raoul Lefèvre's Troy collection and printed the result, the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (Bruges, 1473–1474). Although the only poetry in the landmark *Recuyell* is a 14-line Latin epigram assembled from bits of the *Carmina Burana*, this first printed English(ed) book announces several key, enduring connections between translation and English Renaissance poetry. Among these are:

- an expressed need to improve the national letters via translation; "englishing" is thus closely linked to nation-building, and the "English" is created out of a significant proportion of foreign materials;
- an imperative to distribute "englished" materials—that is, foreign texts newly translated into English—more widely and more quickly using the new technology of printing;
- related to those points, a strong, persistent link between translation and printing, as co-agents of textual transformation; and
- an overt concern for establishing a productive relation to past authorities, authors, and works, as well as to past poetic practices and to foreign genres and forms.

Early printed translations introduce such issues and illustrate how translation helpfully informs critical discussions of such concepts as authorship and periodization. To examine early modern poetic translation as a literary-historical phenomenon, as a theoretical concern, and as a thriving field of new inquiry today, the next section focuses on translation as foundational earlier in the period, with attention to the special importance of paratext for translation. The following section then discusses translation's engagements with genres, forms, and theories.

Early Developments, Foreign Foundations

The glorious edifices of later Elizabethan and early Jacobean translation are much better known than the preceding groundwork on which their enduring appeal was built. Because of this, and because the first century of printing in England (particularly the pre-Stationers' Charter period, 1476–1558) set so many of the initiating conditions for and concerns of

poetic translations, the early material warrants special attention here. Foreign-born books like the *Recuyell* first alert us to these conditions and concerns, and thus to what grounds the *skopos* of the entire period (Vermeer 1989). Like so many later translators working in England during the sixteenth century, Caxton explains his wish to build English letters and culture, as well as his own enterprise, by translating foreign works. He "neuer had seen hit [i.e., the *Receuyell*] in oure englissh tonge … hit shold be a good besynes to translate hyt in to oure englissh to thende that hyt myght be had as well in the royame of Englond as in other landes" (1473, Prologue). "Good besynes," unlike the modern "good business," suggests that translation retained its traditional moral/ethical purposes of eschewing idleness and transmitting knowledge, even as commerce and nation-building became important motives.

Caxton's first English(ed) book also advocates speedier, wider distribution of materials previously unavailable in England. "Therfore I haue practysed & lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte … *to thende that euery man may haue them attones*" (Epilogue; emphasis added). The early concern to distribute foreign materials in England quickly and widely initiates a persistent link between literary translation and printing technology: English printers filled the content vacuum created by the new technology with translated material (Coldiron 2003). Even beyond the basic imperatives to build English national letters and his own printing enterprise, Caxton's statement alerts us to what Neil Rhodes has explored as the translators' crucial work of "making common" in vernaculars (Rhodes 2013).

"Making common" via translation and printing brought enormous social, political, and theological changes in the English commonwealth. And "making common" had at least two particular effects related to poetry. First, the changing demographics of literacy in England seem to have fostered a predominantly appropriative or inward-directed pattern of translation practice. That is, as more people could and did read an increasing number of printed books, a larger proportion of the readership came to prefer books in English.[3] Translators responded early: here again, Caxton typifies, explaining that he translated *Charles the Grete* "to thende that thystoryes, actes, & lyues may be had in our maternal tonge lyke as they be in latyn or in frensshe. *For the moost quantyte of the people vnderstonde not latyn ne frensshe here in this noble royaume of Englond*" (Westminster, 1485, [a2v]; emphasis added). Caxton's assessment of his increasingly monoglot readership, "the moost quantyte of the people," underpins his publication practice; some 60 of the 80 or so works he printed were translations, mostly from French (even when the content was not about great Frenchmen like *Charles*). Thus the first broad distribution of English books was heavily translation-based, or "Englished," meaning foreign-remade-as-English, with all the cultural baggage that entails. In contrast to the multiply-directed patterns of translation predominant on the Continent, this inward directionality makes England exceptional. English poets were mainly importers who relied for widest distribution on early printers; they were not exporters until much later.

Second, in pre-Elizabethan poetry in particular, the actual numbers and patterns of printed translations quickly change our sense of England's unfolding relationships to foreign literature. The early translators and printers of vernacular poetry drew most heavily on French texts, rather than on Italian texts as we might expect, at a ratio of about 6 to 1 (Ringler 1988, 6).[4] Although most older criticism focused on the Englished Petrarch,

Tasso, and Ariosto, critics increasingly acknowledge that the Englished Marot, Chartier, Gringoire, Du Bellay, Ronsard, Du Bartas, and other French poets (including L'Anonyme), got their passports earlier and in greater numbers. Later, as Steven May's evidence reveals, we find a much-expanded Elizabethan picture: Latin still dominant, especially in religious translations, with French still very important; but now many more poems from Italian and Greek (mediated or not), and more from Spanish than we might guess (in the hundreds), with poems coming also from Arabic, Dutch, and Flemish. Only four Elizabethan poems are noted from German (compare a much greater influx of prose), two from Portuguese, one from Slavonian, two from Turkish, one of those via Latin. Within the archipelago we find four poems from Welsh, and numerous dialect poems, translated and not, dominated by Scots and including verse in Old Kentish and Cotswold (May and Ringler 2004, III: 2320–2336).

Yet this Elizabethan expansion of vernacular source languages builds on the more unified, francophone base that set readers' aesthetic expectations of English poetry. Wyatt's and Surrey's translations of Petrarch occupy the current canon, but Wyatt was steeped in Marot's poetics, and the most influential translations of the early period are from medieval France. Those include landmark reprints like Lydgate's translation of Premierfait (itself translated from Boccaccio), the *Belle Dame Sans Merci*, the *Roman de la Rose* and many other verse romances, as well as tenacious genres like *artes moriendi* and *danses macabres*, moral verse from (for example) Christine de Pizan, court satire from (for example) Alain Chartier, and many poems in early compilations such as shepherd's calendars, primers and *horae*. French-styled octosyllabic narratives were favorites in England, and English-language stress patterns turned them into tetrameters, more or less, or sometimes pentameters (or, if the poet's ears were tuned by hymnal meters, into fourteeners or poulter's measures). French and French-related medieval song forms also arrived early (rondeau, ballade, and chanson; each adapted to English stresses and rhyme scarcity), harmonizing with expectations for the poetic interlacement and closural couplet seen in native rhyme royal. A capacity for witty or ironic use of the refrain follows the French habit of Villon's contemporaries, and shows well in Skelton, Dunbar, Wyatt, and Anon. This sketch hardly depicts the full French aesthetic presence in the first century of English print. The *sixain* form itself deserves a translation history: a workhorse in Tudor England not only for narrative and occasional verse, but as a formal solution, a likely key to the English sonnet's divergence from continental sonnets. In sum, the French-laid foundations of English poetry are now increasingly understood as a factor with which critics of the English Renaissance must reckon: Anne Lake Prescott (1978, 1998) blazed this critical trail; a thriving body of scholarship now follows.[5]

These two special features of earlier printed verse translation in England—its inward directionality and its heavily francophone sourcing—are due in part to certain pragmatic, legal, and technical facts obtaining in the century after Caxton's arrival at Westminster in 1476. Translators, still working as always for church and court, soon also became prominent in printing houses as co-transformers and co-creators of new English(ed) texts. After the Act of 1484 encouraged foreigners to work in the book trades, many people involved in printing in England were "denizens and strangers": foreign apprentices, masters, and journeymen, a great majority francophone, with prime access to French-language and other continental texts. Many of them translated the texts they also printed, and all were directly

responsible for including large proportions of translated texts in what they printed. Early modern translators (and printer-translators) were not derivative copyists or technical drudges, but were rather more like the international entrepreneurs of early film: inventive, experimental, cosmopolitan. Furthermore, in examining the heavier predominance of French works in the first century of English printing, we find that the practical and legal situation of the early printing houses dovetailed with deep cultural factors long in play between France and England, "familiar enemies" (Ardis Butterfield's term; 2009), and between England and sometime-ally Burgundy (Belozerskaya 2012). Early printers in England used foreign (mostly French) paper, foreign types, foreign woodcuts, and other gear, as well as foreign design elements and procedures established on the Continent (Bidwell 2002; Foote 1999). Thus "Englishing" had not only verbal, cultural, national, and commercial dimensions, but also material-textual and aesthetic dimensions. Translated poems are best understood as "translated" in this broader sense.

Furthermore, this early phase of printed translation (re)certifies the significance of paratext (Wilson and Smith 2011). Translators (and printers) seized paratextual spaces to talk about their work, and about authority, authorship, and readers; they articulated relations between foreign and native texts, authors, languages and nations. Traditional medieval translators' claims of respectful fidelity to past authors—although actually in a hermeneutic and rhetorical relation, as Copeland (1991) proved—were found in the medieval manuscript *accessus*, but soon appeared in printed paratexts as prefaces, long titles and title poems, colophons, epilogues, marginal notes, headnotes, and glosses. However, we should not take paratexts, important though they are, at face value. We may also consider their conventional, hierarchical front, with typical modesty claims, pleas to the reader, praises of the author, and open admissions of error and uncertainty, as speech acts.[6] Thus paratexts that remark on translation stimulate comparative reading, or at the very least encourage a critical stance toward the fidelity topoi inherited from medieval exegetes following Jerome. Renaissance paratexts, rich sites of commentary on translation, also developed as sites of poetry, translated and not, especially commendatory and dedicatory poetry (Chandler 2003). So paratext illuminates not only topical and text-related matters, but also critical and aesthetic themes (for instance, what has been called poetic self-fashioning is prominent in paratext). Yet translation disrupts critical themes: which poetic self is being fashioned, and/or refashioned, in translation? How independent are the poet's and the translator-poet's literary subjectivities? Clearly Renaissance translator-poets thought of themselves also as authoring; how can critics better register such cruxes, and treat what Kellman calls "the translingual imagination" (2000)? Thanks to new editorial habits and increased digital access, paratexts not usually provided in nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions are now a discovery trove for scholars of earlier Renaissance poetry. Neil Rhodes has laid to rest the oddly tenacious myth that there was no translation theory in the Renaissance with his 56 selected examples of Renaissance translators' prefaces and commentaries. Paratexts discussing translation signal what sort of awareness of alterity was afoot around a text, and they make the work of translation visible to early modern readers as part of literary art.

Early modern paratexts sometimes also provide space for translators to refuse the traditional hierarchy of value in which they would stand secondary to authors; some poet-translators explain themselves as independent agents. Thomas Drant, for instance,

announces his independence from Horace as early as the title, as if his fourteeners and Christian content would not do so:

> The fifthe Satire, whiche the Poet had vvritten of his iorneying to and fro, wholye altered by the translator.
>
> FRende Horace thoughe you maye me vse as to translate your verse,
> Yet your exployte I do refuse, at this tyme to reherse.
> Not euery tricke nor euery torne, that flo[w]eth from your braine.
> Are incident into my pen, nor worthie of my payne (1567)[7]

Renaissance poetic translators felt quite free to experiment, and part of the game of openly engaging with foreign letters seems to have been asserting one's own qualities as a translator, even if (disingenuously) claiming source fidelity. Multiple *Aeneid* translations provide a familiar example: from Caxton's *Aeneid* with its prefatory fretting about dialects and language change; to Gavin Douglas's assertive Scots version (1513); to Surrey, setting standard verse as blank; to later poet-translators Phaer, Stanyhurst, and Turberville. Each tried different ways of Englishing, such that translations of Virgil were not only emulative of Rome but also high-profile, competitive experiments in national literary identity. Likewise, open engagements with the foreign seem the whole point of works like Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetoricke* or Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica*, which offer compendia of foreign lines that demonstrate, and advocate for, the strong continental roots of so many English poetic leaves. By 1581, even as Sidney's sonnets were in manuscript, circulating an opposite poetic agenda for hiding one's foreign engagements, Thomas Watson could print the fully exposed foreign poetics of the *Hekatompathia*, with the assistance of John Wolfe's multivariate typography and analytic *mise en page*, should anyone miss his explicitly multinational headnotes. (Watson explains to the reader in headnotes above every poem precisely how he proceeds and in what respects he alters each foreign source: a toolbox for poetic translators.) More subtle and typical were Spenser's experiments in translation (the first poems he published were translations, in 1569), Sidney's visible imitations in *Certaine Sonets*, and poems from, say, Arthur Gorges or Samuel Daniel, engaging recognizably with France. The old claimed fidelity to an *auctor* shifted: experimental *imitatio*—which is not imitation in the modern, pejorative sense—was the point, and conventional translators' topoi were sometimes rehandled playfully, disingenuously, if not discarded entirely.

Genre and Form

Sometimes explicit and always implicit in Renaissance poetic translation is the renegotiation or resetting of English poets' and readers' horizons of expectation for genre (Jauss 1982). The translators were, of course, attuned to lexical choices (such as register, tone, etymology, neologism/"inkhorn" terms), but beyond the word-level choices to replicate or approximate (or not), translators had to locate their translations inside viable systems of genre and form.

Translators' first, most basic choice was what to render in poetry and what in prose. Their decisions expose what a different, less restricted place poetry held the early modern literary system, and how translations invite the reconsideration of a genre's culture-crossing capacities. The predictable themes of love, death, religion, and war were, of course, translated in a full range of elegies, epitaphs, epigrams, sonnets, epics, epyllia, and romances (on the early situation, see Ringler 1988, 428–430; on the later generic expansions, May and Ringler 2004, III). After Alciato (1528), emblems became one of the most translated genres across Europe, but came relatively late and thinly to England (first in Combe's late Elizabethan translation of Guillaume de la Perrière). Epic, another oft-translated genre, vividly shows local and national concerns recast. Studies of translated epic often enhance the study of genre overall (Braden 2010): to return to a previous example, is Gavin Douglas's *Aeneid* an epic in quite the same way as Virgil's is an epic, or as Caxton's is "epic"? How does epic itself work differently in such different literary cultures? Compare satires, or other topical and humorous verse, the content of which may require more vigorous reworking in translation. In contrast, georgic and instructive modes were ubiquitous in translated verse and traveled easily. Alastair Fowler explains that the most translated gnomic poet was Cato: "local aptness of language, now taken for granted, was first assimilated through translation and imitation of ancient georgic models" (Fowler 2010, 200). Foreign moral and wisdom literature arrived in quantity in verse translation, as did philosophical, scientific, and what I have elsewhere called "low georgic" verse: common, proverbial, and practical verse including how-to poems, medical verse, mnemonics, recipes, poems about the weather, the household, folklore, the zodiac, and other poems that today we would not call "poetic." The quotidian themes of the translated "low georgic" highlight how much the very idea of poetry has changed; they also signal the voracious Englishing of many sorts of foreign material.

Efforts to import and imitate foreign genres and themes necessarily also entailed ongoing redefinitions of topical decorum, that is, of the suitability of content or theme as expressed through particular forms and genres. Philip Sidney writes of how not to English and exhorts translators to attend to decorum: "Truly, I could wish … the diligent imitators of Tully and Demosthenes … did not so much keep Nizolian paper-books of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation … devour them whole, and make them wholly theirs" (*Apology*, 117). Like so many other Renaissance writers, Sidney imitates the classical metaphor of translation as digestion, evidently having devoured it whole and made it his. Against that idealized devouring, Sidney sets "Nizolian paper-books." The allusion to Marius Nizolius's popular Ciceronian phrasebook, printed in 1535, associates translation with Renaissance commonplacing practice, but Sidney dismisses that practice as a fragmentation antithetical to good translation. (Perhaps Fraunce or Eliot were thought "Nizolian.") Although Sidney refers here to prose imitators, his wish for a full incorporation of the foreign appears just after a critique of poetic diction that recapitulates his condemnations of English versifiers in recusatory sonnets such as *Astrophil and Stella* 6, 9, or 15: they "take wrong ways" in Englishing foreign poetry.

The rest of the *Apology* passage turns to decorum in translation and imitation: Cicero's peppery verbal repetitions, says Sidney, may well convey anger in a natural, effective way, but "we, having noted the grace of those words, hale them in sometimes to a familiar epistle when it were too much choler to be choleric" (118). In importing foreign materials,

it is not enough, suggests Sidney, to be enamored of graceful foreign words; one must also consider how they, in tone and register, might suit (or not suit) the genre into which they are to be translated. The passage also addresses the appropriateness of translated rhetorical ornaments: "For now they [translators/imitators] cast sugar and spice upon every dish that is served at the table: like those Indians, not content to wear ear-rings at the fit and natural place of the ears, but they will thrust jewels through their nose and lips, because they will be sure to be fine" (117). The imperialist simile may be offensive to us now, revealing how closed and even abusive to actual alterity Sidney's world was, assuming English-style ornament as "naturally" normative, and departures from it as ridiculous, alien, and primitive. But Sidney's use of the simile makes his main point clear: Englishing without care for decorum is uncivilized. Sidney reacts in this passage against how indiscriminately, how tactlessly, how dyspeptically and barbarically, English poets—that is, other English poets—were appropriating the foreign. The concept of poetic decorum, as well as major poetic issues like art–nature, lexicon, energeia/enargeia, rhyme, meter, and of course *imitatio* in general, were very often construed in terms of translation praxis. Clearly, discussions of poetic translation serve also as a site for working out national self-definition, cultural identity, and alterity.

Translation has special formal implications for Renaissance poetry (i.e., more than for prose). Modern critics may underestimate this fact, focusing on semantic issues involved in the transfer of content. True, some syntactical issues (e.g., S-V-O vs. S-O-V word order, relative clauses, or the pre-/post-positioning of modifiers) are arguably hard to finesse in prose. Nevertheless, early modern poetry's essential operations rely on sound effects in ways and to a degree that prose simply does not: basic phonic effects such as meter, alliteration, assonance, or rhyme; sound-based rhetorical effects such as anaphora, epistrophe, ploce, or paronomasia; and effects of lineation that involve sound and pacing, such as caesura and enjambment, catalexis or acephalics. Many such effects were essential, defining features of Renaissance poetry (and not of prose); they pose fascinating problems for translators. Likewise, stanza-level effects connecting poetic momentum to content—derived from the handling of such things as the volta, the closural or epigrammatic couplet, or the refrain lines—are not involved at all in the creation and uptake of prose meaning, but they are crucial to poetic meaning.

Such elements of poetry raise the pseudo-problem of "impossibility" in translation, although it is not often termed that until the twentieth century. As Rhodes explains, the problem of rendering Latin quantitative meter in English generated much discussion (Rhodes 2013, 55–59). Renaissance translators were quite aware that different languages have differing resources to create such effects, but they also knew to seek what we now call "dynamic equivalence" (an equivalence of effect that will necessarily vary in its particular verbal means). Consider Surrey's experiments in translating the *Aeneid*: it was impossible for him to recreate Virgil's quantitative meters, but that was not for him (and should not be for us) any kind of stopping point. The unrhymed pentameter solution that Surrey found in translation established English blank verse as the main national line for serious poetry for the next 400 years. In this case, as in so many others, "impossibility," or rather, the translating poets' awareness of difference, was merely a stimulus to an expanded English poetic practice. Likewise, Campion's and Daniel's opposing views on rhyme grapple with the idiosyncrasies of English as compared with other languages (Vickers 1999).

Although the foundations of English Renaissance poetry are indubitably built from translations, the scintillating verbal acrobatics of at least one major French poetic movement, the *grands rhétoriqueurs*, did not survive in English. (The few experiments are anomalous.[8]) This notable absence has the long-term effect of redirecting English poetics away from some important continental poetic modes. The *rhétoriqueurs* were known for verbal experiments, such as *rime retrograd*e, anagrams, and acrostics; their intense verbal play was in part what the Pléïade movement reacted against so effectively. English poets had no such backboard against which to bounce a new poetics (as Ronsard tested his odes, for instance; so odes in England, quite unlike Ronsard's even when renovating the same classical model, took hold only much later and with a different genesis and impulse).

By the time of the great late-Elizabethan uptake of continental sonnets, a century or so of experiments in poetic translation had pretty much settled what was and was not going to work in English. No translated *rhétoriqueurs* had set an English taste for extreme verbal intricacies, and thus no wholesale rejection and retheorizing of poetry followed.[9] On the contrary, plenty of translated aphorisms had set an English epigrammatic habit; plenty of English *sixains* had developed the plainer habits of crossed-rhyme quatrains followed by couplet closure: the comfortable, French-borrowed form nicely trimmed and modernized the venerable English rhyme royal, and also prepared readers for the syllogistic motions of the English sonnet (three such quatrains plus a closural couplet). Such formal issues in translation reveal different literary topographies and spotlight differences between literary systems, and they show translation as a force multiplier in literary history. Thus author-to-author influence is only one factor in literary history: such broad, if indirect, means of change as we see in early modern "Englishing" involves the reconditioning of readerships and the expansion of literary habits and repertoires over time.

Notes

1 Latin and French were "vertical" for English, while Spanish and Dutch, for instance, were in more equal or "horizontal" relations; Stierle stresses that these relations change over time.

2 This is Schleiermacher's basic distinction, between the backward-looking and the forward-looking translator, "foreignizing" or "domesticating," but it took Venuti to expose the problem with it. See also Venuti's key distinction between hermeneutic and instrumentalist studies of translation (Venuti 2012).

3 The polyglot readerships of medieval England did not vanish; consider the many multilingual and foreign books read and owned in early modern England, or the persistence of macaronic verse (Trotter 2000; Wogan-Browne 2009; Coldiron 2015). But the *proportions* of languages and the broadening readership seem to have shifted in favor of English-language demand; the shift continued as increasing numbers of readers in England bought, read, and owned English(ed) books.

4 But see Barker and Hosington (2013, xviii), counting editions not lines, and including prose: 1154 French, 338 Italian. Poetry is particularly French-founded.

5 See Warren Boutcher, Ardis Butterfield, Danielle Clarke, Helen Cooper, Kathryn Gucer, Richard Hillman, Roger Kuin, Hassan Melehy, Ruth Morse, Karen Newman, Michael Saenger, Alan Stewart, Mihoko Suzuki, Michelle Warren, Michele Willems, Deanne Williams, and many new scholars in a swelling, franco-focused crowd.

6 Caxton's *Recuyell* epilogue, for example, begins conventionally, "Thus ende I this book whyche I haue translated after myn Auctor as nyghe as god hath gyuen me connyng." Yet he wants readers, including his patron, English-born Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, to make allowances for variation in translations: "Prayng her said grace and all them that shall rede this book not to desdaigne the symple and rude werke. … / *thauwh hyt acorde not vnto the translac{y}on of other whiche haue wreton hit / ffor dyuerce men haue made dyuerce bookes /whiche in all poyntes acorde not* (emphasis added).

7 See Burrow (1993) and Braden (2010).

8 Skeltonics could perhaps be seen as related to the *rhétoriqueurs*' short-line *rimes plates*; a few mnemonic and abecedarian poems, and some poems like Lydgate's macaronic phrasal acrostic "Salve Regina" or Copland's authorial acrostics, would qualify; seventeenth-century poet Mary Fage is a very late experimenter in this line.

9 Likewise, French verse farces, ragingly popular in verse and prose on the Continent, saw but one English translation, John Heywood's verse comedy *Jehan Jehan and Hys Wyf Tyb*. English drama was already heading in different directions by 1520, as drama scholars Suzanne Westfall and Kent Cartwright have shown. Other French poetic kinds such as topographical poems or odes only came later to England; Spenser's translations of French oneiric and chorographical poems in the *Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings* (1569) stretch English sonnet decorum, but the experiments in landscape-lyric sequences (*Ruines of Rome*; *Visions of Bellay*) do not take hold as well even after *Complaints* (1591). The related seventeenth-century country house poem had its own foreign engagements, largely yet to be explored.

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3
Instructive Nymphs: Andrew Marvell on Pedagogy and Puberty

Lynn Enterline

A gifted student with limited resources, Andrew Marvell was obliged to leave his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge to turn sometime tutor to make a living. Remarkable for his linguistic abilities, and increasingly well known for them among contemporaries, he was long acquainted with the curriculum and methods of humanist pedagogy, experiencing it from both sides of the teacher–student relationship. This essay explores several vivid connections between his lyric production and a few early modern pedagogical practices that between 1560 and 1640 became standard across England and which he would have encountered at Hull's grammar school (Smith 2010); the most important of these for this analysis of Marvell's distinctive forms of classicism are *imitatio*, *exempla*, and *florilegium*. Before I demonstrate how his lyrics revisit to interrogate these widespread school practices for Latin instruction, however, it is worth remembering that as a deeply learned poet, Marvell presses many ancient authors into service while engaging in the kinds of language games he first learned at school—and would likely have drawn upon in his work as a tutor. But, like Shakespeare before him, Marvell prefers to allude to or imitate Ovid above most other Roman writers in the standard grammar school curriculum. Their shared preference brings with it resonant questions about early modern English literature and culture: Ovid's style and "wit" granted him a central place in humanist pedagogy and therefore literary production. But his unruly erotic imagination met with considerable ambivalence and sometimes censorship. More important for this essay, Ovid's poetry allowed both writers to revisit and examine the institution in which they first encountered his work in provocative ways that link unconventional forms of sexuality to the favored linguistic forms and techniques of the Latin grammar school. The unusual fantasies about erotic life explored in the following pages are labile and often startlingly violent. And the continual relay in his lyrics between inventive, affective, and libidinal energy solicits further critical attention to the fact that it was during puberty that schoolboys first translated, memorized, and imitated Roman writers.

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As his readers know well, Marvell often draws on the intertwined narratives of Narcissus and Echo from the *Metamorphoses*. Both protagonists in this odd love story allow Marvell to follow Ovid's lead, probing the vicissitudes and costs of erotic life while at the same time exploring the power and limits of poetic, rhetorical, and linguistic invention.[1] From Damon's revisionary pastoral scythe turned mirror to the coy mistress's "instant fires"—which recall the erotic "fire" that liquefies Narcissus (*sic attenatus amore / liquitur et tecto paulatim carpitur igni*, 3.489–490) and also draw attention to the speaker's capacity for "echoing song"[2]—Marvell adapts this Ovidian couple so frequently that, as Paul Hammond observes, it became one of his "principal myths" about the domain of "sexuality" (Hammond 1996, 101). But, at the same time, Marvell also uses Ovid's nymph, Echo, to stress his own talent for *imitatio*, a skill initially honed at school and at which he clearly excelled. Indeed, he began his career as an echo by composing imitative verses in both Latin and Greek: his *Ad Regem Carolum Parodia*, for instance, appeared in a volume of other Greek and Latin poems written by fellow students at Cambridge to celebrate a royal birth. It closely imitates a Horatian ode (I.ii), and the Latin "*par-odia*" in the title signifies a "counter-song; a reply using very nearly the same words or phrases as the original."[3] In her capacity to name humanism's foundational literary practice as well as its distinctive platform for language training, Ovid's Echo allows Marvell to presume a ready-made coterie of similarly trained readers and writers and to remind them to attend to the slightest nuance of revisionary imitation. But as a figure in an unfortunate love story that stages only to displace heteronormative assumptions, Echo and Narcissus also allow Marvell room to underline—and, as I will argue, to contest—some of the Latin schoolroom's founding assumptions about masculinity and sexuality. Repeatedly interrogating the conventional terms of early modern masculinity, Marvell estranges the school's dream of a commonwealth improved by a distinctively homosocial network of similarly educated "gentlemen" trained for eloquence in "the father tongue."

Humanist modes of teaching and the school's disciplinary regime established the culturally specific habitus that informed the future poet's extraordinary verbal skills. Success at these early routines allowed Marvell to thrive as a university student, scrape together a living as a tutor when no other was available to him, and eventually to enter the office of John Thurloe, Secretary to the Council of State, as assistant to Milton as secretary of Foreign or Latin Tongues. Pierre Bourdieu defines *habitus* as practices that ensure the "active presence of the past" in individuals—a past that "tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similarly structured practices" (Bourdieu 1980, 54). But like Jacques Lacan's "Symbolic," *habitus* works at a level of abstraction that begs historical specificity. In this case, because the Latin schoolroom focused like a laser beam on inculcating rhetorical skill, it demands a precise *formal* account of the early "schemes of perception, thought, and action" bequeathed to its orators in the making. And so recent work on early modern pedagogy has moved from tracing literary allusion in relation to the curriculum—a form of source study based on archival evidence about which texts were available and when—to examining the daily exercises and disciplinary practices that shaped *how* schoolboys read, translated, memorized, and imitated the texts of the classical past. In other words, two pasts are at work in the texts of former schoolboys: one ancient, the other institutional and personal. Therefore some critics are beginning to ask how far these early practices impinged on future literary production as well as on

social relationships at school and beyond (see Stewart 1997; Rogerson 1998; Burrow 2004; Potter 2004; Dolven 2007; Enterline 2012).[4] Reading the poetry of former schoolboys in light of the school's language games and forms of discipline helps to expand what counts as the grammar school's archive; but it also allows us to develop a kind of "rhetorical anthropology" that is attuned to classicism's literary and social afterlife in early modern England.[5]

The result of such recursive reading back into institutional practice from the later poetic production of former schoolboys challenges several influential assumptions in early modern studies: first, that the grammar school fostered in its initiates, as Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine put it, "a properly docile attitude toward authority" (Grafton and Jardine 1986, xiv)—effectively producing, as schoolmasters said they would, subjects who believed unreservedly in upholding England's existing social distinctions and hierarchies; and second, that the school's training successfully instituted a rigid difference between male and female language, behavior, and feeling in its Latin-speaking gentlemen. In *Shakespeare's Schoolroom* (2012), I argued that some of Shakespeare's most convincing effects of character and emotion signal *resistance* as much as indebtedness to grammar school instruction. By contrast to the tendency to accept humanist claims about their success in cultivating respect for authority and precedent as well as a fixed gendered identity in their eloquent "gentlemen," I have taken the discursive and disciplinary practices of the school literally to show that we should be cautious about taking schoolmasters entirely at their word. The pages that follow trace the long shadow that the Latin schoolroom casts over Marvell's life and verse, demonstrating that he shared with Shakespeare and Marlowe a truculent kind of indebtedness to the cultural capital of the classical past; to the institution that claimed this debt would reap considerable personal and social benefit.[6]

As I trace the dynamic, malleable spectrum of gendered and sexual dispositions that arise when Marvell links the vicissitudes of *eros* to classically inflected tropes and poetic conceits, I keep two kinds of analysis in mind. The first leans backward to trace the historically specific details of Renaissance engagements with ancient rhetoric, particularly as inculcated in widespread pedagogical practice (with which Marvell was deeply familiar). And the second leans forward, relying on rhetoric's crucial place in psychoanalytic theory to outline several important ways that Marvell's "early modern" love lyrics anticipate some central tenets of psychoanalytic speculation. Rarely thought comfortable allies, these two approaches nevertheless have the potential to produce a powerful dialectic for inquiry and analysis: the first illuminates what is particularly "early modern" in Marvell's classically saturated fantasies about gender, sexuality, and poetic voice; the second poses feminist and queer questions about why Marvell's historically and institutionally situated experiments with ancient poetry develop into an aesthetics of pain in which pleasure—whether literary or sexual or both—links *eros* to weapons, wounds, and blood.

A number of psychoanalytic critics have traced something like "the failure of the paternal function" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poetry and drama: on this argument, Lacan's theory of a "phallic" symbolic order underscores the extent to which early modern authors represent a male/female binary distinction as a crude, reductive imposition of difference on speaking subjects.[7] That is, he makes the "iron brand" of the "Law of the Father" visible in its *cost* for individual subjects as well as in its failure to organize the polymorphous, shifting continuum of possible dispositions and desires.

The ubiquitous figure for the law in humanist grammar schools, of course, is just as brusque as Lacan's "Phallus": the master's rod or "birch." Found everywhere in school texts and anecdotes, the birch resurfaces in the literary texts of former schoolboys as none-too-subtle phallic figures for rhetorical power. Equations between sword and pen, or sword and tongue, allowed numerous humanist-trained writers to mark their vernacular output as powerful precisely because of their classically honed verbal skills (Enterline 2016b). Marvell is no exception; but his phallic weapons of choice for his own eloquence are not a sword or "poniard," but blades that prune and cut—particularly the scythe. As the next section shows, his "scythe," or its Latin equivalent, *falx*, is no more a sign of fixed male identity in Marvell's poetry than it is in Lacan's theory. Indeed, it emerges in an autobiographical lyric about the poet-as-Echo in a way that spectacularly fails to organize the continuum of gender and desire into a binary, stable distinction organized around father power.

The following readings draw on Harry Berger Jr.'s suggestion that we modify—or better yet, particularize—Lacan's abstract theory of "the Symbolic" by shifting focus to investigate the historically specific "language games," "ready made community practices," and particular "social texts" within which early modern poets, as well as their lyric *personae* and dramatic characters, represent themselves to themselves or to one another (Berger 1997, 151). As is already clear, the community practices and language games at issue in this essay are those instilled by Latin training in humanist grammar schools, the institution within which Marvell and his contemporaries acquired the rhetorical skill and knowledge of classical literature prominently on display in their vernacular texts. If we bring together these different perspectives on the formative ideological force of institutionally specific symbolic practices, we see that the gendered, highly eroticized, and frequently violent stories associated with rhetorical forms in Marvell's poetry derive much of their aesthetic and emotional force precisely when drawing attention to the poet's relationship to the classical past, the cornerstone of his early language training. At the same time, Marvell's rhetorically self-conscious classicism draws on dominant notions of gender only to highlight significant contradictions within ostensibly hegemonic categories of identity and desire. That is, when Marvell translates ancient rhetoric into poetic technique, he sheds light not merely on received hierarchies of gender embedded in the declared goals of early modern school training. Despite the blunt assertion of blades that "cut," "glance," "nip," "depopulate," and "massacre" across his lyrics, Marvell often puts the primacy—indeed, the moral force and gendered social efficacy—of "father power" in question. Indeed, his meta-rhetorical preoccupations frequently upend conventional assumptions (both modern and early modern) about what counts as "male" or "female." Instead, many of his lyrics pose a restless question—"what is the difference?"—or suggest other, more fluid dispositions and affective possibilities. Marvell's lyrical returns to the classical past, like Lacan's to Freud, suggest that a male/female binary distinction is a reductive social script to explain, historicize, and interpret, not assume. Or, to recast bodily difference as epicene continuum in the biblical passage from which Marvell's instruments for mowing, cutting, and pruning derive: "*all* flesh is grass and *all* its loveliness is *like the flower* of the field" (Isaiah 40:6, emphasis added).

Echo Repetita

Both Shakespeare and Marvell profited from Ovid's culturally prominent yet ambivalent position: each alludes to and/or imitates his poetry only to turn recognizably humanist modes of instruction into startling erotic fantasies that hardly comport with normative definitions of masculinity. These fantasies make it difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle rhetorical from libidinal power (and danger). Of course, the unsettling conjunction of rhetoric, sex, and violence in early modern revisions of Ovid can hardly surprise since his stories of violated "bodies changing into new forms" encourage such associations. But given the educational institution within which his work was transmitted to young Latin students, the marked tendency in the poetry and drama of former schoolboys to associate rhetorical technique and self-conscious classicism with polymorphous and violent depictions of sexuality cannot be laid exclusively at Ovid's door.

The most polemical and widespread of what Bourdieu might call the humanist school's "body language games" will let me pull at least one thread of the dense fabric that Marvell weaves when his lyrics bring together gender, desire, and violence with the tropes and figures of the classical past: *imitatio* and its related discipline, that of learning another language (and eventually eloquence) not by "rule" or "precept," but by copying particular "examples."[8] As Roger Ascham phrases this standard polemic, "surely one example is more valuable, both to good and ill, than twenty precepts written in books" (Ascham 1967, 55). Recently critics have been asking: What does it mean for the intersections among literary production, gender, and cultural capital that imitation was the backbone of the student–teacher relationship? That the demand for copying the example of others informed not only instruction in Latin grammar and rhetoric, but the school's social dynamics as well?[9] The following section compares *imitatio* as an interpersonal school dynamic to Marvell's portraits of two "nymphs": Maria Fairfax and Little T. C. But if we are to understand the difference it makes that Marvell turns to young girls when revisiting and interrogating the practices and goals of language teaching, it is perhaps best to begin with another nymph he borrows from the ancient past: Ovid's Echo. As a name for a story of erotic disappointment and a school language game, Echo allows Marvell to weave *imitatio* into poems that test the limits, and underline the price, of heterosexual desire.

Of course, Marvell never tires of invoking echo as a model or surrogate figure for his own voice. In "Upon Appleton House," "echo" is a verb for the kind of poetry to which the narrator aspires when he retires to the grove. There, "winged choirs" of birds open a taxonomy of kinds to which the speaker can compare his own "music": which sounds more pleasing, the nightingale's song (with an allusively saturated glance at Ovid's Philomela) or the stock dove's? Such ornithological choirs, we hear, "Echo about their tunèd fires" underneath the boughs of trees (511–512). In "To His Coy Mistress," the "marble vault" of his mistress's projected tomb will block "my echoing song" from her ears but not from ours, a sinister claim to literary permanence at the expense of her present which urges the implacable threat of time at the heart of the narrator's "amorous" case. But "my echoing song" also signifies the poem's own work as an exercise in *imitatio*—a kind of palimpsest Hammond calls a "dazzling … collage of the best bits of other people's poems"

(Hammond 2002, 224). As other critics notice, moreover, both these echoing poems probe the limits and costs of normative sexuality, "de-familiarizing the heterosexual" from what Diane Purkiss tellingly describes as Marvell's peculiar, "alien" perspective (Purkiss 2010, 70).

There are many ways to analyze the work Echo performs in the verse of a poet so adept at borrowing the words of others. But one cannot underestimate how closely her verbal predicament resembles the kind of language training that classicizing poets like Marvell experienced at school. After the "war between the grammarians," Erasmus's theory of language instruction through imitation prevailed for at least 150 years. In the text that by 1534 was standard across the country, Lily's *Grammar*, Dean Colet gives the most concise version of this new platform: "latyn speche was before the rules, not the rules before the latyn speche … besy imitacyon with tongue and penne, more auayleth shortly to get the true eloquent speche, than all the tradicions, rules, and precepts of maysters." This platform for cultivating "latyn speche" became so culturally recognizable that schoolboys were satirized as little more than mimicking "parrots" or "apes." In such a context, and particularly as a mode of training imbibed in early youth as a means to ensure social success, it is hardly surprising that Echo proved an expansive figure through which a former schoolboy might think about his own verbal skill. With respect to school social life, becoming a good echo would have been a crucial way to win regard from a master whose first lesson in Latin grammar depicted the student–teacher relationship in distinctly amatory terms—that is, the first lesson in the accusative case in Lily's *Latin Grammar* was *amo magistrum* ("I love the master"). Indeed, as Richard Halpern observes, many texts offer this Latin master to schoolboys as a beneficial mirror for their imitation, a relationship he describes as Lacan's "Imaginary grasped as practice" (Halpern 1991, 54).

But as readers of Marvell know, for every mirror there is also an echo, and both can be tricky. In "Damon the Mower," Narcissus seems to dominate the lyric, particularly when Damon uses his scythe as his own mirror. But Echo is still close by: Marvell's poem recalls lines from Theocritus, Virgil, and Petrarch (among others) and rather consciously marks this pastoral set piece apart from similar imitative experiments by Marlowe and Herrick.[10] When the mirror-turned-scythe turns against Damon, it strikes an "Achilles-like" blow to his ankle that may be "like the loss of virginity," but at the same time evokes "an eroticism that doesn't fit any known template or narrative" (Purkiss 2010, 75). Echo and the scythe emerge together again in "Upon an Eunuch: A Poet," once again estranging heterosexuality in the process of representing it. In this poem, Marvell invokes Echo alongside the scythe only to make it what Rosalie Colie (1970) might call an "unmetaphored" instrument for literary criticism (in this case, of pastoral). But rather than guarantee either pastoral or heroic masculinity, this scythe leads only to the poet's castration. Marvell showcases his talent for *imitatio* by echoing one of Martial's epigrams while at the same time interrogating the ostensible masculinity implicit in the act of demonstrating such skill in the "father tongue."

Nec sterilem te crede; licet, mulieribus exul,
Falcem virgineae nequeas immitere messi,
Et nostro peccare modo. Tibi Fama perennè
Praegnabit; rapiesque novem de monte sorores;
Et pariet modulos Echo repetita nepotes.

> Nor believe yourself sterile; though as an exile from women you are not able to thrust a scythe at the virgin harvest, or sin in our manner. By you, Fame will be continually pregnant; and you will snatch the nine sisters from the mountain, and Echo, repeatedly struck, will bear musical offspring. (Translation modified).

Ovid's nymph is a fitting figure for present purposes of imitating Martial, but she quickly allows Marvell to stake a larger claim on his future poetic career: *Et pariet modulos Echo repetita nepotes* ("And Echo, repeatedly struck, will give birth to musical offspring"). At the same time, the action of the scythe delineates his own transition, through poetry, from sexual to verbal potency. The poem's brief plot tells us that while the "thrust" of the narrator's "*falx*" may not work with women, he will be compensated for that failure by the pleasures of something I am at a loss describe as other than *poeto-philia*.

In the epigram's Roman precursor, Martial compares the pleasure a reader gets from his verse to that which a wife gets from a husband's "prick"; and he ends by begging readers not to censure his lewd jokes and thus "castrate" his poem because "nothing is more shameful to Priapus than a eunuch priest of Cebele" (I.35).[11] Likely aware of the association between a *falx* and Priapus in the *Georgics*, the *Aeneid*, Juvenal, and Tibullus,[12] Marvell evokes only to revise this epigrammatic self-portrait. He turns the joke and scythe on himself, claiming that his poetic power *derives* from castration. But contrary to expectation, castration leads not to impotence but renewed, Priapic aggression: in the final line, a cognate English pun ("repeat / *repetita*") recalls Echo's verbal quandary and power right alongside the Latin word for assault. *Repeto, -ere* suggests more than "to return to," because its root, *peto, -ere* also means "to strike, chase, hunt or pursue." And so Marvell's *Echo repetita* carries within it the sense that "Echo" will be attacked, struck, and/or hunted over and over. The bilingual pun suggests that the poet will engender "tuneful offspring" through *imitatio* equivalent to the violent blow from a *falx* that is rape. Only a former grammar schoolboy "trained up" during puberty to excel in the art of classical *imitatio* to win social approval and a master's "love" would compose a Latin poem to underscore his own allusive, echoing activity by equating such revisionary verbal work with forcible sex—if not with women, then with words.[13]

Whether or not this unpublished poem was written in response to contemporary satire,[14] the least one might say is that the choice to depict his own fame as the effect of castration is an odd way to revisit Martial's bawdy, hyper-masculinity. Of course, Marvell preserves the flavor of Martial's sexual vigor: starting with his own inability to "thrust" his scythe, the speaker ends with a hyperbolic fantasy of repeated verbal attack. If as *mulieribus exul* ("an exile from women") the narrator cannot use his tool on "the virgin harvest," he will be compensated with the ability to "carry off" the nine muses, keep Fame perennially pregnant, and repeatedly "strike" Echo to produced "offspring." Read in a humanist context, this fiction and performance of Latinate verbal power engenders questions without obvious answers. Is Echo following in the footsteps of Daphne and Syrinx in "The Garden," becoming merely another in a long line of Ovidian victims of *amor*? Or is this nymph the very principal, or voice, through which her "lover/rapist" may speak? The disconcerting shift from castration to a revitalized, violent sexual drive produces a fantasy as labile as it is energetic. Indeed, its gender bending resembles what Freud describes as the "polymorphously perverse" strand of infantile sexuality. It also captures the kind of fluctuation

between auto-aggression and hetero-aggression he associates with the earliest moments of psychic life, in which an as yet helpless infant struggles with the assaults of material exigency.[15] The two-sizes-fit-all model of hetero-normative gender identity and desire cannot begin to grasp the changing libidinal contours of such a poem.

Historically speaking, the grammar school declared itself to be in the business of sorting out gender fluidity with the verbal equivalent of breeching—producing "gentlemen" whose skill in "the father tongue" could be put to good use in the commonwealth. But as *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* and a Latin epigram like "Upon an Eunuch: A Poet" suggest, the gender indifference of infancy and early puberty may well persist into adult life. In this poem, Echo does to the speaker's gender what she does more generally: "complicating" the very "relations [she] posits" (Loxley 2010, 21). Most important here: Marvell's self-representation as a poet capable of winning "fame" moves from the institutionally resonant act of Latin *imitatio* to a fantasy about an echoing voice that gains phallic potency insofar as it flirts with epicene indifference. The indeterminate quality of Marvell's favorite figure for his work as a poet pulls against the grain of what some call the "male puberty rite" of the Latin grammar school (see Ong 1959), destabilizing the distinct identity categories for gender and desire schoolmasters declared themselves to be in the business of creating.

Untimely Love or "Spare the Buds"

The versions of Narcissus and Echo just surveyed offer the scythe as a startling, "unmetaphored" figure for love's power to "wound"—a wound inflicted in a pitched battle between sexuality, representation, and time. And time, of course, is one of Marvell's great topics: rather than imitate Petrarch's present iterative, Marvell's speakers "reckon" time/thyme "with herbs and flowers" ("The Garden"); conjure emblems to transcend time ("In a field sable, a lover gules"; and "Death thou art a mower too"); or call on time just to shake a fist ("though we cannot make our sun / Stand still, yet we will make him run"). Whether an echo in the tomb or a practice by which the poet can keep "fame" pregnant year after year, Ovid's Echo prompts Marvell to think long and hard about time, about the connections between the classical past, his own poetic future, and the "untimely" aspects of erotic life.[16] In this area of Marvell's lyric investigations, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* provided some inspiration: in the poem's final lines, it is only by turning future readers into echoes, repeating his poem on their "lips" (*ore legar populi*), that Ovid claims he will survive "the gnawing tooth of time" (*edax … vetustas*) and achieve, like Marvell's eunuch poet, a kind of "perennial" stature (*parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis / astra ferar*).

But Marvell pushes beyond this ancient picture of a poet's war on oblivion by adding one further time frame for consideration: school-time. In "Upon Appleton House" and "The Picture of Little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers," Marvell recasts this ancient topos—the poem as epitaph, stele, or monument able to withstand time—in distinctly pedagogical and erotic terms. In these two scenes of instruction, Marvell casts an eye toward a vexing temporal dilemma former grammar schoolboys could not help but associate with the ancient past: the "not-yet" of puberty. In both poems, Marvell watches a young girl engage in humanist pedagogical practices, evoking a sense of "simplicity," "purity," and

"youth" by contrast with the imminent threat of adult sexuality (marriage for Maria Fairfax; "wanton love" for Little T. C.). Maria, much like the poem's narrator and her real-life tutor, spends her "studious hours" in the gardens of Nun Appleton House consulting the book of nature. And in her case, as in T. C.'s, she spends those hours teaching nature a lesson. On the one hand, the narrator engages in a nostalgic return to puberty, watching the "pure," "young," "spotless," and "virgin" Maria as she walks; on the other, he gives a proleptic glimpse of the end of innocence, when "the priest shall cut the sacred bud" of virginity in marriage (742). The swift, untimely movement between analepsis and prolepsis during Maria's evening lesson defines hers as a state of specifically *sexual* innocence, and does so by stressing how precious it is precisely because "the sacred bud" will soon be lost to the ineluctable call of her family's genealogical "destiny."

In the last section I argued that, far from reinforcing masculine identity or normative heterosexuality, Marvell's phallic scythe calls into question the school's binary definition of what counts as an eloquent "gentleman," producing instead epicene glimpses of gender and desire in poems where "echoing" voices are better understood according to a logic of neither-nor or both-and. Perhaps I should add here that from the point of view of humanist Latinity, which laid the groundwork for the explosion of rhetorical practice, theory, and experimentation in the period, English was not an inflected language. This meant that to Marvell and other former schoolboys, "English nouns are nearly all *de facto* epicene terms, of a common gender that cannot be distinguished as either male or female" (Mann 2012, 226).[17] The figures of Maria and Little T. C. further the call of the epicene, unraveling difference in pastoral fantasies tinged with the strong flavor of humanist Latin training. Maria instructs by offering herself as a personal *exemplum* for nature's imitation; and Little T. C. follows in the footsteps of many a schoolmaster, engaged in literal *florilegium*—gathering of the "best flowers of speech" in a book to serve as examples for future imitation. Once the schoolmaster Nicholas Udall published his *Floures for Latine speakying selected and gathered out of Terence …. Verie profitable and necessary for the expedite knowlage in the latine tongue* (1544), the association between "flowers" and gathering quotations for commonplace books became a familiar metaphor rooted in schoolroom practice, turning ancient poetry into "gardens" for teachers and students to prune for their own benefit. Another schoolmaster, Henry Peacham, declares that his handbook of gathered rhetorical tropes, *The Garden of Eloquence*, is a collection "conteining the most excellent Ornaments, Exornations, Lightes, Flowers and Forms of speech, commonly called the Figures of Rhetorike" (1593). And yet, by contrast with contemporary expectations about teaching conducted by offering oneself as an example for imitation, or language lessons as instruction in how to collect the best flowers from ancient gardens, Marvell engages with the ideology of contemporary pedagogy by way of teachers who are, after all, not men or even boys, but little girls.

The first, guiding principle for cultivating the verbal *copia* was constant practice in imitating exemplary models. But with respect to Maria's mode of instruction, it is important to remember that these models were *human* as well as textual. For instance, Juan Luis Vives depicts ideal teaching as an interpersonal exchange in which schoolboys are enjoined to imitate their Latin *magister* assiduously: "Listen to him intently—to his words, his forms of speech, note down his opinions, and by imitation make yourself as far as possible like him. Because when the teacher shall see this he will take pains that you will not take from

him anything not worthy of imitation" (Vives 1912, 242–243). In Vives's conception, teaching is a feedback loop for social improvement: a student mimics a teacher's verbal, cognitive, and moral example and the teacher, observing how closely he is being observed, molds his language and conduct according to the student's gaze and their shared educational project. Here the master offers a verbal mirror for his schoolboy subjects. But in formulations in other school archives, he provides a visual one as well. As a matter of institutional regulation, school ordinances regularly follow the lead of pedagogical theory, detailing the kinds of moral "examples" a teacher should allow his students to see in his everyday personal life. Whether in the form of a pupil "following" his schoolmaster, a *praeceptor* the master's surrogate (a *monitor*), or lower-form boys the "first" boys in upper forms, the concept and practice of imitating examples saturated personal and social relations of humanist pedagogy as much as it did Latin language lessons.[18]

Just before her entrance, Maria's narrator is also engaged in a pedagogical relationship with the landscape: he retires from the flood to pursue his "studies" of "Nature's mystic book." These studies transform him into an "easy philosopher" able to converse with "birds and trees" because he has begun "to call / In their most learned original" (71–72). His language lesson results in a series of figures that nearly blend the speaker into the landscape, dissolving the difference between human and vegetal life (i.e., "Abandoning my lazy side, / Stretched as a bank unto the tide" [81], or more famously, "I was but an inverted tree" [71]). But he concludes his own studies by putting away his "utensils" and imagining his then pupil, the 13-year-old Maria Fairfax, as a "nymph" who also "leads her studious hours" among "fields, springs, bushes, flowers" (746–747). At first it seems that both Maria and her narrator are nature's students. But Marvell soon turns this utopian pastoral scene into an idealized tutorial in which the girl becomes more than student: she emerges as the landscape's *magister*, reversing the master–student hierarchy of their real-life experience. Indeed, Maria's walk turns into a project of beneficial reform worthy of early modern England's "culture of teaching."[19] "She straightness on the woods bestows / To her the meadow sweetness owes" (691–692); and though once "loose," now Nature "recollects" itself "in respect to her."

The standard platform about the Latin schoolroom's ability to "mend" and "reform" young "beasts" into gentlemen by way of an imitative teacher–student bond is epitomized in the mirroring interaction between the magisterial nymph and "the gardens, woods, meads, and rivers" improved by her example: "Nothing could make the river be / So crystal-pure but only she" (695–696). Never one to limit the *mise en abyme* that characterizes Ovid's story of verbal and visual doubles, Marvell turns the mimicking interaction between nymph and woods, teacher and pupil, into yet another mirror:

> Therefore what first she on them spent,
> They gratefully again present:
> The meadow carpets where to tread;
> The garden flowers to crown her head;
> And for a glass the limpid brook,
> Where she may all her beauties look;
> But, since she would not have them seen,
> The wood about her draws a screen. (87)

As the poem moves from the narrator's Echo (511) to Maria's Narcissus, Marvell indulges in what his biographer, Nigel Smith, aptly calls his talent for turning "chameleon" (Smith 2010). Her "studious hours" do to Maria what the narrator's studies did to him: both human forms disappear into the landscape so thoroughly that one cannot be sure which is the subject and which the object of study.

The scene raises a further chameleon question with respect to Marvell's own position at Nun Appleton: who is the teacher, who the student? Beyond offering herself up as an example for nature's reform, however, Maria's studious hours resemble her narrator's in another, deeply humanist way. Marvell admires his own student's ability "to converse / In all the languages as hers" just as he himself had proved adept at the humanist *desideratum* of linguistic facility (707–708). Maria's singular verbal ability, "heaven's dialect," recalls the talent of her real-life tutor, but it also recalls that of the poem's easy philosopher, since learning to "call" in nature's "most learned original" language means that he partakes in the occult tradition of Adamic name-giving. In that earlier lesson in the woods, classical and biblical allusions form a complex "mosaic" of "What Rome, Greece, Palestine ere said" (582). So, too, does Maria's "heavenly" verbal facility prompt a dizzying array of cultural and temporal changes. Glimpsed just before her destined entry into the bonds of marriage, her lesson is defined in relation to several incommensurate historical moments: the narrator compares her skill to the classical Golden Age, where the earth spontaneously offers her its flowers; to a prelapsarian, Edenic state before the tower of Babel (the catastrophic birth of "all the languages" defined by "noise" rather than "wisdom" [89]); to an ancient materialist vision of chaos ("a rude heap together hurled" [96]); and finally, to an apocalyptic vision of nature at the end of days, "wholly vitrified" (688).[20] Whatever "dialect" she speaks, Maria and her "heavenly" tongue are defined by juxtaposed temporalities that abstract her from any particular moment whatsoever. At the same time, this language lesson merges teacher and student as much as it does biblical, classical, and apocalyptic moments. If the difference between girl and garden starts to disappear in the fading light of evening and mirroring *imitatio*, so the fantasy of the eloquence Maria shares with her narrator—learned, original, and heavenly—makes it hard to see where the language teacher ends and the speaking student begins.

In her turn as instructive nymph, Little T. C. also mimics the narrator of "Upon Appleton House": where he once began "to call" in an "original" tongue, she too resembles Adam, giving "names" to flowers. But like any good Latin teacher, she starts to "gather" them in a *florilegium* made literal (35). As in the case of Maria Fairfax's lesson, we view T. C.'s Edenic language games from an adult narrator's point of view; the speaker's fallen perspective—"let me be laid / Where I may see thy glories from some shade" (23–24)—throws T. C.'s as yet still Edenic present into relief. She opens the poem in "golden" "simplicity," before "wanton love" obtrudes, engaged in the prelapsarian act of giving names to the natural world. But this Edenic figure also resembles a teacher in a humanist mode, embodying the school's claim that language instruction is a tool for social improvement: like the lesson Maria teaches to the woods and meads, T. C.'s name-calling "tames" the flowers and allows her to "reform the errors of the spring" (1–9).

Where Maria's narrator brings multiple time frames together to bring about an apocalyptic vision of nature "vitrified," this "picture" of Little T. C. improving nature by naming it relies on competing, incommensurate depictions of time—achieved through

the stark difference between the girl's understanding and her narrator's. His erotic lessons are ones she has yet to learn and are literalized (as in "Damon the Mower") in future wounds soon to be created by a too-sharp erotic "glance."[21] The story about "wanton love" he tells is one that this nymph, like Maria, cannot yet grasp. The imminent danger of adult sexuality emerges in the narrator's verb for his prophecy:

> Let me *in time compound*
> And parley with those conq'ring eyes
> Ere they have tried their force to wound
> Ere, with their glancing wheels they drive
> In triumph over hearts that strive,
> And them that yield but more despise
> (17–20, emphasis added)

"In time compound" pulls in at least two directions. On the one hand, the etymological tenor of the Latin *compondere*, "to put together, to join" draws attention to the narrator's procedures as he brings multiple, erotically disjunct times together in one lyric. The poem's temporal markers shift from present tense, retrospectively glimpsed, to foretold future, to present warning, and, eventually, a universalizing "example" that takes the nymph (like Damon) out of time "quickly" and altogether: "See … begins … Who can fortell … one day … Ere … Ere … Meantimes … Quickly make th' example yours." Endangered and evanescent, puberty emerges in the midst of a familiar language game that turns T. C.'s present pleasure into an already doomed future (or perhaps past?). But as Smith points out, Interregnum usage means that "In time compound" also suggests a payment for "an offense or injury" made just in time (2010, 114). And of course, the poem ends by warning T. C. against a hypothetical "crime." The narrator's desire to be laid safely in the shade before it is too late at first suggests the speaker is at risk (along with other men). But "compound," as a metapoetic marker, prompts the question: who is the injured party, who the offender? Is the guilt T. C.'s, as a soon-to-be beloved with "glancing" eyes that "wound"? Or is it the narrator's for writing a poem that "foretells," and thus stains, youthful "simplicity" with glimpses of its "wanton" future?

Perhaps the crime is simply the act of comparing a young girl to a flower—turning her from a subject capable of gathering exemplary flowers into a rhetorical object lesson, into another flower at risk of being nipped in the bud. Here too she resembles Maria, whose flower

> On the Fairfacian oak does grow;
> Whence, for some universal good,
> The priest shall cut the sacred bud;
> While her glad parents most rejoice,
> And make their destiny their choice
> (stanza 93)

The tone is not quite as ominous in Maria's case because Nun Appleton's narrator works to endorse the demands of Fairfacian genealogy. Still, the irony of making destiny a "choice" remains. But for Little T. C., the threat of future sexuality is more grave, in part because

its power to harm stems from a school exercise that turns against the one who practices it. Should her flower gathering go ill, T. C. will no longer instruct by "example" but will become the lesson itself:

> But O young beauty of the woods,
> Whom nature courts with fruit and flowers,
> Gather the flowers, but spare the buds;
> Lest Flora angry at thy *crime*,
> To kill her infants in their prime,
> Do quickly make *th'example* yours;
> And, ere we see,
> Nip in the blossom all our hopes and thee
> (stanza 5, emphasis added)

T. C. is not yet guilty—hence the warning—but her "infancy" risks being culled as an instructive "example" by Flora, if her youthful *florilegium* culls too early or too deep. In addressing the final warning to T. C. directly—"O young beauty of the woods"—is the narrator not violating the very innocence he praised in the first stanza? Or, to put the problem in another way: who is the audience for this instructive example?

From the countless *carpe diem* appeals available, this stanza most closely echoes a few lines from Ovid's story of Vertumnus and Pomona in *Metamorphoses* Book 14. This erotic *suasoria* supersedes others for several reasons best understood not simply as a matter of allusion, but as an index of how closely Marvell's classicism is associated with the early training that made it possible. Pomona is an active "wood nymph" (a *hamadryad*) equipped with a scythe of her own. Wielding a gardener's *falx*, she ignores Priapus's tool (14.640) and spends all her time cutting back too "luxuriant" (*luxuriem*) growth in her orchards and gardens. Ovid twice calls her "skill" and "devotion" to her orchards a "*studium*," a noun that covers a variety of meanings, ranging from "enthusiasm, ardour, desire, and fancy" to "intellectual activity, especially of a literary kind; study."[22] When it comes to her gardens, Pomona is "more studious" than all other nymphs (*nec fuit arborei studiosior altera*, 625). Later, a telling apposition again links Pomona's love of vegetal life with literary study: "Hic amor, hoc studium, *Veneris quoque nulla cupido est*" (634, emphasis added), ("This is her love, this her study, and she had no longing for desire"). Read in the context of the educational institution that linked the Latin "master" with "love" while teaching boys to translate, memorize, and imitate texts like this one, Pomona's garden carries pedagogical as much as literary weight, fending off heterosexual engagement with the "study" of cultivating plants. At the same time, as *falx*-wielding nymph, Pomona is a category crisis for the conventions of gender difference. As such, her story offers an exemplary model for both the poet and Little T. C. That is, Pomona's *studium* may presage the narrator's activities in "The Garden": she shuns heterosexuality by pruning trees and vines for their own sake; when he "wounds" trees, it is to carve their "own" names in the bark rather than that of a mistress. But Pomona also presages the figure of Little T. C. in her garden, particularly with respect to the danger of future wounding "glances": fearing aggression, Pomona "encloses herself in an orchard, denies an entrance, and flees men" (*vim tamen agrestum metuens pomaria claudit / intus et accessus prohibet refugitque virile*, 635–636). Precedent for both the girl and Marvell's narrator, at least with respect to her distrust of sexuality, Pomona

fears dangers of which T. C. is as yet ignorant; and because she knows what the narrator knows, Pomona seeks refuge to achieve what the poem's first stanza describes as a golden age of prepubescent "simplicity" among the flowers.

Two other aspects of Ovid's story would likely speak volumes to a student trained in a Latin grammar school. First, Vertumnus urges Pomona to love him by learning a lesson from nature; and he chides her for refusing to cling to his "tree" by imitating "the example" of the "vine married to it" (*tu tamen* exemplo *non tangeris arboris huius*, 667, emphasis added). Embedded in this version of *carpe diem* is that key word for humanist pedagogical practice—*exemplum*—which Marvell turns to ominous purpose: "Lest Flora … Do quickly make *th'example* yours." And second, Marvell repurposes several of Ovid's own "unmetaphored" images for sexuality in this story—fruit, garden, tree, vine, scythe—exploiting two distinct orders of meaning as the key to such fears. Vertumnus urges a sexual lesson by metaphor, but Pomona sticks to the literal tenor of gardening, studiously loving plants for their own sake. But in "A Picture of Little T. C.," Marvell frames Pomona's literalism within the humanist metaphor of culling the "flowers" of rhetoric in a compendium of instructive *exempla*. This institutional frame draws attention to the aggression implicit in both Ovid's and the school's floral metaphors—that is, to the violence of bringing a second order of intelligibility to bear in a lesson addressed to those like T. C. who are not yet ready to decipher such meanings. The poem's closing, ominous prediction that Flora might nip her in the blossom as an example draws attention to two aspects of school practice which Jeff Dolven has persuasively traced in his study of humanist instruction. First, he demonstrates how frequently former schoolboys cast a suspicious eye on exemplarity: as Dolven puts it, poets show a keen awareness that "making an example of someone … comes specifically at the example's expense." And second, "there is a pressure, in humanist examples, out of story; out of time, into universals" (Dolven 2007, 147, 151).[23] Marvell articulates both these reservations about contemporary instruction in his final warning to T. C.: she stands on the brink not only of wanton love, but of being lifted from her own time to become a universal lesson from which one is to learn that the too zealous practice of gathering the "flowers of rhetoric" is a "crime." If there is a crime in this poem, whose is it—T. C.'s or the poet's? Or are they complicit?

There is yet one more way to think about the danger lurking in Marvell's version of school-time. The overlap between before and after, childhood and "wanton" love, simplicity and sexual knowledge defines puberty in a way that is reminiscent of what Freud calls the "presexually sexual": the poem presents a scene in which adult sexual meanings are present, but they are *not yet available for the subject*.[24] The speaker's and the reader's knowledge, gleaned from T. C.'s "example," comes at her expense: sexual meanings available to us are not yet available to her. For Marvell and fellow Latinists, such a duplicitous split in meaning always lurked in the language of flowers. Changed from language teacher to poem's instructive *exemplum*, T. C. is both trapped and reified by a language lesson. The very flowers she names, "reforms," and "tames" in the lyric present (and prelapsarian past) return as an "angry" adult goddess, Flora, who may yet make T. C. a lesson about the punishment lying in wait for an erotic crime she has not yet committed. By poem's end, the young language teacher no longer improves her pupils by naming them, nor gathers a *florilegium* of ancient examples for future use. Instead, she is a negative *exemplum* herself in a way that abstracts her from her garden schoolroom and, like Marvell's many concluding emblems, from time.

Critics no doubt will continue to wrangle about how to read such pre-sexually sexual figures as Maria and Little T. C. Is Marvell's evidently fallen adult narrator—former schoolboy turned Latin tutor—much more than a voyeur? Or does he see something of himself in these adolescent teachers at the moment just before their buds are cut? The moments of gender indifference I've been tracing should make it clear that I incline toward the second view. Diane Purkiss calls these figures "green girls," arguing that rather than "tainted by pedophilia," the figure of a young girl "at the brink of an adult world understood as perilous" is significant in Marvell's lyric and psychic universe as a revenant, an echo of "a phase of masculinity … associatively linked with childhood … located in the feminine world" (Purkiss 2010, 80). Purkiss also traces the sense of peril surrounding these girls to early modern practices that separated young boys from the female world: breeching, attending the all-male grammar school. I would press this association further still, suggesting that Marvell's rhetorical choices and self-conscious Latinity are evidential traces of a grammar school habitus—which means his "feminine" associations have a distinctive formal register and are woven into his forms of classicism. Marvell's nostalgic identification with instructive nymphs bears the marks of a poet in the process of probing, interrogating, and estranging the culturally significant distinction between a "mother" and a "father" tongue as well as the institutionally significant associations among "*magister,*" "*studium*," and "*amor*." Further, the temporal complexity of both pedagogical garden scenes—the not-yet of puberty's "simplicity" grasped under the shadow of "wanton love"—make early language lessons visible precisely *because* they are subject to the work of "retrospective action" (*Nachtraglichkeit*). Temporal dislocation is a form of making visible that also defamiliarizes conventional narratives of heterosexuality. Finally, I've stressed the association between Latinity, blades, and wounds throughout this piece precisely because the trauma of heterosexuality in Marvell's verse reminds us that learning Latin at school took place under a disciplinary regime. The association between Latin, love, and phallic blades that cut and wound recalls the threat of punishment (or derision and loss of love) that was part of the school habitus and buried within his considerable linguistic skill.

Both Maria and Little T. C. are engaged in precisely the kind of classicizing language games their narrator knew well—and knew from both sides of the student–teacher relationship. Marvell's double perspective on the costs of a Latin education suggests that it is significant that his adult engagement with school texts and rhetorical techniques occurs so often in the language of flowers and nymphs—that is, unleashes memories of a time when gendered sexual meanings may well have been present, but not yet for "him." Reading these floral lessons in light of the pedagogical practices of *imitatio*, *exemplum*, and *florilegia* that made them possible, one sees that Marvell's nymphs are posing difficult questions about gender and language instruction: Where does the teacher end and the student begin? Whose "crime" is being traced when a poet draws on school practice to depict the not-yet world of heterosexuality as pruning, cutting, nipping, and glancing?

As figures for untimely love, Marvell's nymphs draw on contemporary Latin instruction only to call the certainties of humanist teleology into question, interrogating the school's announced end game of reproducing masculine identity by taking time to watch the classicizing games of pubescent girls. Adult sexuality looms in the figure of an endangered garden, bud, or flower. But that imminent threat may be less an index of adult "male" fantasy than unresolved shards of memory from the narrator's own school time—a brief

return to the not-yet of gendered identity as well as to the strict institutional discipline through which so many adolescent boys passed during their training in the formal techniques of ancient rhetoric. The school's disciplinary regime ensured that in the minds of many former schoolboys there would be a permanent association between Latin, *eros*, and violence. Marvell's endangered nymphs—Echo, Pomona, Maria, Little T. C.—participate in the kinds of teaching and daily practices that gave their narrator his verbal skill. What is most instructive about them is their ability to reveal an ongoing identification between tutor and student—a persistent bond that produces epicene fantasies about what love might have looked and sounded like before the "fall" into adult narratives of time, gender, and heterosexuality.

Notes

1 For a full account of Ovid's influential habit of joining linguistic self-reflection to a "polymorphously perverse" array of erotic fantasies, see Enterline (2000, chs. 1 and 2).

2 Arthur Golding renders this couplet, "Even so by piecemeal being spent and wasted through desire / Did he consume and *melt away with Cupid's sweet fire*" (emphasis added); see Golding (1567).

3 Smith (2003, 5), quoting the definition of *parodia* from the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. All citations are from Smith's edition.

4 See also Weaver (2011), though his approach to the associations among masculinity, puberty, and temporality differ from mine.

5 This is Joel Altman's evocative phrase for the kind of method solicited by English rhetorical culture; see Altman (2010).

6 For a detailed discussion of Marlowe's distinctive mode of engaging with Latin pedagogy in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, see Enterline (2015); and in *Hero and Leander*, see Enterline (2016a). For a different reading of *Hero and Leander* that similarly roots the poem's rhetorical exuberance in grammar school training, see Weaver (2011).

7 For a larger argument about the way in which ostensibly phallic instruments turn to epicene uncertainty in the poetry of former humanist schoolboys, see Enterline (2016b).

8 In the readings of *exempla* that follow, I draw on Jeff Dolven's nuanced discussion of the paradoxes implicit in the humanist preference for exemplarity (which he explores in relation to romance rather than lyric); see Dolven (2007).

9 Richard Halpern was the first to call for an expanded view of humanist imitation; see Halpern (1991). For an outline of the myriad ways school exercises and texts figure this founding pedagogical principle, see Enterline (2012). Numerous anecdotes about the master's birch tellingly indicate how often discipline made the punished boy a negative *exemplum* for the others.

10 See Smith (2003) for a full survey of these echoes. He points out that Damon's gifts are "simple and wholesome" by comparison with the artificial gifts offered in "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love" and the "swains in Herrick's *Hesperides*."

11 Epigram I.35 (Smith's translation; see Smith 2003, 187).

12 See Virgil, *Georgics* 4.110; *Aeneid* 7.635; Juvenal 13.39; Tibullus 1.1.18.

13 See Virgil, *Georgics* 4.110; *Aeneid* 7.635; Juvenal 13.39; Tibullus 1.1.18.

14 See Hammond (1996) on the attacks that *may* have prompted the poem.

15 For his discussion of these models for psychic life, see Freud (1905, 1920).

16 I borrow Gil Harris's apt figure for the new perspective psychoanalytic theory's reflections on time bring to models of "temporal propriety" informing much historicist criticism; see Harris (2011).

17 Mann (2012) argues that early modern vernacular rhetorical manuals illuminate the boundary anxieties implicit in the desire to elevate English eloquence to a level that would rival the classical past. The perceived limitations of English with respect to Latin—a language dependent on word order rather than inflection and with only minor distinctions of gender—mean that certain tropes (like *hyperbaton* and *enallage*) are untranslatable. As Mann points out, writers of rhetorical manuals as well as drama and poetry attempted to translate such tropes anyway, with fascinating results for representations of gender and sexuality.

18 For the archival evidence about *imitatio* in daily practice, see Enterline (2012, ch. 2).

19 I borrow Rebecca Bushnell's apt phrase; see Bushnell (1996).

20 Smith points out that the sea's "vitrification" comes from Revelations and appeared also in seventeenth-century millenarian treatises as a figure for the end of times.

21 Smith reminds readers of a similar, bilingual association behind the link between eyes and cutting weapons in "An Horatian Ode" and "Damon the Mower," noting that Marvell is likely drawing on the noun *acies, -ei*, meaning both "sharp edge, blade" and "sharpness of vision," "glance or line of sight."

22 *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, definitions 1, 2, and 7.

23 Dolven explores the "vertical" pressure *exempla* exert in romance, suggesting that the horizontal movement of romance error performs a critique of humanist forms of learning by *formulae*, *sententiae*, and maxim at the expense of lived experience. I suggest Marvell is doing something similar by pushing lyric time in unexpected directions while examining the limits (and potential violence) of exemplarity as a mode of instruction.

24 The best account of the way retrospection disrupts normative, teleological models of sexual development remains Jean Laplanche's discussion of Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* in Laplanche (1985).

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RELIGIONS AND REFORMATIONS

4

Poetry and Sacrament in the English Renaissance

Gary Kuchar

In the dedication to the temple in 1 Kings 8, King Solomon asks God to give special heed to those who "pray towards" the newly constructed edifice. In doing so, he raises one of the basic aesthetic questions posed by scripture: how does one experience God through human artifacts without devolving into idolatry? This is the problem George Herbert addresses at the opening of "The Temper" (Herbert 2007) when his speaker cries:

> How should I praise thee, Lord! how should my rymes
> Gladly engrave thy love in steel,
> If what my soul doth feel sometimes,
> My soul might ever feel! (1–4)

The desire to "engrave" God's love subtly betrays the speaker's fear that poetry might deaden rather than convey divine mystery, a point that is affirmed later in the poem when he worries that the world is a "grave too big for me" (12). At stake here is the newly vital issue of how religious poets can communicate God's living presence within the relative stasis of a contrived human artifact.

One of the ways English Renaissance poets addressed this challenge was by associating poetic expression with the Church's sacraments, especially the Eucharist or Lord's Supper. The basic hope was that just as the Holy Communion makes Christ present to believers through the material signs of the liturgy, so the religious poet, *mutatis mutandis*, makes Him present to readers through the medium of verse. This association had the advantage of endowing poetry with some of the power and fascination invested in the Church's central liturgical rite. At the same time, however, it placed poetry in the midst of one of period's fiercest controversies. In the course of the Reformation, debates about the Eucharist violently divided European communities from one another. These events led Thomas

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Cranmer, one of the leading architects of the English Reformation, to observe that "The sacrament which was ordained to make love and concord, is turned into the occasion of variance and discord" (Cranmer 1965, 65). Yet if eucharistic discord upturned Christian fellowship in early modern England, it nevertheless helped engender something of a revolution in lyric poetry, especially devotional verse. Rather than diminishing the vitality of English Renaissance religious poetry, eucharistic controversy often helped artistically and spiritually foster it. In particular, the Eucharist provided poets with an authoritative way of articulating how poetic language both refers and reveals, how it simultaneously means things even as it does things.

Incarnation, Sacrament, Controversy

Behind Reformation debates about the Eucharist is the shared Christian belief that at a particular time and place "God placed Himself in the order of signs" (de la Taille, cited in Jones 1959, 179). In the late medieval Mass, this belief took literal form through the doctrine of transubstantiation—the idea that Christ becomes physically present upon the priest's words of consecration. According to this late medieval belief, the accidents or outward appearances of the eucharistic elements remain present even after the bread and wine have been substantially transformed into the body and blood of the incarnate God. Sixteenth-century Protestants attacked various aspects of this doctrine along with the larger ecclesiastical system it supported. Out of these controversies there emerged a range of different views of eucharistic presence. Importantly, many of these beliefs were defined not only through bare statements of doctrine but also through more subtle styles of expression, particular uses of theological idioms, and calculated forms of silence and ambiguity. As a result, summarizing religious doctrines involves an element of necessary distortion. Nevertheless, we can broadly distinguish between the Lutheran and reformed views that helped shape the range of eucharistic ideas, practices, and idioms characteristic of sixteenth-century Protestant culture.

In the relatively conservative Lutheran tradition, the idea of Christ's Real Presence is maintained in the belief that his body is corporally and substantially present in the Eucharist alongside, rather than in lieu of, the elements of bread and wine. According to the principle of consubstantiation, Christ's corporeality is not restricted to the laws of nature in the way human corporality is and it can thus be present in different modes at all times and places, including the Eucharist. This strong Lutheran emphasis on the literal presence of Christ through a principle of ubiquity differs from the variety of reformed sacramental views found throughout Protestant Europe.

According to Brian Gerrish, reformed ideas about eucharistic presence can be divided into three basic, if not mutually exclusive, types (Gerrish 1992). First, there is the "symbolic memorialism" articulated by the Swiss theologian Huldrych Zwingli. In this view, the sacramental signs are public pledges of God's goodwill and one's Christian profession but they do not embody or cause grace in any way because there is no sacramental union of sign and signified. Second, there is "symbolic parallelism" associated with Zwingli's successor at Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger. In this view, the sacramental signs communicate rather than just commemorate Christ's grace but there is nevertheless a strong

difference maintained between the rite's outward action and its inward reception because the sign and signified are only loosely unified. Lastly, there is the "symbolic instrumentalism" of John Calvin. According to this view, the sacraments cause and communicate the grace they signify, conveying Christ to communicants through a form of spiritual union between sign and signified that is not as complete as the corporal presence of Lutheran and Catholic theologies but which is nevertheless more closely unified than in symbolic parallelism (Gerrish 1992, 253). In all three of these cases, the sign refers to a divine reality which, strictly speaking, it is not. Nonetheless, in the latter two cases the rite is still a vehicle of Christ's presence and saving promise even if his flesh is not corporally present per se. What is rejected in all three traditions is any notion that the Eucharist works in some kind of mechanical or magical way through the mere external action of the rite itself, a view that was often imputed, however unfairly, to Roman Catholic interpretations of the eucharistic formula: *ex opere operato* ("from the work worked").

The Church of England's eucharistic theology is both continuous with and different from the three reformed views outlined above. On one hand, articles 25–31 of the Thirty-Nine Articles (1563) share the reformed emphasis on the importance of reception by faith, making Christ's presence a function of the participant's personal, interior experience. According to Article 28, "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner" (Cressy and Ferrell 1996, Article 28, 67). Even more explicitly, the articles describe transubstantiation as a non-scriptural source of superstition that undermines "the nature of a sacrament" (67). On the other hand, however, there is a degree of calculated ambiguity about the articles. To start with, the critique of transubstantiation avoids a direct accusation of heresy, thus softening the article's inevitably polemical nature. More importantly, there is no necessary contradiction between a strongly "realist" view of sacramental presence and the idea that Christ is received "in a heavenly and spiritual manner." Such formulations are commonplace in many eucharistic traditions and were often, if not always, understood as consistent with the Real Presence of Christ, however vaguely defined. Thus those who leaned further to the "realist" rather than "symbolist" extreme of the theological spectrum were not excluded from fellowship in the Church of England. On the contrary, certain kinds of modified "realist" views of the Eucharist existed within the so-called avant-garde wing of the Jacobean church only to become part of a dominant mainstream during the reign of Charles I.

Poetic Text/Eucharistic Context

To be sure, debates about eucharistic worship do not matter to early modern poetry because good lyric poems function as message-delivery systems for doctrine. There are better mediums for catechism and exposition than lyric verse (Johnson 2014, 27). These debates matter because they constitute a tradition of thinking about problems of representation, prayer, reading, and fellowship that directly animate, without thematically or formally determining, some of the period's most compelling religious verse. This is partly because, like any living religious tradition, early modern Christianity is not reducible to a set of fixed beliefs. On the contrary, it is an "historically extended, socially

embodied argument, and an argument precisely in part about the goods which constitute that tradition" (MacIntyre 1984, 222). So, rather than thinking about eucharistic discourse as a set of fixed doctrines that poets versify, it is more helpful to think of it as a resource for articulating the full range of experiences associated with divine presence and for reflecting upon the representational challenges of depicting such experiences in the lyric as a medium.

Viewed in these terms, the historicist question literary critics should ask is not: how do religious poems uncritically mirror doctrine? Instead, it is something more like: how do poems, with their specific formal properties and tendencies, insert themselves into the shifting contexts of contested devotional, doctrinal, and literary traditions? After all, it is through such contested traditions that individuals seek the spiritual sustenance of God's saving and sanctifying love within the collective framework of a living church.

If religious poems in early modern England ultimately remain irreducible to their doctrinal contexts, it is not because literature remains free of theological impurities or confessional attachments; it is because theology is culturally ubiquitous and linguistically self-conscious. In this way, theology is as much a resource for poetic expression as it is a subject matter for thematic exploration. As I noted, early modern doctrine does not primarily consist of narrow assertions reducible to simple declarative statements. Instead, it constitutes a mode of thinking via specific idioms, tropes, and particular deployments of silence. Rather than trying to escape from theological debates, poets often exploit them for literary and spiritual reasons (the distinction in some instances is a purely abstract one). Ultimately, the verbal subtlety of much theological thinking in the period helped create the conditions for poetic exploitation and spiritual renewal as poets sought new ways of making poetry a site of communion with the forms of truth, meaning, and sanctification believed to be attendant upon Christ's Real Presence.

William Alabaster's "The Sponge"

While this literary and spiritual renewal is most often associated with poets such as George Herbert and John Donne, the process actually begins prior to them. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the development of the early modern English religious lyric owes much to two late Elizabethan Catholic poets: William Alabaster and Robert Southwell both began working out the thematic and formal issues involved in writing poems that would provide readers with an opportunity to encounter Christ in ways that parallel Communion. Many of the poems in Alabaster's manuscript sequence "Upon the Ensigns of Christ's Crucifying," which Herbert likely saw while he was at Cambridge (Rickey 1966, 180), employ materials from the eucharistically inflected school-of-the-heart tradition. Among other things, the *schola cordis* tradition explores "the efficacy of sacramental celebration by which mankind commemorates Christ's Paschal triumph" (Labriola 1979, 2). Central to this tradition is the use of the heart as a locus for a sanctifying union between the feminized soul and Christ the bridegroom, a spiritual marriage that is often figured in eucharistic terms.

In Alabaster's poem "The Sponge," for example, the conventions of the *schola cordis* tradition serve as a way of exploring how poetry can not only express this union thematically but also enact it through puns, images, and metonymy. Here is the sonnet in full:

The Sponge
O sweet and bitter monuments of pain,
Bitter to Christ who all the pain endured,
But sweet to me whose death my life procured,
How shall I full express such loss, such gain?
My tongue shall be my pen, mine eyes shall rain
Tears for my ink, the place where I was cured
Shall be my book, where, having all abjured,
And calling heavens to record in that plain,
Thus plainly will I write: no sin like mine.
When I have done, do thou, Jesu divine,
Take up the tart sponge of thy Passion
And blot it forth; then be thy spirit the quill,
Thy blood the ink, and with compassion
Write thus upon my soul: thy Jesu still.
(Alabaster 1959, 13)

This sonnet expresses Alabaster's general concern with questions of poetic representation, a concern that is signaled by the word "Ensigns" in his manuscript's title, which denotes "A signal; a rallying or battle-cry, watchword" (*OED*, 1); "A sign, token, characteristic mark" (*OED*, 2); and perhaps most important, if most paradoxically, "A badge or symbol of dignity or office" (*OED*, 4). In the context of Alabaster's sequence, "Ensigns" are closely associated with what is technically referred to as "sacramentals" or those objects and acts which bear a resemblance to the holy sacraments in nature and function but which do not carry the same sanctifying force. Sacramentals are powerful because they allow believers to prepare for, if not literally encounter, Christ's saving presence through a wide variety of sensible means. In the Catholic tradition in which Alabaster is working, these means include certain forms of prayer, anointing, confessing, eating of sacred foods, blessing, and other actions (Leclercq 1913). Implicit in Alabaster's "The Sponge" is the desire to make religious verse a "sacramental" in something like this sense.

Alabaster's sonnet recalls how in each of the four gospels Jesus was offered a vinegar-soaked sponge while he was dying on the cross. This scriptural event is recalled in the office for holy week, particularly the *Improperia* or Reproaches of Good Friday in which Christ accuses parishioners of indifference at his suffering on the cross. As though in answer to the Good Friday reproaches, Alabaster's speaker in "The Sponge" confesses that he shall *plainly* write upon the *plain* that is his heart: "no sin like mine." The speaker's description of his heart as a "plain" implies the figurative sense of "an open space constituting the scene of a battle or contest; the field of battle" (*OED*, 3). In this case, the battle is not only between God and Satan, as it is in, say, Donne's "Batter My Heart," but also between Catholicism and Protestantism as Alabaster likely wrote his devotional sonnets in the wake of his having "abjured all" in rejecting the latter. Yet the word "plain" may also refer to the "flat bottom of the lining-stick" where letters are placed in a printing press or simply any

flat surface on which writing occurs (*OED*, 6). This meaning corresponds to his description of the heart as a book. However, the object on which Christ writes is not the only *plain* that matters here. Alabaster is also referring to his style of composition when he feelingly declares, "Thus plainly will I write." This phrase alludes to the *sermo humilis* or plain style tradition of divine rhetoric, the medieval idea that God's incarnation in the person of Jesus justifies the use of ordinary speech in devotional contexts as well as, in this case, familiar poetic forms such as the sonnet. Through this homonymic play of substantive reference and adverbial action, Alabaster links the style of writing with its substance, joining the *how* of form to the *what* of meaning.

The continuity of form and meaning established by the punning on "plain" shows Alabaster employing a poetic strategy that critics have identified as crucial to the sacramental imagination of later Protestant writers such as Herbert and Andrewes. According to Heather Asals, Herbert's use of homonyms and other puns has the effect of joining two different things into one unity. Through this process, "Herbert *breaks the host of language itself;* he *breaks* the Word itself. And it is such breaking of the letter of the word which releases it from terrestrial Egypt and permits it to ascend-transcend to celestial Canaan" (Asals 1981, 11). In Alabaster's poem, God's placing himself in the order of human signs is punningly figured as an act of writing in which the physical objects of the crucifixion serve as his letters and the speaker's heart serves as the paper on which he writes. Such punning is broadly typical of eucharistic poems, though it can play out in many different ways (Read 2013, 69–97).

Crucial to Alabaster's act of sacred writing is the accumulating significance of the poem's title. In the course of the lyric, the sponge moves from being the literal object offered to Christ on Calvary to a metonymy for the atoning power of the crucifixion. Alabaster establishes this relation of contiguity between sponge and crucifixion through an allusion to Colossians 2:14 in which Christ is said to blot "out the handwriting of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us. And he hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the cross" (Douay-Rheims). By moving from the material object of Calvary to the spiritual process of blotting out sin, Alabaster's sponge fulfills Augustine's definition of sacrament as a visible sign of a sacred and invisible reality. Moreover, it demonstrates the extent to which "Metonymy is not just a way of speaking: it is a characteristic Catholic way of thinking. Objects are made sacred by their association with other objects" (Asals 1979, 41–42). Yet the issue here is not just metonymy per se but the degree of contiguity assumed between physical objects and the spiritual realities associated with them—the degree, that is, of sacramental presence. In Alabaster's sonnet, the ensigns of the crucifixion morph into one another as sponge, blood, and tears blur seamlessly with book, ink, and quill. Fearlessly indulging in the power of metonymy to join past and present, physical and spiritual, sign and signified, Alabaster seeks, as it were, to bring these objects to life. In doing so, he recreates the kind of devotional experience that the Protestant polemicist William Crashawe derides in *The Iesuites Gospel* (1610) when he lambasts the Catholic emphasis on mediation by creatures, objects, and saints, complaining: "Marke good Reader, God gets his worship at last, thogh it be at the fourth hand: they tender it to the tree, the tree yeeldes it to the *Image*, the Image conueies it to our *Lady*, and she presents it to God" (27). Like William Crashawe, Alabaster recognized that, along with the incarnation, the Catholic investment in material artifacts rests on the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist via transubstantiation. On the authority of this belief, he offers up a

metapoetic statement on how verse can convey a sense of intimacy with Christ that is analogous to the kind Catholic communicants feel at the moment of eucharistic reception. Along with his heart, Alabaster offers up a poem in the hope that it too participates in Christ's sanctifying presence.

Robert Southwell's "Christs Bloody Sweate"

In Alabaster's "The Sponge," the speaker is overheard confessing, petitioning, and praising God. We as readers are not immediately invited to adopt the poet's voice as our own; instead, we respond to it as someone else's meditation much as we normally respond to the Psalms. Intriguingly, a very different structural relation exists between reader and speaker in Robert Southwell's lyric "Christs Bloody Sweate," especially in the "magic square" (*versus rapportatus*) of the first virtuosic stanza (Davidson and Sweeney 2007, 154). The poem's opening stanza consists of a series of complexly moving images drawn from scripture and the liturgy, all of which invite us to encounter God's body in the first-person way a faithful communicant encounters Christ in the Eucharist. The poem's structure thus appears to answer the immediate needs of Southwell's recusant readers who could not participate in the Catholic Eucharist without some degree of personal risk. Remarkably, the prohibition of the Mass from official English society led Southwell to consider how poetry might substitute for ritual in an even more direct way than Alabaster's "The Sponge":

Fatt soyle,	full springe,	sweete olive,	grape of blisse
That yeldes,	that streames,	that powres,	that dost distil
Untild,	undrawne,	unstampde,	untouchd of presse
Dear fruit,	cleare brooks,	fayre oyle,	sweete wine at will

Thus Christ unforc'd preventes in shedding bloode
The whippes the thornes the nailes the speare and roode.

(Southwell 2007, 17)

As Davidson and Sweeney note, these opening four lines are "capable of being read horizontally or vertically backwards or forwards, while still retaining the same image of Christ's sweat and bleeding on the cross being pure water, sweet wine, pure pressed olive oil" (2007, 154). Like many eucharistic poems, "Christs Bloody Sweate" is designed to edify its readers by having them re-encounter the inexhaustible mystery of God's immanence within the order of signs. It does this by exaggerating the lyric's poetic qualities in a rather remarkable way. Because the stanza's multiform patterns and symbolic associations move in various directions at once, Southwell's "magic square" cannot be read, let alone absorbed, in one reading. The combination of its structure and its images encourages readers to lose themselves in the overflowing richness of the poem's dance. Instead of interpreting the poem in a linear fashion, readers bathe, as it were, in its images, rediscovering new forms of significance with each participatory rereading as they seek sanctifying union with Christ. In this respect, the poem is as sacramental as it is meditative in nature. It not only draws on the poetic possibilities inherent in St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, which has long been recognized as important to seventeenth-century religious verse (Martz 1962), but it is also

informed by the experience of eucharistic Communion that both structurally and thematically animates it in a manner typical of many of his poems (Read 2013, 62). Writing for an audience of marginalized Catholics, Southwell produced a body of lyrics which closely associate poetry and sacrament. And like Alabaster's sequence, many of his works were read in manuscript rather than the more impersonal medium of print, thereby increasing the reader's sense of physical and spiritual intimacy with the author/priest and Christ.

"The Altar"

The vivifying relation between poetic text and eucharistic thought in early modern poetry is powerfully, if complexly, borne out in the work of the most popular religious lyricist in seventeenth-century England: George Herbert. This is evident in the critical and bibliographical history surrounding Herbert's often anthologized pattern poem "The Altar."

One of the basic questions the poem raises is whether it is in any meaningful sense eucharistic. While the title of the poem appears to allude to Communion, the lyric as a whole focuses more on the heart as a site of sacrificial prayer than on a literal, liturgical, altar. Indeed, the original 1633 version makes no explicit, unequivocal, reference to the Eucharist per se. Yet many readers have assumed that the poem necessarily evokes the Communion altar, making its prayer both public and private, personal and eucharistic, simultaneously. This interpretive practice goes back to the seventeenth century and the early publication history of *The Temple*. As F. E. Hutchinson has noted, post-Restoration editions of "The Altar" increasingly emphasize the poem's eucharistic qualities, suggesting a greater and greater investment in its liturgical dimensions. Early Restoration editions did this by visually associating the poem with the Eucharist as in the version shown in Figure 4.1, first published in 1667. This bibliographical tradition reached something of a climax in an 1809 edition of the poem which appeared with "Gothic panelling and canopy-work behind a modest altar with fringed cloth, fair linen cloth, and the sacred vessels" all of which de-emphasize the internal, personal, aspects in favor of its outward ceremonial dimensions (Hutchinson 1959, 484).

The post-Restoration appropriation of Herbert's "The Altar" for High Church purposes was first challenged in modern criticism by Joseph Summers who reminds readers "that the word 'altar' was not applied to the Communion Table in the [1559] Book of Common Prayer" (Summers 1954, 141). In Summers' view, this complex poem "is religiously 'low'" in the sense that its primary focus is on the sacrifice of the broken heart and not on any kind of eucharistic offering (141). Richard Strier takes this reading further when he suggests the poem "does not in any way refer to the Eucharist" and instead calls attention to the apparent fact that the altar visualized on the page is decisively not the altar discussed in the poem itself (Strier 1983, 191). For Strier, the radical gap between the altar as signifier and the heart as signified suggests Herbert shared the Reformation skepticism that material signs could incarnate spiritual presences, especially humanly generated ones. In offering up an "evangelical sacrifice" rather than a eucharistic one, Herbert shows greater sensitivity to the dangers of idolatry potential within poetic tropes than Alabaster's "The Sponge." Where Herbert is careful to maintain the difference between the altar of the heart and the altar on the page, Alabaster fearlessly indulges in the power of metonymy to join sign and signified.

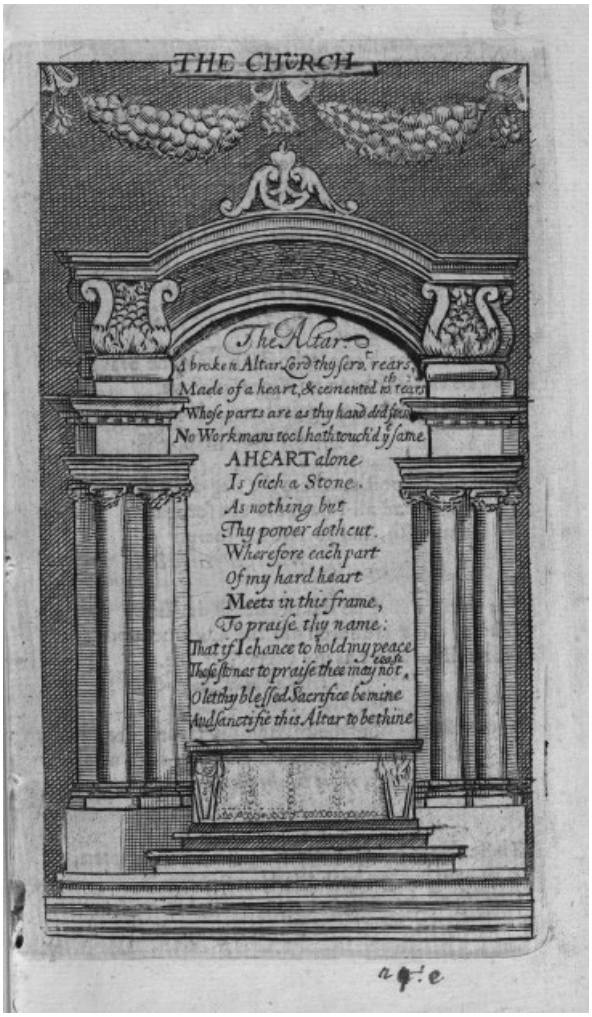

Figure 4.1 George Herbert, *The temple. Sacred poems and private ejaculations* (London, 1674), sig. A9r (p. 17): "The Altar." Folger Shakespeare Library Shelfmark: H1521. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

There are, however, other legitimate ways to respond to Herbert's poem. Martin Elsky, for example, situates Herbert's pattern poems in the context of Neoplatonic theories of language which assume that human signs can bear spiritual powers and presences without literally being identified with them. Viewed this way, the "hieroglyphic signification of the heart by the altar" instantiates a "series of resemblances inherent in Eucharistic theology." These include "Hebrew and Christian Scriptures; Christ the Head and Christ the Body; body and blood of Christ, and bread and wine; outward ceremony and inward spiritual sacrifice" (Elsky 1983, 257). In other words, rather than being fundamentally at odds with inward spiritual meaning and action, the poem's highly advertised material

form conveys and perhaps even in some sense embodies such meaning and action. From this perspective, the poem's inward and outward dimensions coincide via resemblance and similarity rather than pure identity. Consequently, the phrase "this Altar" of the final line can be read as referring to the speaker's heart as well as the poem on the page, so long as we bear in mind the lyric's play of difference within similarity. Read in this context, Herbert's poem can be described as "sacramental" not only in the sense that it is about eucharistic themes but also in the sense that its concrete form assumes belief in the capacity of signs to convey Christ's divine presence in a eucharistic-like manner.

Yet the relation between outward form and inward presence may be richer in Herbert's "The Altar" than even Elsky suggests. As Kathleen Lynch and Paul Dyck have both observed, "The Altar" functions as a title page for "The Church." Such placement suggests that the poem is intended to be doctrinally and devotionally provocative. After all, if the Eucharist takes place over an altar rather than a table then the act is a sacrifice, a propitiatory event done for the sake of the Church as a whole. This is partly why Bishop Williams, who ordained George Herbert, was called upon in the summer of 1627 "to mediate a disagreement … between the pastor and parishioners of Grantham about the placement and naming of an altar" (Lynch 1993, 42). In evoking this eucharistic possibility, however, the poem neither insists upon nor iconoclastically rejects liturgical sacrifice. Rather than being expository, Herbert's gesture is poetically and spiritually generative in its ambiguity (Lynch 1993, 57; Dyck 2013, 548). As Lynch explains, "The Altar" "initiates a line of investigation" rather than defending "an absolute position" (1993, 56). And what is being investigated in the poem, Dyck confirms, is a poetics proper to a contested eucharistic tradition in which the visible church might be understood, in Andrewes's phrase, as "the very gate of heaven upon earth" (cited in Dyck 2004, 241). In other words, just as the church is the material site in which the mystical body of Christ discovers itself, so the lyric poem is a threshold between human and divine worlds in which the reader is provided with an opportunity to encounter the holy. Insofar as Herbert's poems function as material sites for prayerful communion, they are, in this general yet restricted sense, "sacramental."

As its reception history suggests, "The Altar" was not designed to resolve post-Reformation debates about the capacity of material signs to embody spiritual realities. Instead, it was designed to stage them for literary and spiritual effect. Through its careful use of doctrinally charged idioms, "The Altar" allows those who do not associate the Lord's Supper with an altar to ignore the poem's eucharistic possibilities while, at the same time, giving latitude to those who do wish to make such connections. In doing so, the poem makes room for readers of varying devotional dispositions, including conforming Puritans who emphasize the importance of sacramental worship as well as those who agree with Lancelot Andrewes that it is perfectly scriptural "to [use] no less the word sacrifice than Sacrament, altar than table, offer than eat; but both indifferently, to shew there is both" (Andrewes 1843, 67). In this way, rather than being narrowed by controversy, the eucharistic mystery, along with the poetry that bodies it forth, is enriched by it. Ultimately, the devotional latitude of "The Altar" answers to the needs of a eucharistic community striving to be inclusive without devolving into doctrinal incoherence.

While there are certainly formal and ideological differences between the Catholic Southwell and the Protestant Herbert, there are also significant continuities, not least because they both addressed problems of poetic representation via eucharistic worship.

In particular, Southwell's "magic square" and Herbert's "The Altar" both combine the promise of eucharistic Communion with the Neoplatonic idea that certain letters and numbers inscribe divine presence both aurally and visually. Though he does not fully endorse the application of this idea to poetry, Sir Philip Sidney refers to it in *The Apology* when he notes that the "exquisite observing of number and measure in the words, and that high flying liberty of conceit proper to the poet, did seem to have some divine force in it" (Sidney 1989, 215). The underlying belief here is that the mathematical harmonies of poetic meter mirror the creative and rational force of the Logos, making verse a lower level imitation of divine order. Partly based on Augustine's early Neoplatonic work "On Music," this exalted view of poetry presumes that the material sound of the words resonates in harmony with the divine power at work in the cosmos, thereby elevating the listener into a higher spiritual pitch. As William H. Pahlka observes in his study of Herbert's application of Augustine's metrical theory, "the function of meter is to mediate between fallen, disorderly language and the language of divine reason. Meter makes words imitate the Word" (Pahlka 1987, 66). Listening attentively to these harmonies has the same kind of spiritually enriching effect as participating in the sacraments, for like them they mediate between fallen and unfallen worlds. Southwell and Herbert both exploit the connections between eucharistic presence and Neoplatonic language theory in ways that would continue to inform poets writing later in the century, particularly Richard Crashaw who is described in the preface to *Steps to the Temple* (1646, 1648) as being committed to a neo-Pythagorean view of poetry in which "*every foot in a high-borne verse, might helpe to measure the soule into that better world*" (Crashaw 1957, 75).

Conclusion

Post-Reformation religious controversies unleashed intellectual and spiritual energies that helped revitalize the early modern English devotional lyric as a form. From Robert Southwell's Counter-Reformation perspective, these energies were symptoms of an emptying out of God's immanent presence in Protestant Europe: hence the importance of elegy and the plaint in his work. Faced with a crisis of de-sacralization, Southwell turned to lyric poetry as a way of converting collective loss into something aesthetically and spiritually vivifying. A similar historiographical picture emerges when we adopt the standpoint of Enlightenment secularity, though in this case the result is triumph rather than defeat. From an Enlightenment perspective, any decline in the belief that language can embody divine presence is a mark of intellectual progress. But these are not the only vantage points from which we might narrate the story of the early modern eucharistic lyric.

The literary and intellectual history at issue here might be better articulated with reference to an ongoing dialectic of enchantment and disenchantment, one that did not begin at a particular historical moment (as Max Weber said) any more than it ended at one (as he did not) (Weber 1946). Viewed in this more open-ended way, we can better appreciate how eucharistic controversy enabled a literary renaissance among devotional poets from across the confessional spectrum. No less important, by resisting totalizing narratives of secularization we may also find ourselves rediscovering early modern religious poetry in the light of unseen future secularities and the unpredictable forms of spirituality, art, and historiography that may yet be attendant upon them.

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5
"A sweetness ready penn'd"?: English Religious Poetics in the Reformation Era

Susannah Brietz Monta

Barbara Lewalski's *Protestant Poetics* (1979) still rewards careful reading. Widely influential, it shaped debates about devotional poetry for decades. Her work proposes that a distinctively Protestant poetics informed religious verse written by Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Taylor, and Traherne, and that these writers represent the literary mainstream. On her account, Protestant poetics takes its authority and generic bearings from the Bible; it reads individual experience through typological patterns and emphasizes what she calls a Pauline paradigm of salvation. Many of Lewalski's claims are now commonplaces: for instance, that biblical images of the Christian as temple-under-divine-construction dominate Herbert's *The Temple*, or that the psalter served as a model for lyric kinds and purposes (including praise, complaint, and repentance).

Still, my title departs from Lewalski's. Its subject is not Protestant but Reformation-era poetics. This is not a perfect title, yet a few virtues recommend it. It presupposes that the Reformation was critically important to English religious poetics across the confessional spectrum. This is true even when aspects of religious poetry, especially but not only that authored by Catholic writers, exhibit continuity with pre-Reformation literary thought and practice. Because the title demarcates a period, not a confession, it allows for exchange and contestation between and among Protestant and Catholic writers. Both Protestant and Catholic varieties of reform drove religious change, and cross-confessional reading—for purposes complementary and contestatory—was common. Unlike other temporal markers (such as "Renaissance" or "early modern"), "Reformation" insists that religion undergirds the period's literary culture. The Reformation was concerned with interpretive authority, philology, translation, theology (academic, pastoral, catechetical, etc.), religious education, the nature of sacrament, the constitution and praxis of godly community, and the shape of sacred history. The period's literary culture also takes up questions of authority, canon, translation, the relation of *res* to *verba,* community, imitation, and history. Reformation-era

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religion and poetry may thus be brought together not only through potentially distorting models of foreground and background, influence and creative variation, or tradition and departure, but also through features integral to each.[1]

How might we characterize the relationship between Reformation-era changes and English religious poetics? In a short essay an exhaustive answer proves impossible, but some broad outlines are clear. It is hard to overestimate the impact of the Bible's wide availability in English. While late medieval religious lyric drew upon the Bible (especially the psalms and Gospels), heightened attention to the Bible as a model for poetry and source of poetic theory is characteristic of the Reformation era. For both Protestant and Catholic writers, the Bible offered models for and justifications of poetry, though confessional differences matter. For mainline Protestants, the Bible was, as in Calvin's understanding, the source of doctrine and the preeminent site of divine self-witness, eliciting both reverence and obedience. For early modern Catholics, the Bible and living tradition together host divine revelation of the Word (Christ, not a book). In concert with church authorities and interpretive and liturgical traditions, the Bible was a (rather than *the*) source for doctrinal regulation; early modern Catholic poets thus looked to the Bible as an authoritative source and model while also drawing on other resources such as liturgy, breviary hymns, Marian devotions (especially the rosary), and Jesuit piety.

Liturgy, drawing as it does on both the Bible and tradition, proved an area of continuity and change. We have only begun to trace the literary importance of the development and imposition of English-language liturgy (Maltby 1998; Targoff 2001; Rosendale 2007). Beyond the question of liturgical language or the particulars of changing rubrics are habits of liturgical thinking—such as what Catherine Pickstock (1998) called the "now" of liturgical temporality—and what theologians and ritual studies scholars alike understand as the work of liturgy: to make, even to *do*, sacred community (Fagerberg 2004; Bell 2009). Religious poetry too has communal dimensions, often underplayed in scholarship; those dimensions may bring Reformation-era religious verse into dialogue with lyric studies, as discussed below.

In the Reformation era, Protestant and Catholic writers were eager to teach, delight, and move; they interwove Cicero and Horace with contemporary religious urgency. As affective piety dominated the later Middle Ages, so late medieval lyric invests in emotive impact. In the early Reformation, the valorization of "feeling faith" (in Tyndale's famous formulation) grounded religious authenticity in emotion. Intensified emotion ideally resulted in deepened religious commitment; even given important confessional distinctions, this was one goal of meditative practices so popular with Protestant and Catholic readers. Devotional writers and pastoral theologians focused on Protestants' emotional lives (Ryrie 2013); hard and stony hearts were lamented, tears of repentance and joy praised. Yet too much emotion might also prove harmful. Protestants criticized Catholic prayer and devotional practices for deadening repetitiousness and, paradoxically, for cultivating excessive, potentially misleading emotion (Shell 2015).

Intense theological debates over the role of the human will in salvation, the nature of human nature, the status of reason with respect to divine things, and the workings of grace intertwine with debates about poetry's possibilities and shortcomings, as Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*, the Jesuit Robert Southwell's prose and poetry, and George Herbert's *The Temple* all witness. In the wake of Lewalski's volume, scholars labored to map poets'

religious positions. That effort has now given place to increasingly granular work on the complexities of religion cross-confessionally. In what follows, I take up aspects of the period's religious poetics in cross-confessional, comparative contexts. First, I consider cross-confessional exchange itself; next, I sample several dimensions of biblical poetics from the perspective of writers as diverse as Southwell (a Jesuit martyr), John Donne (born to a Catholic family, died the Dean of St Paul's), Richard Verstegan (Catholic propagandist, exile, intelligencer, and antiquarian), and Henry Vaughan (deeply committed to the Church of England). I then turn to questions of religious community as they may be limned in the voicing and thematics of poetry. Finally, I consider what, after all, religious poetry is supposed to be about. If we can offer nuanced accounts of religious difference and historical particularity while also reading with sensitivity to religion *qua* religion, we may progress in our understandings of both religion's complexity and historical poetics.

Marking and Contesting Confessionalism

Protestant Poetics countered Louis Martz's argument (1954) for continental (and Catholic) influences on English religious lyric. While Lewalski's book was a useful corrective, her position has come to seem too neat. In a sharp challenge, R. V. Young (2000) claimed that Lewalski attributed to Protestantism many views which are simply Christian, and too readily subordinated poetry's artful language to confessional parsing. More broadly, an older model of sharp separation—perhaps slightly influenced by the Cold War's polarities, and more so by heavy reliance on Reformation polemic—has given way to models of exchange, influence, and contestation. The Reformation was a family fight, with all of a feuding family's viciousness. Its intricate patterns of strife interlace sharp differences with haunting similarities. Protestant and Catholic literary cultures were not neatly distinct; confessional divisions could be blurred or even misunderstood; and cross-confessional reading—for devotional and controversial purposes—was common. Theological and religious distinctions did not preclude cross-confessional artistic influence, nor the exploration and even lamenting of religious differences (as is sometimes the case in Donne). Poems travel; they surprise; they find audiences where one might least expect them.

A brief example must suffice. The most notable exclusion from Lewalski's book was Robert Southwell. Martz credited Southwell with bringing Ignatian meditative habits to English poetry. Lewalski argued for the dominance of native English and Protestant influences on "mainstream" verse. Yet as Shell (1999) has demonstrated, Protestant writers frequently responded to Southwell, in ways both complementary and agonistic. Conversely, it is clear that Southwell sought to engage English literary culture on its own terms—drawing on late medieval and early modern English complaint, for instance (Ransom 2016), or sacralizing Petrarchan imitations. Southwell was not alone in urging that poetry's gifts be bestowed on God alone. But his poetry's popularity in the weeks, months, and years after his February 1595 execution proved a spur to poets across the confessional spectrum (Shell 1999).

Unsurprisingly, Southwell's influence on English Catholic writers was profound: for instance, Richard Verstegan's 1601 collection *Odes in Imitation of the Penitential Psalms* includes poems responding to Southwell's major work, *Saint Peters Complaint*. Yet Southwell's poetry

also enjoyed positive reception among seemingly inhospitable readers. Despite his own anti-Catholic poetry, a Norfolk farmer writing in the early 1590s copied some of Southwell's verses into his commonplace book, apparently with hearty approval; this reader prefers Southwell's poetry to Spenser's, with its "ould outworne woordes" (May 2005). In Scotland, too, Southwell found Protestant readers. Alexander Hume's *Hymnes, or Sacred Songs, wherein the right use of Poesie may be espied* (1599) reveals Southwell's influence. Southwell claims that he has "layd a few course threds together, to invite some skillfuller wits to goe forward in the same" (1); Hume has "written … rude Scottish … verses, to provoke the more skilfull in that art to flee higher" (A4v). The final stanza of Southwell's "I die alive" reads, "Not where I breath, but where I love I live, / Not where I love, but where I am I dye." Hume's "A Sonnet of Love" adjusts Southwell's lines: "Not lawfull love, bot lecherie I lacke: / Not women wise, but witlesse I disdaine" (Br). Both Southwellian influence and theological differences are clear: the Jesuit poet praises only love for the divine, the Presbyterian Scot praises wedded love (provided one marries only wise women). Southwell pushed Catholic and Protestant writers alike toward religious poetry, including Thomas Lodge, Gervase Markham, Nicholas Breton, and, arguably, George Herbert, whose "My God, where is that ancient heat" takes up Southwellian themes of passionate devotion to God alone. In and through cross-confessional exchanges, poets work out the poetic, literary, and artistic dimensions of Reformation-era religious changes. This is not to argue that religious distinctions do not matter. Scholars such as Richard Strier (1983) have demonstrated that theological particularities illuminate the work of a poet such as George Herbert. Few would now argue that Herbert's poetry does *not* think through and with Protestant theology. But the case is more complex for writers such as Donne. Recent studies of religious poetry readily cross confessional lines (Cummings 2002; Kuchar 2008; Murray 2009; King'oo 2012; Read 2013), and much comparative work remains to be done.

Furthermore, since Lewalski's work was published the notion of a largely integrated, distinctive English Protestantism has been revised. While Lewalski identified broad commonalities in Protestant thought and interpretive habits, historians and literary scholars have since come to understand Protestantism as a spectrum of belief, thought, and practice. They have documented the variety and complexity of Protestant attitudes toward liturgy (Guibbory 1998; Maltby 1998), and carefully nuanced differences between Protestant thinkers. Similarly, divisions within "Protestant" poetics are becoming clearer. For example, Anne Locke's preference for dilation rather than Sidneian invention places her in a poetic line stretching from her to her son Henry Locke to, arguably, Edward Taylor (Greene 2000). The temporal frame for the period's religious poetry has also undergone revision. Much work on sixteenth-century religious poetry complicates previous narratives that begin with Southwell at the earliest, as Martz did, or Donne, as did Lewalski (Hamlin 2004; Coles 2008; Quitslund 2008). Other scholarship crosses the increasingly porous boundary between pre- and post-Reformation poetic practice, tracing, for instance, the importance of penitential psalm translations before and after England's break with Rome (King'oo 2012). While Lewalski concentrated on male poets, it has since become clear that the development of Reformation-era religious poetry cannot be explained without the work of women writers such as Locke and (crucially) Mary Sidney; her contributions to the Sidney psalter completed and revised the work her brother began, were praised by Donne, and influenced Herbert, among others (Hannay 1990; Coles 2008).[2]

As scholars develop detailed, nuanced accounts of Protestantisms in the period, a parallel effort is underway in scholarship on English Catholicism. Recusant Catholicism—characterized by a firm refusal to attend Church of England services—was privileged in much scholarship on English Catholics for the better part of the twentieth century. Recent scholarship acknowledges great complexity within English Catholic communities at home and in exile (Walsham 1993; Shell 1999). With respect to literary studies, it is hard to argue that Catholic writers inhabited a strictly recusant—or separated—literary culture. Two of Richard Verstegan's poems were used as hymns by the Ferrar group at Little Gidding; Robert Southwell's poetry sought and found a wide, cross-confessional audience; Anthony Copley (Southwell's cousin) is arguably the most attentive early reader of *The Faerie Queene* (Copley 2016). If Verstegan, Southwell, and Copley wrote partly to contest the dominance of Protestant writers in English literary culture—Copley, for instance, challenges what he sees as Spenser's triumphant Virgilianism and erroneous interpretations of Revelation—they also stake a claim to English literary tradition for Catholics. If we take our cues from the period, our scholarly models for religious poetics may come to resemble Venn diagrams, taking into account areas of overlap and distinction as well as the cross-confessional circulation of poetry in print and manuscript.

Measuring the Bible

For Protestant and Catholic writers, the Bible provided the pre-eminent models of and justifications for religious poetry. A poet's claim to biblical precedence, exempla, and warrant is not, though, simplistic or neutral. At stake are methods of interpreting and imitating the Bible; the Bible's status as a source of doctrinal regulation and model for religious practice; and the proper use of poetry itself.

Southwell's "To the Reader" insists that devotional poetry offers pleasure and constitutes virtuous imitation—of David and Christ, of the Bible and divine liturgy. Poetry is "good" and "the use allowable" because of "the authority of god," who delivered "many partes of scripture in Verse," whose "Apostle will[ed] us to exercise our devotion in Hymnes and spirituall Sonnetts." Indeed, "Christ himselfe" made "a hymn the conclusion of his last Supper and the prologue to … his passion," thereby giving his "spouse" the Church "a methode to imitate, as in the office of the Church it appeareth and all men a paterne to know the trew use of this measured and footed style" (Southwell 2007, 1). Southwell makes a typically Catholic assumption that the liturgy of the hours fulfills the Pauline injunction to pray without ceasing, and that it imitates the Bible's poetic models. Its offices include non-biblical hymns—Aquinas's poetry, for instance, which Southwell translates in "Lauda Sion Salvatorem"; we might compare George Wither, who translated two hymns, Veni Creator and Te Deum, from the traditional offices (Lewalski 1979, 36). Southwell shares with Sidney the idea that "scripture in Verse" warrants religious poetry; like Sidney (in the much longer, wide-ranging *Defence*) Southwell indicts poetry's abusers. Yet Southwell dismisses amatory poetry, written by those who, making "the follies and feyninges of love the customary subject of their base endeavors," have "discredited" poetry (1). He uses this word's etymological force: there is no trust, no faith, in poetry. Southwell implies that many writers, tainted with the world, do not follow the Bible as they ought.

Thus Southwell's "To the Reader" asserts that he will not write secular verse: "Prophaine conceites and fayninge fittes I flye." Instead, "With David verse to vertue I applie / Whose measure best with measured words doth sitt" (15–16).

David, of course, wrote no secular verse. In "Davids Peccavi" Southwell draws on one of the penitential psalms, Psalm 101/2 (*Domine, exaudi orationem meam*). Yet Southwell freely adapts his precedent. While the psalmist states that he is "like to a pelican of the wilderness," for instance, Southwell's David lacks even the comfort of similitude:

> In eaves sole sparowe sitts not more alone
> Nor mourning Pelican in desert wilde
> Then sely I that solitarie mone. (1–3)

The point is not textual fidelity but the uses to which poetic "wit" and human "will" are put (one may be reminded of Sidney, whose *Defence* juxtaposed the poet's "erected wit" and "infected will"; Sidney 2004). In "Davids Peccavi," David has sinned through pursuing worldly "phancy" (25), a word that suggests both sexual sin and transgression against poetry: he has loved "phancies toyes," and now "To pleasing tunes succeedes a playninge voyce" (15). Complaint succeeds light, toyish verse, because "Witt lost his ayme and will was phancies pray." Southwell is more optimistic than Sidney about "will": "Wit bought with losse will taught by wit will mend." Chastened wit—poetic invention is also at stake—may instruct and mend the will. Southwell's creative take on biblical and psalmic precedent insists on the superiority of religious to amatory verse. His is a challenging, even combative, biblical poetics, articulated in broadly Catholic theological terms and contested in vocabulary (wit, will) that the Protestant Sidney would use to different purposes.

How does one move from the Bible to the voice of an early modern poem? Lewalski argued that in the "private or devotional" realm (1979, 131), which for her includes poetry, typological thinking was extended to the elect Christian, in whom were replicated inter alia the struggles and triumphs of Israel, the psalmist's anguish and joys, Christ's desert temptations and, hopefully, his triumph over sin and death. On her account, typological thinking undergirds the Protestant self. Does typological reading strongly distinguish or characterize Protestant poetics, and should religious lyric be readily linked with the "private" realm? I take up the second question below. On the first, a comparative reading of Catholic writers can be helpful. Is Southwell disinclined to read the Christian self through typological frames? Not necessarily. Southwell's "At home in heaven" draws on typology to urge the (English Catholic?) reader's withdrawal from the worldliness of Protestant England. In this poem, the Incarnation is the result of Christ's seduction by the human soul's beauty, likened to Sampson's seduction by Delilah: the soul's "ghostly beauty offred force to god"; it "lul'd our heavenly Sampson fast asleepe / And laid him in our feeble natures lapp." Christ thus "wander[s] in our Pilgrim weede" through "briers," "Cursed soyle," and "exile" that characterize human life in this "vale of tears." Southwell blends a phrase from the Salve Regina (*valle lacrimarum*) with biblical language ("exile") to represent the soul's condition in a profoundly hostile world. The Hebrew scriptures lend his poem subtle force. For instance, in its seductive wooing of the Son of God, the soul overgoes (in typological terms, arguably fulfills) the beauty of the biblical Hester and

Judith; the fact that both were warriors for their faith would not have been lost on the poem's readers. Southwell encourages a self-understanding that might lead one to imitate these women's firm commitment ("Base be thy love of any lesse then he"). "Christs Bloody Sweate" also uses typology, with a twist: the biblical precedent for the self is not the faithful, passionate Elijah but the sacrificial material intended for the false god Baal, consumed by the divine fire called down by Elijah's prayers. The poem's "I" first appears in the biblical scene of sacrifice, in response to Christ's voluntary bleeding, invoked at the poem's beginning. For Southwell imitation of Christ is necessary but inevitably deeply flawed; the self cannot be likened to Elijah but only to inert material, a leftover offering to a false god. Christ's sacrifice is full, pure; the self "stony to all good," "A sack of dust, a masse of fleshe and bloode" (24). Again, typology proves useful. In the image of a false god's offering rightly reoriented one glimpses Southwell's mission: to reconcile to Rome those who had conformed to the Church of England, a mission undertaken with deep awareness of the sacrifice that obedience to Rome might exact.

In Donne's poetry, the uses of typology are no less complex. In "Hymn to God my God, in my sickness," typology informs an as-yet-unanswered petition:

> Looke Lord, and find both *Adams* met in me;
> As the first *Adams* sweat surrounds my face,
> May the last *Adams* blood my soul embrace (23–25)

The plea is for absorption into a redemptive typological scheme, one in which the self's place is not yet fully secured. In the Holy Sonnet "Spitt in my face yee Iewes," typology fails rather spectacularly. The first quatrain posits what looked to Martz like an Ignatian *compositio loci*—the placement of the "I" at, indeed in, the scene of the crucifixion. For Lewalski, this moment exhibits the typological thinking common to Protestant biblical hermeneutics. Yet the pose struck in the poem's opening rapidly disintegrates: at line 5, the difference between the historical Jesus who died "once" and the sinful "I" who crucifies the glorified Christ daily becomes starkly apparent. The poem's octave ultimately cannot find likeness between the suffering Christ and the sinful self. The sestet underlines the differences between antitype and type, kings and Christ, Jacob and the incarnate God:

> Oh lett mee then his strange love still admire,
> Kings pardon, but hee bore our punnishment;
> And Iacob came cloathed in vile harsh attire,
> But to supplant, and with gainfull intent;
> God cloath'd himself in vile mans fleash that soe
> Hee might bee weake enough to suffer woe.
> (Donne 2005, 9–14)

Jacob put on goat's flesh to deceive his father; kings pardon, but do not willingly suffer, our punishments. Christ's love remains "strange": it is not circumscribed by typological frameworks and remains beyond comprehension, as it is a love for no gain, at least none specified in this sonnet. In Southwell's poem, the difference between Christ and the sinful self calls forth a weakly imitative self-sacrifice, deeply qualified by the self's unworthiness.

Donne's sonnet eliminates any possibility of repaying Christ's sacrifice through imitation. The "I" is left "still" to "admire" the "strange love" that led God to embrace the weakness of suffering.

In Henry Vaughan's "The Night," typological thinking is poignantly aspirational. Lewalski suggested that in "The Night" Vaughan's speaker is like Nicodemus (1979, 142). But the "I" seems rather to *wish* to be like Nicodemus, a desire spurred by historical difference: "O who will tell me, where / He found thee at that dead and silent hour!" (13–14). The poem was published after the suppression of the Church of England, to which Vaughan was deeply committed. Amid "loud, evil days" lived "where the Sun / Doth all things wake," where " this world's ill-guiding light" leads one astray, the poet longs for darkness, retreat, stillness, calm:

> There is in God (some say)
> A deep, but dazzling darkness; As men here
> Say it is late and dusky, because they
> See not all clear;
> O for that night! where I in him
> Might live invisible and dim.
> (Vaughan 1981, 49–54)

Protestant writers often found Nicodemus suspect; Calvin, for instance, excoriated him for cowardice because he came to Christ secretly, at night, not openly, by the light of day (Zagorin 1990). There is nothing of Calvin's anti-Nicodemism in Vaughan's poem. On the contrary, the "I" longs to be (he is not already) like "Wise Nicodemus"—the sinner who finds Christ in night's calm intimacy, who sees what the world, blinded by light, cannot.

What seems at issue in these writers, then, is not so much *whether* a biblical poetics—drawing on the Bible's images, patterns, genres, and lyric models, as well as typology's resources—is to be deployed, but rather *to what extent* and *how*: in what historical, religious, theological, and political contexts; in concert with what other sources of literary and religious authority; with what sense of typological possibilities and limitations? The invocation of biblical types voices petition, articulates religious aspiration, and (perhaps most unsettlingly) works out religious and poetic differences. What we may see in these writers is not simply firm divisions in biblical poetics but also ongoing negotiation and contestation over how, exactly, the Bible was to shape poetics.

Imagining Community

Is Reformation-era religious poetry private, individualistic, and/or personal? Many twentieth-century accounts assumed that such poetry primarily represents a self's thought, emotion, or expression (whether that posited self was closely related to the author or distant from him/her, as with a New Critical "speaker"). Yet recent scholarship refines strong readings of Reformation Protestantism's supposedly individualistic thrust. Narveson's study of Protestant ministerial guides to scriptural interpretation (2012) cautions us that Protestant commitment to *sola scriptura* as a principle of doctrinal regulation

did not usher in an interpretive free-for-all, while Rosendale's study of the Book of Common Prayer (2007) identifies tensions between Protestant emphasis on individual faith or belief and the authority of publically ordered worship. From the perspective of lyric studies, scholars have criticized poetry's "lyricization" in the early and mid-twentieth centuries, calling instead for a nuanced historical poetics (Jackson 2005). While much late twentieth-century scholarship on religious poetry was meticulous in its historical research, the assumption that a poem represents individual experience, thought, and/or emotion dominated. Yet some have found that shifts in voicing—between a fully characterized or "fictional" speaker and a more broadly generalizable or "ritual" voice—shape the period's lyric experimentations (Greene 1990; Dubrow 2008). Together, these scholarly insights encourage us to consider religious poetry's communal dimensions.

Verstegan's *Odes in Imitation of the Penitential Psalms* (1601) reveal deeply communal, liturgical sensibilities. His prose versions of the psalms in his English translation of the post-Tridentine breviary (1599) are faithful to his Vulgate original; his poetic versions of the penitential psalms are freely imitative, but they retain liturgical habits of thought and self-articulation. In his imitation of Psalm 101/102, the Davidic voice lists images of decayed, dessicated linear time—blasted grass, days and years turned to smoke—all of which appear in the psalm text. In an addition to the psalm, such waste is attributed to "Devotions lack," which "yeilds moisture no supply" (12). Tears would signify and further effective repentance, though for the moment there is no passionate devotion to provoke weeping. Why? The "I" has been absent from the Eucharist: "I forgotten have unto my grief / To eat the bread of my soules best relief" (13). This is an explicit sacramentalizing of a line Verstegan translated in the *Primer* simply as "I have forgotten to eat my bread." The poem's sixth stanza contains much expanded material: there, the speaker intensifies his isolation by retiring "From earthly traine" (13). Yet the speaker's inward turn produces not private or individual prayer but identification with the collectivity of Sion. For Verstegan, Sion in the psalms is the Church and its patterns of worship, not the godly nation as often in the Sidney psalter. And Sion must be saved *now*: "Now is the time, the time doth now expire" (14). Upon that saving, the people "thrall'd in untruths restraint"—rather than "humble" as in the *Primer*—will "now" "record" and "renew" God's praises "for people to ensue" (14). The *Primer* has "Let these things be written in another generation." "Record" and "renew" call for remembrance and continuity, for incorporation of the past into present praise. The poetic persona's turn away from the world is also a turn toward liturgy, through which even an isolated English Catholic reader may join (imaginatively, if not also materially) with Sion. Verstegan's poetry does not, then, seek simply to apply religious insights, practices, and devotional habits to the self. Expanding the sacred text, Verstegan argues for finding the self within the framework of communal prayer.

Do others—Protestant writers, or at the least writers with looser ties to Roman Catholicism than Verstegan's—also invest in liturgical community? John Donne makes an interesting test case. His religious poetry has long been valued for its idiosyncrasies; yet it also yearns for religious community. Sometimes this is starkly clear, as in Donne's 1608 letter to Henry Goodyer about "A Litanie." In this letter, Donne writes that the poem moves between the "lesser Chappells" of his friends and the liturgical prayer its title invokes, as well as between the "Roman Church" and "the Reformed" (2001, 386). In seeking common ground, his poem strives to offend none. Sometimes Donne's longing for

community appears in wittier guise. One of the Westmoreland sonnets, "Show Me, dear Christ, thy spouse so bright and clear," imagines the search for ecclesial community in individual and corporate terms. The sonnet begins with a personal plea: "Show *me.*" By the sestet, the search has broadened, including at the least other men: "Dwells she with us, or like adventuring knights / First travel we to seek, and then make love?" The infamous sestet exploits Revelation's image of the Church as spouse of Christ. For Spenser, whose *Faerie Queene* is likely indicted in Donne's question about adventuring knights, Reformation realities meant that the Church was no longer a welcoming mother, but a lover one must seek, and woo, through time (Low 1998). Donne's sestet, too, asks that his "amorous soul" might "court" the Church, Christ's "mild Dove." Yet the couplet's outrageousness comes precisely from its wish for community; that "mild Dove" is "most pleasing to thee then, / When she is embraced and open to most men." This desire for a sexually promiscuous true church confounds polemic that opposed a pure church to the Whore of Babylon, Spenser's Una to Duessa; in its outrageousness it is purely Donne. Still, the sonnet's fundamental wish is to be part of a community, albeit one constituted by holy sexual transgression. For Verstegan and Donne alike, it seems, an individualistic "I" is spiritually undesirable. The drama of their poems comes from a longing to be part of a community, despite many Reformation-era obstacles. For Verstegan, that community is well identified, if currently proscribed in England; for Donne, at least in this sonnet, elusiveness persists.

Penning Love

Herbert's "The Quidditie" (titled "Poetry" in the early Williams manuscript) proposes that religious verse "is that which while I use / I am with thee" (11–12). How does one use poetry to draw close to another, or an Other? As Herbert's poem implies, the end of religion—and of religious poetry—may be not simply right life, or right belief, but relation. The right ideas mattered deeply to Reformation-era poets precisely because they were to undergird and shape relation. For Herbert, "sweetness" characterizes his experiences of God and of poetry's beauties. Those "sweet phrases, lovely metaphors" (13) whose imminent departure he mourns in "The Forerunners" might be compared with the "infinite sweetnesse" of "The H. Scriptures" (I), of which they are (at best) a pale reflection. For Herbert, verse's pleasures are sometimes rendered as a temptation to egotism, as in the curling of metaphors and the desire to weave the "self into the sense" which threaten to occlude love's "sweetnesse" ("Jordan" II). Yet, as in "The Quidditie," verse also offers the possibility of relation, when, Herbert suggests, one foregoes egotism (note the ostentatious simplicity of "it is that which"). His poetry's central paradox is the labor required to receive with utter passivity the mysteries of the Other and the grace of restored relation that comes as pure gift.

It is tempting to assimilate religion to the modern academy's priorities by highlighting religion's intellectual, psychological, affective, or political dimensions. Still, religion—and poetry—aspire to more. Love and relation may be imagined as the ends of religion (from *religare*, to tie or bind), toward which ideas, schemes, interpretive strategies, devotional emotions, and ecclesiastical organizations labor. Both the revised sequence of Donne's *Holy Sonnets* and Herbert's "The Church," the central section of *The Temple*, culminate in love

(in the couplet of "Father, part of his double interest" and "Love" (III), respectively). Southwell's most famous poems reorient amatory poetry toward divine relation, and meditate on the always imperfectly requited nature of divine love ("The Burning Babe" and the apostrophe to Christ's eyes in *Saint Peters Complaint*).

Love comes as unsought intrusion in Southwell's "The Burning Babe": "Surpris'd I was with sodayne heat, which made my hart to glow" (2). That sudden heat emanates from the burning babe, who is both "scorched with excessive heate" and sheds "floodes of teares … As though his floodes should quench his flames, which with his teares were fedd" (5–6). Helpfully, the babe explicates the emblem he forms: "Love is the fire and sighs the smoke the ashes shame and scornes" (10). Southwell reorients amatory conventions: the newborn Christ is a suffering lover, lamenting that "none approach to warme their hartes or feele my fire, but I" (8). The poem's cold "I" (it is winter) may also be cold-hearted; this persona begins the poem shivering and ends by remembering "that it was Christmas-day" (16). The passionate, suffering love of the Christ child functions mnemonically, to recall the human witness of this divine emblem, this divine alchemy, into sacred time. Like Jesuit sacred parody, the poem does not merely empty but also reorients its secular precedents. In this case amatory conventions are aligned with sacred truths: that divine love exceeds that of the impassioned sonneteer; that the love expressed in the incarnation is both passionate and lonely; that movements in human awareness—from shivering isolation to sacred mindfulness—require an incarnate deity's suffering.

The apostrophe to Christ's eyes, arguably the most accomplished section of Southwell's *Saint Peters Complaint*, also offers relation. The apostrophe begins when Christ "in time" (325) glances at Peter. That "in time" signifies at least three ways: eventually; in historical time; just in time. The apostrophe expands on Luke 22, as side notes in the Waldegrave manuscript and some early printings make clear. Christ's eyes are first likened to those of a disdainful mistress, albeit one who blesses even as "Darts of disdaine, and angry checks" fly forth, whose "graceful quivers of loves dearest darts" warm and wound Peter's "cold," "stony" heart (330, 352, 354). As the apostrophe continues, Southwell moves from Luke 22's glance "in time" to the Song of Songs, the biblical model for passionate love (again, side notes in the Waldegrave and some early printings mark the biblical precedent). Expanding on the Song of Songs, Southwell's Peter meditates on the relation Christ's gaze establishes: "By seeing things, you make things worth the sight, / You, seeing, salve, and being seen delight" (377–378). Christ's eyes ameliorate as they gaze. The essence of those eyes, made by Southwell into entire worlds, is love:

> O gracious spheres, where love the Center is,
> A native place for our selfe-loaden soules:
> The compasse, love, a cope that none can miss:
> The motion, love that round about us rowles:
> O Spheres of love, whose Center, cope and motion,
> Is love of us, love that invites devotion. (403–408)

One might productively compare Donne's "Good Friday 1613, Riding Westward," where a rider argues that we are spheres whose motion is devotion—a motion that too often goes awry when, in Southwell's terms, we are "selfe-loaden." In Southwell's poem, love invites

response, imperfect as it always must be. Southwell offers an expansion of biblical material, infinite exploration of Christ's love, and delight ("You … being seen delight"). Peter cannot apprehend that love and delight fully. Yet his failures do not discourage the love that invites devotion, or the gaze that salves.

For Herbert in "The H. Scriptures" (I), the source of improving reflection is the Bible. This sonnet proclaims the Bible as the ultimate poetry:

> Oh Book! infinite sweetnesse! let my heart
> Suck ev'ry letter, and a hony gain,
> Precious for any grief in any part;
> To cleare the breast, to mollifie all pain. (1–4)

In this book is endless "sweetnesse," a word Herbert frequently uses both for poetry's delights and the intensity of encounter with the divine. Herbert gestures to the common image of poetry as a flower from which spiders (wicked readers) suck venom, while bees (virtuous readers) suck honey. Here, only honey is invoked; the verb "let" governs a petition both impassioned and deferential. The pleasures the scriptures offer are not transparent, tame, or limited; they are "a masse / of strange delights" (6–7), a fullness of puzzling pleasures. The scriptures also offer an improving reflection: "Ladies, look here; this is the thankfull glasse, / That mends the lookers eyes: this is the well / That washes what it shows" (8–10). A "thankfull glass" flatters through slight convexity (Herbert 2010, 209); the scriptures "mend" the lookers' eyes, improving our flawed perceptions. As the reflection in Christ's eyes (in Southwell) makes the looker worth seeing, so the scriptures purify ("wash") the readers who seek their reflections there. Herbert draws on 2 Corinthians 3:18; in the Geneva translation, the verse reads: "But we all beheld as in a mirror the glory of the Lord with open face, and are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord." The Geneva notes interpret this mirror as "the Gospel" which "transformeth" those who look upon it, though there is some caution about lay biblical interpretation: "Paul speaketh here properly, of the ministers of the gospel." Herbert's likening of the scriptures to a flattering mirror for women seems tainted by presumption about women's vanity. But embedded in that presumption may also be a point about the scriptures' wide reach.

In Herbert's "The Glance," God looks at the speaker, as opposed to the speaker looking at God, as in "The Glimpse," or at the scriptures, as in "Holy Scriptures" (I). In that glance appears the "strange delight" also found in "The H. Scriptures" (I). The self's experience of God's "sweet and gracious eye" (1) is emotional, affective: "I felt a sugred strange delight" (5). It is not a new glance that does this—as in Southwell. The poem's first two stanzas recall a "sweet originall joy" in a retrospective view of a life that continued to draw on the grace of a single moment. The final stanza anticipates a future in which that look, at last recapitulated, will exceed the "originall joy"; moving beyond the autobiographical perspective offered in the first two stanzas, that future is imagined in communal terms: "What wonders shall we feel, when we shall see / Thy full-ey'd love!" (19–20). Most commentators have seen a hint of Revelation 21 ("And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes …") in the poem's best line, which hopes for the moment "When thou shalt look us out of pain"

(21). The line anticipates the brilliant "Love" (III), the culmination of "The Church" and of Herbert's "Love" sequence, in which the fullness of relation is established—despite the self's stubborn clinging to its unworthiness—through the gentle insistence of "quick-eyed Love."

We can certainly distinguish between Herbert's scriptural mirror and Southwell's Christic one, perhaps with reference to different emphases in Protestant and Catholic understandings of the Word. Yet Herbert's and Southwell's meditations on improving reflection also suggest areas of commonality (biblical precedent and models; the reorientation of amatory poetry). Herbert's and Southwell's emphases on love also ask us to think about what *counts* as religion in our scholarly models, and about how we might accommodate both the particularities of Reformation-era literary culture—the fine-grained details of cross-confessional literary circulation; closely argued doctrinal debates; energetic contestations over the nature and use of biblical poetics; the fragmentation, mourning, and (re) enacting of community—and the ends toward which Reformation-era religious poetics labored. For to read those poetics well, we must also make room for the strangeness of relation—its intensity ("The Burning Babe"), its mystery ("The Night"), its sometimes baffling obscurity ("Show me, deare Christ"), its sugared beauty ("The Glance"). Attending to religion in all its dimensions of devotion, affect, contestation, theology, praxis, community, and love can only help us read Reformation-era poetry, and develop our models for poetics, in more carefully historical and ethical ways.

Notes

1 Some of these have been taken up in recent scholarship. See, for instance, Perry (2014) on imitation, Schwartz (2008) on sacrament, and Cummings (2002) on philology.

2 To some extent, Lewalski addressed this oversight in her 1993 book on women writers, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*.

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AUTHORSHIPS AND AUTHORITIES

6
Manuscript Culture: Circulation and Transmission

Steven W. May and Arthur F. Marotti

Introduction

Renaissance literary studies have traditionally focused on the analysis of printed texts. The printing press has correctly been seen as the pivotal technology that moved European culture off its medieval foundations. Study of the (printed) book, the history of the book, and print culture has emerged since the 1970s in our investigation of the principal means by which the new learning, arts, religious change, and intellectual advancement of all kinds permeated European culture. The process is summed up in the catchphrase "from script to print," with script representing the old-fashioned, medieval technology that was by implication largely replaced by the new print technology. Only in the past few decades have scholars shown any widespread interest in Renaissance scribal culture.[1] They have found that many important texts circulated only in manuscript, never (or only posthumously) finding their way into print. Furthermore, the scribal production and transmission of texts are socioliterary phenomena that have finally attracted widespread literary and historical attention.

Far from fading away after the advent of printing, manuscript culture vigorously expanded, nurtured by ever-increasing literacy rates and the emergence of a relatively prosperous middle class. The late Middle Ages saw an enormous increase in the volume of handwritten documents in both Latin and the vernacular. Texts of all kinds circulated in manuscript before they reached print, while authors' presentation copies of their writings were often handwritten fair copies. In addition, numerous manuscripts were copied in whole or part from printed sources. The traffic between manuscript and print was two-way.

The role of poetry in Renaissance scribal culture was in some ways merely an extension of medieval practice. Besides the copies of the major works of such major poets as Chaucer, Gower, Hoccleve, and Lydgate, religious verse, ballads, love lyrics, and satires enjoyed

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undiminished popularity. Manuscript anthologies composed largely or entirely of verse entries survive from the late Middle Ages: if representative, they bear witness to a scribal practice differing from that of mainstream Renaissance culture. Many of these anthologies are collections of individual poems or groups of poems copied by trained scribes and compiled as units from individual quires. Connoisseurs of poetry could purchase "bespoke" anthologies of poetry they wished to own, or they might collect the gatherings over time before binding them into a single volume. The Auchinleck Manuscript, for example, preserves an important, early corpus of medieval verse. It is a vellum codex written by six main scribes in the period 1330–1340.[2] A number of fifteenth-century collections of verse share a similar format.[3] Poetic miscellanies transcribed by one or more amateur collectors over a period of years are all but unknown before the sixteenth century when examples of the "standard" Renaissance model begin to appear, among them Richard Hill's anthology (Balliol College, Oxford MS 354, *c.*1505–1536), John Colyns's manuscript (British Library MS Harley 2252, *c.*1517–1539), and Humphrey Wellys's collection (Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.813, *c.*1520–1535).[4]

Although the poetry transmitted through Renaissance scribal networks overwhelmingly took the form of relatively short lyrics (100 lines or fewer), some longer works also circulated in manuscript. Such lengthy poems had been the mainstay of the medieval tradition, dominated by *Piers Plowman* and the long narrative works of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. A few examples of medieval chivalric romance occur in sixteenth-century manuscripts, including *Robert the Devil* and *Sir Eglamour*, both exceeding 1000 lines of verse.[5] Judging from the number of these romances that reached print during the period, it seems likely that many more also circulated in transcribed copies. An early Tudor poem comparable in length to these medieval works is William Palmer's "The disclosinge of the practyse of Stephen Gardnyner byshope of Wynchester," in 5400 lines of four-stress verse.[6] Palmer's effort is dwarfed by "Lawson's Orchet," John Lawson's metrical history of England (24,360 lines).[7] Neither Palmer's nor Lawson's work was likely to have circulated, yet a few quite substantial Renaissance poems certainly did. Among them is a 768-line pentitential poem on the "Four Last Things," composed in the Tower by Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel in 1587, which survives in eight manuscripts. Religious sentiment also inspired John Woodward to compose the "Life and Tragedy of Mary, Queen of Scots," a narrative of more than 1200 lines that is found in four manuscripts. The Bashe libel, in more than 300 lines of iambic tetrameter couplets, maligns Queen Elizabeth's victualler of the navy, Edward Bashe (d.1587). It circulated from the 1580s into the 1620s and is extant in seven manuscripts. Even more popular was Thomas Buckley's "Libel of Oxford" (1568). Of the dozen manuscript witnesses to this poem, nine preserve more than half of its 260 lines, and can be dated from the 1580s to the mid-1640s.[8] Richard Corbett's "Iter Boreale," his 500-line verse narrative of a journey through the Midlands, survives in more than three dozen manuscripts (see Denbo 2012, Poem 25). Even more impressive is Sir Francis Hubert's *Life and Death of King Edward II*, a narrative of more than 4000 lines in rhyme royal stanzas found in 23 transcribed copies.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England verse was transmitted in several forms: (1) in single sheets (sometimes enclosed in letters or, as in the case of Sir Walter Ralegh's "A Poem put into my Lady Laitons Pocket," delivered personally); (2) in bifolia and quires or small booklets (some later bound together with other such objects in composite manuscripts);[9]

(3) in codices (sometimes in manuscripts that began as bound blank books ready to receive whatever writings an owner-compiler or a group among whose members the book circulated wished to inscribe).[10] Over time, most single sheets and quires that have survived, especially letters and those with literary content, have been collected into bound volumes, often with more regard to their size than contents or their relationship to other papers bound up with them. An example of bifolia now bound together would be the individual papers, including poems and letters, in Edward Bannister's manuscript (BL MS Add. 28253) and some of the pages in Peter Le Neve's manuscript (BL MS Add. 27407) that were folded loose sheets such as those used in correspondence. An example of the second form of transmission is the individual sections of the composite Skipwith family manuscript (BL MS Add. 25707).[11] Harvard MS English 121 is a stitched gathering of nine folios entitled "A Booke of verses made by Sir John Harrington Knight who dwelt at Bathe." This type of circulation is also represented by the booklet containing the complete sequence of poems written for Venetia Digby from which, as the editor of the 1640 Jonson Folio explains, a section went missing: "A whole quaternion in the middest of this Poem is lost, containing entirely the three next pieces of it, and all of the fourth … excepting the very end … "[12] Individuals often stored both unbound separates and quires among their family muniments, examples of which can still be found, mostly in private collections deposited in local record offices or other repositories. They reveal the forms in which these texts originally circulated. Among the Clifton family papers at the University of Nottingham—for instance, MS Cl LM 16–84—is a collection of loose poetic separates for the most part dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds, MD 59/22, is a similar collection of 22 seventeenth-century bifolia and short gatherings.

The third transcription format is found in many of the numerous (often vellum-bound) collections from the period: such blank books came in various sizes—from prestigious folios (such as Huntington MS HM 8) down to duodecimo student notebooks (such as Folger MS V.a.148). When whole codices were passed on to friends, they were not necessarily copied as a whole, for compilers of new anthologies were usually selective in their transcriptions. Nevertheless, some manuscripts, such as British Library MSS Harley 6917–18 and Additional 58215 or Harvard MS English 626 and Bodleian MS English Poetry c.50, track one another closely in portions of their contents, exemplifying the circulation of what Harold Love has called "rolling archetypes," groups of poems that are frequently found together in manuscript collections, demonstrating that it was not only single poems that were being passed around and transcribed, but larger units of verse (see Love 1993, 134, 346–347; Marotti 2014).

Some manuscript poetical anthologies, like personal miscellanies, were compiled by individuals for their own use and satisfaction. They either transcribed poems in their own hand, as did Peter Calfe in his two-part anthology (BL MSS Harley 6917–18)[13] or, like Chaloner Chute (BL MS Add. 33998), arranged to have a professional scribe do the work (Marotti 2011).[14] Others were the product of a book's being passed around in a restricted group, resulting in transcriptions in multiple hands. The famous early Tudor Devonshire Manuscript (BL MS Add. 17492) circulating among a group of courtly women and their lovers in the late Henrician period is a particularly interesting example, since it offers evidence of women's participation in the system of manuscript transmission of verse (see Heale 2012). The more typical situation of group composition would be the numerous manuscripts from the universities and Inns of Court in which many compilers have recorded their own and others' verse: for example, Marsh's Library, Dublin, MS Z 3.5.21

was compiled by students at St John's College, Cambridge from the 1580s well into the Stuart era. Bodleian MS English Poetry c.50 is a mid-seventeenth-century academic collection whose texts are transcribed in four different hands.

Finally, some collections were designed as presentation copies, usually as gifts to social superiors. A few of the many large compilations of Donne's poetry are documents of this sort: the Leconfield MS (Cambridge MS Additional 8467), given to the Earl of Northumberland; the Bridgewater MS (Huntington MS EL 6893) to John Egerton, later Earl of Bridgewater; the Haslewood-Kingsborough MS (Huntington MS HM 198.1) to Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich; and British Library MS Harley 4955 (which is also an important manuscript for Jonson's poetry), perhaps to Sir William Cavendish, first Earl of Newcastle.[15] Peter Beal has argued that the "Gower Manuscript," containing the verse of Thomas Carew, is an authorial manuscript meant to serve as a presentation copy (see Beal 2000).

Some of the compilations of verse in poetical anthologies and in miscellanies of prose and poetry are as large as or larger than the printed poetical miscellanies of the period. The family manuscript compiled by John Harington of Stepney and his son Sir John Harington of Exton has 324 poems, even after the removal of many its pages.[16] Henry Stanford's anthology, Cambridge University MS Dd.5.75, has some 300 items (see May 1988); Nicholas Burghe's large folio manuscript, Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, has 243 folios with verse by at least 68 writers; Folger MS V.a.345 has over 500 poems. By comparison, the largest of the printed Elizabethan poetical miscellanies, *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602), has 176 poems. In forms ranging from single sheets to large collections, the manuscript system of literary transmission was thriving in the period, despite the exponential growth of the printing industry.

Occasional Verse and Manuscript Transmission

Long ago, J. W. Saunders, surveying the field of early modern poetry writing, offered a broad view of the occasions for verse composition:

> Poetry was an instrument of social converse and entertainment, sometimes in the form of a masque, sometimes the subject of an informal parlour game or competition of wit. Poetry could be used as a compliment or comment on virtually every happening in life, from birth to death, from the presentation of a gift to the launching of a war: it was the agent of flattery, ego titillation, love-making, condolence. Poetry was the medium of personal syntheses and the expression of personal analyses. (Saunders 1951, 509)[17]

The vast majority of poems written in the period were occasional and manuscript transmission particularly suited this kind of verse. The occasions of and purposes for verse composition include (but are not limited to) the following:

1 The celebration of births and commemoration of deaths
A large number of poems are associated with these circumstances. Birthday congratulations and celebrations, however, such as Ben Jonson's poem about the 1630 birth of Prince Charles ("And art thou born, brave babe?") are much scarcer than epitaphs and elegies, the poetry of death being a much more important feature of surviving manuscript collections. For example, Nicholas Burghe's collection (Bod. MS Ashmole 38) has some 200 elegies in its final section. Elegies and epitaphs were written for monarchs

such as Queen Elizabeth and King James and members of the royal family such as Prince Henry and Queen Anne; for deceased patrons or patronesses, such as the Countess of Pembroke;[18] for admired national or international figures such as the Protestant hero, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden; for dear friends such as Lucius Cary's comrade Henry Morison;[19] for colleagues or respected members of an academic community, such as the physician Dr. Johnson of Oxford;[20] for children, such as Ben Jonson's son and daughter, for whom the poet composed epitaphs; for lovers, and, in the case of Henry King's very popular poem "The Exequy," for spouses.[21] Sometimes such poems were part of a group effort in a particular environment such as the university or London to mourn the death of individuals, such as Prince Henry, Edward King, or Ben Jonson whose demise could be mourned collectively—though usually this resulted in printed commemorative volumes.

2 Wooing and other forms of love-solicitation

Though many or most love poems from the period are literary fictions preserved in print, such as those the foolish young amorist sends to Lady Elinor in Gascoigne's "Adventures passed by Master F. J." (Gascoigne 1573, sig. 2nd A1–M3), many love lyrics in surviving manuscripts were addressed to specific (sometimes named) individuals. A rare collection of unbound love letters, several in verse and addressed to Elizabeth Southwell, is preserved in the Paget family archive.[22] John Stewart transcribed a 32-line love poem that he appended "In the end of ane letter To Ane Honorabill Ladie," sent to her *c.*1585, along with "Ane Ansueir to the letter Of ane Honorabill Ladie," also in verse.[23] Sir George Radney's ill-fated wooing of the Countess of Hertford, which led to his suicide, produced an exchange of poems that appears in several manuscripts.[24]

3 The wish or need to satisfy the taste of (usually) male readers for witty eroticism

This verse includes such pieces as Thomas Nashe's "Choice of Valentines" and the obscene piece sometimes titled "A Maid's Denial" (usually beginning "Nay pish, nay pew [or phew]"), which appears in some 26 manuscripts.[25] A miscellany of the 1630s, British Library MS Additional 30982 includes the latter poem, along with Donne's erotic elegy entitled "to his Mrs going to bed" and one of the bawdier stanzas from Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. Other popular pieces are Sir John Harington's witty epigram beginning "A virtuous lady sitting in a muse" (about a woman whose husband tells her that her sitting with her legs spread apart has exposed her private parts to view);[26] "Uppon a wench under: 14" ("Why should passion make thee blinde" [Folger MSS V.a.319, f. 17 and V.a.322, p. 3]); and Sir John Davies's "Faith (wench) I cannot court thy sprightly eyes," which concludes, "Harke in thine eare, zounds I can () thee soundly" (Davies 1975, 180).[27] Such fare was associated with all-male environments that fostered wit and literary experimentation, especially the universities and the Inns of Court: hence the production of Ovidian love elegies, as well as anti-courtly love lyrics and satiric verse in the Inns and in London tavern culture, many of which poems were probably read aloud and later circulated in single sheets, bifolia, booklets, or whole codices.[28]

4 Leave-taking by lovers or friends going on journeys

This subgenre, called in classical literature the propempticon, is illustrated by the many valedictory poems written by Donne. It is important not only as a way of professing constancy of love or friendship in separation but also because most travel in the period, especially over water, was hazardous. Thomas Carew, no doubt influenced by

Donne's separation poems, wrote, for example, "Partinge Celia Weeps" ("Weepe not (my deare) for I shall goe"), which survives in seven manuscripts, including two with musical settings by Henry Lawes and John Wilson.[29] There is a royal leave-taking poem in Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 71, "His Majesty [Charles I's] valediction to the Queen at her departure" ("Must we depart then, and shall the heaven's sole eye").

5 Imprisonment

With time on their hands, prisoners often turned to writing poetry to protest their innocence, beg for mercy, engage in philosophical and religious reflections, or merely pass the time. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Smith, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and his brother Robert (later Earl of Leicester) wrote metrical translations of the psalms while imprisoned in the Tower of London.[30] Henry Goodere's apologetic verses written from the Tower *c.*1571 were still circulating in the 1620s and beyond. In the wake of the Essex rebellion of February 1601, both Essex and his co-conspirator, Henry, Earl of Southampton, wrote poetry while imprisoned in the Tower. Southampton's verses, addressed to the Queen, survive in only a single manuscript, but Essex's poem ("The Passion of a Discontented Mind") circulated widely. At least six transcribed texts of the latter are extant, in addition to versions printed in whole or part between 1601 and 1621 including at least one musical setting.[31] The Babington Plot conspirator, Chidiock Tichborne, composed from prison in 1586 a poem beginning "My prime of youth is but a frost of cares"; it became a set piece in manuscript culture for more than a half century to come.[32] Even more popular was the poem Sir Walter Ralegh was thought to have composed before he was executed, "Even such is time."[33] Less popular but still widely circulated was the lyric written by a chastened John Hoskins from the Tower, where he was sent for his too-free speech in the 1614 "Addled" Parliament, "Hoskins in the Tower to his little son Benjamin" ("My little Ben now thou art young").[34] There is a long association of literary texts with imprisonment, "Tower verse" amounting to a distinct subgenre of Renaissance English poetry.[35]

6 The sending of New Year's greetings and gifts as well as presenting gifts on other occasions

These practices, appropriate both in patron–client relationships and in those of love and friendship, were central to a hierarchical society and gift economy. About 1580, for instance, George Puttenham wrote his "Partheniades," a collection of 19 poems intended as a New Year's gift for Queen Elizabeth.[36] William Smith prepared an 11-folio quire of his poetry as a New Year's gift (*c.*1595) for Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (BL MS Add. 35186). British Library MS Additional 10309 has a copy of a poem that was presumably sent to its addressee along with a copy of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: "Upon Sydneis Arcadia sent to his mistris" (ff. 86v–87v). William Strode has a similar poem, "A Superscription on Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia sent for a Token" ("Whatever in Philoclea the Faire").[37] There is an interesting twist on the practice of sending New Year's gifts and messages in Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 26, "To a gentlewoman that desired nothing to her New Year's gift" (f. 3). When the gift came from a friend or patron, poets could also respond with verse.

7 Expressing gratitude for gifts or favors received

This act was particularly important in patron–client relations, where poetic professions of devotion or love, often accompanied by either modest or extravagant gifts, were calculated to strengthen such bonds. For example, a poem in fourteeener couplets

in Robert Gregory's anthology (Harvard fMS 757, f. 90), expresses heartfelt gratitude for the love shown to the author by the unnamed addressee and his or her son, who has performed some "feate" beneficial to the poet: "unto your sonne I yeeld the like / For that his skillfull feate / Whome I amonge my friends accompte / with love I him embrace." Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetical 246 records a similar expression of gratitude in verse by Robert Creswell "To the Lord Viscount Falkland, upon the receipt of a book from his lordship" (f. 26).

8 Maintaining and/or celebrating bonds of family, friendship, and clientage

This usually generated epistolary verse designed to keep open the lines of communication and strengthen relationships. Verse letters, best known today from those composed by John Donne and his friends, in fact have a long history in scribal circulation stretching from Chaucer's "Envoys" to Scogan and Bukton and Wyatt's letters to Sir Francis Bryan and John Poyntz (Rollins 1966, poems 126, 125). Several verse letters survive by Sir Thomas Heneage, Queen Elizabeth's favorite and Treasurer of the Chamber; one is addressed to "my Lord," another to "Madame," while a third responds to a poem written by the Queen (May 1991, 341–343). Several poetic expressions of friendship by James Reshoulde, "Ed: Chapman," and Robert Mills are preserved in Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 85. They address other students at St John's College, Cambridge in the late 1580s, including John Finnet and an unidentified T. M., lamenting absence and pledging friendship.[38] As John Gouws has shown, epistolary verse was used to maintain the friendship of Nicholas Oldisworth and Richard Bacon (Gouws 2005). A seventeenth-century manuscript of Sir John Percival included a poem by a friend, Lot Peere ("Had Mr Percivall perceivd it well"; BL MS Add. 47111, f. 80v) along with his own response ("Had Mr Peere but learnt that money aws"; f. 81r–v). Presumably an ongoing epistolary exchange lay behind these pieces.

9 Commenting on current political events and scandals

This produced libels and other politically dangerous verse to which the manuscript system was more receptive than was officially censored print publication. The fall of the Earl of Essex, the death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the Somerset–Howard marriage scandal and its aftermath, the planned, but failed, Spanish Match of the later Jacobean period, the assassination of the (much-hated) Duke of Buckingham—all these generated poetry with wide manuscript circulation.[39]

10 Satirizing the behavior of social superiors, equals, and inferiors

Satiric epitaphs were composed for prominent members of the political and social elite (such as those for Robert Cecil[40] and Penelope Devereux, the Duchess of Devonshire), and for social inferiors such as university butlers and others whose surnames or professions invited witty wordplay. See, for example, the comic epitaphs for two different men named "Prick," one of Christ Church, Oxford and the other of Christ College, Cambridge: "On Mr Prick of Ch. Ch." ("On the thirteenth of November") and "Epitaph upon Mr Prick of Christ College Cambridge" ("A month or two before September").[41]

11 Responding to local or parochial events and circumstances, such as royal visits to the university, competition in the university for offices, situations of rivalry between colleges and universities, and town–gown conflicts

Poems were written about King James's visit to Christ Church in 1621 at which time Barton Holiday's play *Technogamia* was embarrassingly performed,[42] and about

Richard Corbett's forgetting his sermon text because he was preoccupied with the ring he had just been given by the king as a gift.[43] There were many poems about the competition at various times for the position of Proctor at Oxford: for example, the poem beginning "What how now Christ Church blades what all a-mort" (about a 1625 situation) and poems about the 1626 "Proctors' Plot" such as Richard Corbett's "When plots are proctors' virtues and the gift."[44] This category also includes poems about Samborne the sheriff of Oxford[45] and Mrs. Mallett, the notoriously ugly and allegedly libidinous local woman.[46]

12 Responding to the verse of others through competitive versifying, answer-poetry, literary appropriation, and the supplementing of received texts

This is a very important aspect of manuscript verse transmission, accounting for the different kinds of activities in which receivers of texts handled and modified what came into their hands in a system open to creative participation. Practices of competitive versifying, rooted in academia, spread throughout the culture. John Donne's "The Extasie" appears to have been written along with Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's "Ode Upon a Question Moved" as competitive verse on a set theme. Donne also engaged in a stanza-by-stanza act of collaborative, but competitive verse-making with his closest friend, Sir Henry Goodyer, in "A Letter written by Sir H. G. and J. D. *alternis vicibus*." At court, several famous exchanges took place some of which produced widely circulated poems. Verses by Sir Walter Ralegh were answered in kind by Queen Elizabeth, Henry Noel, and Sir Thomas Heneage (among identifiable respondents). Lady of the Privy Chamber Mary Cheke composed a feminist response to a misogynistic epigram by Sir John Harington.[47] At Christ Church, Richard Corbett's poem about Puritan iconoclasm, "Upon Fairford Windows," was one of several poems on the topic addressed by Christ Church poets.[48] Henry King's poem "The Boy's answere to the Blackmore" responded to Henry Reynolds's "A Blackmore Mayd wooing a fair Boy." Religious parodies also survive: Robert Southwell responded to Sir Edward Dyer's "A Fancy" with "A Phansie turned to a sinners complaint" and George Herbert wrote "A Parodie" to answer William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke's "Song: Soules Joy."

Despite the opposition to verse on moral grounds throughout the period, poetry in one form or another was a highly esteemed part of everyday life for persons of different social levels. Poems show up in Renaissance contexts and were used for purposes unusual or unknown in modern times. In a summary of Elizabethan court proceedings at Wakefield, for instance, the scribe includes a verse exhortation to "eache man to … / laboure For to gayne in order moste semelye / whearbye to maintayne His stayte and Faymylye" (Nottinghamshire Record Office DDSR 231 41/1, f. 2). The bursar's account book for All Souls College, Oxford (1572–1573) includes English verses written on its front and back covers, plus a humorous poetic indictment of bursars on f. 1 subscribed, "Judas was a burser of Christes colledg" (MS. DD All Souls.b.33). Twenty-four lines of Dyer's love lament beginning "He that his mirth hath lost" are inscribed in a contemporary hand on the flyleaf of an Elizabethan book of Crown leases (College of Arms, London, B.13). Writing to Lord Burghley on December 17, 1584, Watkin Vaughan complains of abuses by various officers in the Marches of Wales, but breaks into poetic praise of

Burghley (not set off as verse) toward the end of the letter, then adds, "My hart doth pant, my hand doth quyver, / in dutifull dutye, your style to delyver" (PRO SP 12/175, f. 73v). Verse cropped up even in the most prosaic contexts throughout the Renaissance.

Tudor and Early Stuart Poets and Manuscript Circulation

From the early Tudor period through to the Restoration, many poets functioned primarily in the system of what Harold Love calls "scribal publication," their work reaching print either late in their careers or posthumously, without their consent. Publication via transcription by successive hands could lead to a very wide readership, given the enormous volume of material constantly transmitted through the scribal networks that encompassed both England and Scotland. Much of what has long been considered elite courtier verse was in fact widely available in manuscript copies throughout the period and frequently appeared in print with or without authorial intervention. Sir Thomas Wyatt, for instance, who in 1528 dedicated his translation, *Plutarckes boke of the Quyete of mynde* (Wyatt 1528), to Katherine of Aragon,[49] had perhaps already released a number of his lyric poems into manuscript circulation. Some of them reached print *c.*1538 in the first surviving edition of *The court of Venus* (see Fraser 1955, 140). The Earl of Surrey's verse elegy for Wyatt was published between Wyatt's death in the fall of 1542 and *c.*1545; Surrey may have been directly responsible for publication of this tribute to his friend, or the printer may simply have acquired a copy of the poem from among those in manuscript circulation.[50] The transcribed works of both poets were readily available by 1557 when the London printer Richard Tottel drew on several manuscript collections of them for his precedent-setting poetical anthology, *Songes and Sonnettes written by Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey and other* (1557) ("Tottel's Miscellany").

The patterns of scribal publication by courtier poets are more easily traced during Elizabeth's reign thanks to the ever-growing number of surviving manuscripts as we move forward in time. Seven courtier poets—Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Arthur Gorges, Fulke Greville, Sir John Harington, Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Robert Sidney—valued their poetry sufficiently to prepare fair copies of their works.[51] Overall, courtiers freely disseminated their verse, but with a few exceptions. At one extreme Sir Robert Sidney seems to have shared his poems only with members of his immediate family. The Sidney family's close friend, Fulke Greville, apparently allowed only a few of his poems to circulate during Elizabeth's reign or thereafter.[52] Meanwhile, to judge from the extant copies, verse by the age's foremost courtier poet, Sir Philip Sidney, became the most widely read in manuscript of any poet of the reign. All of his poetry circulated widely, aside from the sonnets of *Astrophil and Stella*, for Sidney was a committed scribal publisher with no concern for keeping his work close.[53] He allowed his *Arcadia* poems, for example, to be transcribed at four different points in his revision of the work during the 1580s, and by at least eight different scribes.[54] Sidney's friend Sir Edward Dyer also released his poetry freely into the scribal networks. His lover's lament beginning "He that his mirth hath lost" became an instant hit, extant in more than a dozen manuscript copies and imitated by more than a half dozen contemporary poets including Sir Francis Drake and King James VI of Scotland. Dyer's "The lowest trees have tops" survives in an

even greater number of manuscripts, a number of them transcribed well into the first half of the seventeenth century (May 1991, 66–67, 308–309). Other courtier poets not only allowed their work to circulate freely in manuscript but also published poetry under their own names or allowed it to be published as such. The printer Henry Disle obtained eight lyrics by the Earl of Oxford which he attributed to him in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576). Seven of these were reprinted as Oxford's in all subsequent editions of that anthology, publication the earl could easily have squelched if he had any objection to seeing his verse in print. On the contrary, Oxford's earliest datable poem is the commendatory verse he published in 1573 with Thomas Bedingfield's translation of Girolamo Cardano's *Comfort* (STC 4607). In the same year that Oxford's poems appeared in the *Paradise*, the non-aristocratic Walter Ralegh, a hanger-on at court in desperate pursuit of patronage, published commendatory verses for George Gascoigne's *The Steele Glas*. As a knight and established courtier, Sir Walter contributed two commendatory poems to the first edition of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590). His cousin, Sir Arthur Gorges, was circulating his lyrics no later than 1581 when one of them appeared in Henry Chillester's anthology, *Youthes Witte* (Chillester 1581; see May 2006). Three other poems by Gorges were printed in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), *The Poetical Rhapsody* (1602), and other anthologies, while others survive in manuscript miscellanies from the period.

Lyric poems by some Catholics and Catholic converts circulated in manuscript. If printed, they were published posthumously. This is the case for Robert Southwell's verse, which was published after his death in 1595, but which evidently circulated earlier and appeared later in a number of seventeenth-century anthologies (see McDonald and Brown 1967, xxxvi–lv). William Alabaster's religious sonnets were confined to manuscript transmission and survive in five main documents.[55] Henry Constable published his secular poetry in *Diana* (1592 and 1594), but his religious sonnets were restricted to manuscript.[56]

An instructive example of a poet whose work was disseminated through manuscript transmission is John Donne. From the period of his residency at Lincoln's Inn in the 1590s through that of his ministry (1615–1631), Donne circulated his verse to friends as well as to patrons and patronesses both as individual poems and as small or large collections, a large body of his verse entering more general manuscript circulation at the universities and in the wider culture in the 1620s. As Peter Beal notes, there are more manuscript copies of Donne poems than of those of any other writer from the period: the editors of the *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* have identified some 239 manuscripts containing his verse and counted "well over 5,000 separate transcriptions of individual poems."[57] Donne's poetry, especially his secular verse, was perceived as provocative, artful, innovative, and timely, speaking especially to an intellectual elite ranging from friends and colleagues such as Sir Henry Goodyer, Rowland Woodward, and George Garrard and to more socially elite readers such as William Drummond of Hawthornden, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, and Lucy, Countess of Bedford. Goodyer, in fact, had a "book" of Donne's verse that the poet, since he did not have copies of all his poems, had to ask him to return when he contemplated printing a limited edition of his verse in 1614 before he took orders (see his letter to Goodyer in Donne 1974, 196–197). Goodyer was a conduit for some of Donne's verse that entered the "Conway Papers."[58] Rowland Woodward, another friend, compiled a manuscript that has, in addition to 10 prose paradoxes, 79 of the poet's verse letters, elegies, satires, epigrams, and religious sonnets, but only one of his

love lyrics, "A Jet Ring Sent" (New York Public Library, Berg Collection, "Westmoreland MS"). Donne, of course, sent a number of verse letters individually to friends and patronesses, including Sir Henry Wotton, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, the Countess of Huntington, and Lady Carey and Mrs Essex Rich—the last epistle being the only poem found to date to have been transcribed in the author's own hand.

The manuscript collections that contain Donne's poems, sometimes in great numbers, are mainly from the 1620s and 1630s. Although Huntington MS HM 198, part II is probably from the mid-teens, there seems to be a considerable gap between the composition and initial circulation in the 1590s and early 1600s of Donne's satires, elegies, and love lyrics and the appearance of these poems in poetical collections. The manuscript record indicates that, like the set of Donne's five satires (accompanied by two verse letters to Christopher Brooke), the 12 numbered elegies that appear in Rowland Woodward's manuscript collection also circulated as a group (see Stringer 2000, lxviii–lxx). Peter Beal suggests that "various *Songs and sonnets* were gathered together and copied as an independent collection" (Beal 2002, 124). The manuscripts containing poems from the *Songs and Sonnets* often have very large groups of these poems, but it is interesting to see that some poems ("The Blossom," "The Primrose," "The Relique," and "The Dampe") regularly appear as a cluster in some of these.[59] Donne's dedicatory poem to Magdalen Herbert prefacing the religious sonnet sequence "La Corona" indicates that Donne sent these poems to her as a unit, and a similar sonnet-epistle "To E. of D. with six holy Sonnets" signals the transmission of six other religious poems to another patron. Examining the texts and groupings of the poems, the editors of the Donne *Variorum* have concluded that Donne revised his set of his *Holy Sonnets* twice, sending the poems out in a group, not singly (Stringer 2005, lx–lxxi).

In the early part of his career, John Donne functioned in the literarily rich environment of the Inns of Court before his brief period of government service under the Lord Keeper Egerton (1598–1601). He was active in those London political and social groups that included Inns men, parliamentarians, and other members of the urban intellectual elite. Other poets also belonged to these environments and circulated verse within them. They include, among others, Francis Bacon, whose poem "The world's a bubble" survives in a remarkable 72 manuscript copies;[60] John Hoskins, who wrote the politically satiric poem on "The Parliament Fart," which, over several decades and with contributions of a number of other wits, took on a life of its own in manuscript transmission;[61] Sir John Roe, whose verse usually appeared in manuscripts containing Donne's poems;[62] and Sir John Davies, some of whose poems were published,[63] but whose salty and satiric epigrams were widely distributed in manuscript, singly and in groups.[64]

Ben Jonson, who regarded John Hoskins as an intellectual "father," was on the periphery of the Inns of Court and London tavern culture in which young, intellectually iconoclastic wits such as Hoskins and Donne participated, befriending the latter also in the context of both their relationships with the patroness Lucy, Countess of Bedford. Although he was a theater professional and deliberately fashioned an image of himself within print culture, Ben Jonson, before and after the printing of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (1616), was a manuscript poet, sending particular pieces as well as small groups of his poems to friends and patrons (see Jonson 2012, 1: lxxvii; Sanders 2006; Bond 2010). Others down the line of manuscript transmission passed on particular pieces, sometimes mixed with the work of other writers: for example, the

new Jonson elegy discovered in the 1990s by Katherine Duncan-Jones, "*Ad Carissimam Memoriam Thomae Nashi Amici Dilectissimi Beniamin Jonsonus hoc Elegidium Consecravit*," survives in a bifolium (Berkeley Castle muniments General Series Miscellaneous Papers 31/10) transcribed by Henry Stanford, who had himself done an earlier poetical anthology (Duncan-Jones 1996).[65]

Most of Jonson's poems seem not to have entered the mainstream of manuscript transmission the way Donne's did, for we have only a few collections of his verse in manuscript.[66] Some few pieces, however, appear in many surviving manuscript collections: particularly two poems from the Venetia Digby sequence, "The Picture of the Body" ("Sitting and ready to be drawn") (46 copies), and "The Mind" ("Painter yo'are come, but may be gone") (35 copies), and "The Houre-glasse" ("Doe but consider this small dust") (38 copies). In addition, some other Jonson poems are prominent in the manuscript record: "An Epigram on the Princes birth" ("And art thou borne, brave Babe? Blest be thy birth"), "Epitaph [on Cecelia Bulstrode]" ("Stay, view this stone: and, if thou beest not such"), "Epitaph on Elizabeth, L. H." ("Would'st thou heare, what man can say"), "An execration upon Vulcan" ("And why to me this, thou lame Lord of fire"), "A Grace by Ben: Johnson. Extempore. Before King James ("Our King and Queen the Lord-God blesse"), "Ode to himselfe" ("Come leave the lothed stage"), and lines 21–30 of the fourth poem in his "Charis" sequence survive in numerous manuscripts.[67] Colin Burrow points to the invitation in one of the Venetia Digby poems to pass the verse to her husband (and, implicitly, to socially prestigious recipients with whom he was in contact) not as a wholehearted endorsement of the broad manuscript circulation of his work, but "as means of access to an elite circle. He would probably have accepted that that circle would have leaked material to the not quite so elite circles of Oxford, Cambridge, and Inns of Court miscellanists, but it is unlikely that he *sought* circulation in these forms."[68] The fact that two of the Venetia Digby poems got into such general circulation may be related to this request on their author's part. Considering how many poems Jonson wrote, however, especially those not published in the 1616 Folio within the collections called *Epigrammes* and *The Forrest*, relatively few of his verse compositions survive in the manuscript record and most that do are in only a small number of copies. What this indicates is that many of his poems, especially those addressed to particular patrons, patronesses and friends, had limited manuscript circulation and it is fortunate that the posthumous publication of the third major collection of Jonson's poems in *Under-wood* in the second Folio of Jonson's works in 1640 preserved many pieces that otherwise would have been lost. Burrow notes that those Jonson poems that survive in autograph copies are all "on single sheets, the majority of which show fold marks as though they were enclosed with letters, and most of which show clear signs of having been sent or given to a specific recipient." As an example, Burrow offers the "Lowell autograph of Jonson's epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode in the Houghton Library … on the same sheet as a letter to George Garrard, which explains that the poem was composed while Garrard's man was waiting for a reply."[69] This is a very restricted form of what Harold Love has called "author publication" (Love 1993, 47).

There was a kind of high-water mark for the production of manuscript compilations of poetry in the 1620s and 1630s, in large part because there was a fashion for manuscript transmission of poems and collections of poems at the universities, particularly in such literarily active environments as Christ Church, Oxford (see Hobbs 1992, 116–129 and

passim; Marotti 2014). At Christ Church, many of the poets wrote and circulated verse in the academic environment, and their work often migrated to London, where it was incorporated in compilations being made there. They did not, however, loom large in print culture, although their work did sometimes appear eventually either in badly done, unauthorized editions[70] or in printed miscellanies and poetical anthologies, or it was issued, like Donne's and Herbert's poetry, in more respectable posthumous editions. Christ Church poets such as Richard Corbett, William Strode, George Morley, Henry King, Nicholas Oldisworth, and William Cartwright wrote largely occasional verse that was circulated at the university in bifolia, booklets, and whole manuscripts. Both Corbett and Strode were enormously popular as manuscript "publishers" of their work, many of their pieces passing into broad circulation: for example, Corbett's witty lyric "To the Ladyes of the New Dresse" ("Ladyes that weare black cypresse vailes"), which provoked "The Ladyes Answer" ("Black Cypresse vailes are shrouds of night"), survives in 36 manuscript copies.[71] William Strode's verse, which appears in a very large number of manuscript collections, never found its way into a single-author printed collection in the early modern period.[72] There is one manuscript, Oxford Corpus Christi College MS 325, that is a large autograph collection of Strode's verse (mixed with only four poems by Corbett): it shows signs of authorial correction and self-censorship. The manuscript compilation by his cousin, Daniel Leare, British Library MS Additional 30982, probably derived from the poet's own papers and his work was obviously copied by many other Christ Church members, as well as by others in the university and beyond. Given the large number of poems Strode wrote and the spread of these through manuscript culture, it is quite surprising that no enterprising publisher undertook an edition of his large body of verse—though some miscellanies and anthologies of the period printed individual poems. Particular Strode poems obviously resonated in the culture: for example, Peter Beal points out that Strode's song, "I saw faire Cloris walke alone," which survives in some 100 copies, was, perhaps, "the single most popular English lyric of the 17th century."[73] His poem "In commendation of Musique" ("When whispering straines do softly steale") is found in 34 manuscripts; "On a blisterd Lippe" ("Chide not thy sprowting lippe, nor kill") in 32 copies; "On a Butcher marrying a Tanners daughter" ("A fitter Match hath never bin") in 45; "On a Gentlewoman that sung, and playd upon a Lute" ("Bee silent, you still Musicke of the sphears") in 32; "A Sonnet" ("My Love and I for kisses played") in 49; "A Song" ("Aske me no more whether doth stray"), formerly attributed to Thomas Carew,[74] in 45.

Other Oxford poets include William Cartwright, whose poems circulated in manuscript at the university,[75] to be gathered later for posthumous publication by that enterprising publisher Humphrey Moseley, whose mid-century publications brought much manuscript-circulated verse into print;[76] Nicholas Oldisworth, whose verse does not appear in a large number of manuscripts, but who left a large autograph manuscript collection of his poems, Bodleian MS Don. C.24;[77] and Henry King, a very popular poet in manuscript circulation both at the university and in London, whose printed collection of verse in 1657 was probably unauthorized.[78] Oxford poets with a smaller output of verse include William Lewis (of Oriel College), Jeramiel Tennent, Ben Stone, Brian Duppa, and George Morley, the last of whom was the Christ Church clergyman who later became Bishop of Winchester: his epitaph for King James is preserved in 54 manuscript copies and his lyric "On the Nightingale" ("My limbs were weary and my head oppressed") survives in 25. His personal collection of verse,

Westminster Abbey MS 41, compiled over several decades, according to Mary Hobbs (1992, 116–129), was loaned at different times to Christ Church students.[79] Though Cambridge University was not nearly as productive of manuscript-circulated verse as Oxford, some poets, such as Thomas Randolph, who moved from the university to London, where he became one of the "sons of Ben [Jonson]," put lyric poems into manuscript circulation.

Like Donne, whom he elegized in a poem printed in the 1633 edition of that poet's verse, Thomas Carew was fundamentally a manuscript poet whose work was, during his lifetime, transmitted in manuscript, then printed posthumously in a single-author edition in 1640. Many poetical compilations done at the university and in London in the 1620s and 1630s contain his poetry, demonstrating that he was one of the most popular manuscript poets of the time, whose poems circulated in urban and courtly environments, including London literary circles such as the one surrounding Ben Jonson.[80] Having served abroad in the embassy of Sir Dudley Carleton, from whose service he was dismissed for an indiscretion, Carew cultivated aristocratic and courtly patrons and was well known for a number of his poems, including the semi-pornographic "The Rapture," which survives in 32 manuscript copies. Other widely dispersed lyrics include "The Comparison" ("Dearest thy tresses are not threads of gold") (54 copies); "An Excuse of absence" ("You'le aske perhaps wherefor I stay") (32 copies); "A flye that flew into my Mistris her eye" ("When this Flye liv'd, she us'd to play") (73 copies); "Lips and Eyes" ("In Celia's face a question did arise") (30 copies); "A prayer to the Wind" ("Goe thou gentle whispering wind") (56 copies); "Secresie protested" ("Feare not (deare Love) that I'le reveale") (56 copies). The circulation of such poems, basically from the collection of Carew's songs and lyrics, was much broader than that of the occasional poetry he wrote for friends, relatives, patrons and patronesses (Nixon 2000, 201).

Carew sometimes addressed other writers: he composed a poem in response to his friend Aurelian Townsend's request that he write an elegy for Gustavus Adolphus, "In answer of an Elegiacall Letter upon the death of the King of Sweden from Aurelian Townsend, inviting me to write on that subject" ("Why dost thou sound, my deare Aurelian); and wrote a poem answering the self-defensive piece Ben Jonson wrote after the theatrical failure of his play, *The New Inn*, "To Ben. Johnson. Upon occasion of his Ode of defiance annext to his Play of the new Inne" ("'Tis true (deare Ben) thy just chastising hand"). The second of these exists in an autograph fair copy on a single folio leaf among Carleton's papers.[81] With the notable exception of the elegy he wrote for John Donne, Carew's commendatory poems for the work of other authors were intended for print publication and have left few manuscript traces.[82]

Although scholarly discussions of Robert Herrick's poetry had been, until fairly recently, focused on his 1648 printed collection, *Hesperides*, more attention is now being paid to the long period in which he circulated verse in manuscript. John Creaser, for example, has pushed back the dates of composition of a number of well-known Herrick pieces, arguing that we need to attend to his functioning within both university and urban environments for many years before his period of virtual exile in Devon (Creaser 2009).[83] The new Oxford edition of Herrick's poems by Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly has extensive discussions of the manuscript versions and their transmissional histories (Cain and Connolly 2013, II: 33–489). They characterize Herrick's early practices as those of a poet following the example of Ben Jonson of the 1610s, restricting the

circulation of his verse to select readers. The 460 or so surviving manuscript copies of Herrick poems indicate that he "was a reasonably but not excessively widely copied poet in manuscript circulation" (Cain and Connelly, 2: 3). They distinguish two overlapping periods of manuscript circulation of this verse: "From the 1620s to the 1640s there is evidence of the reasonably widespread circulation of between thirty and forty long poems and short lyrics in verse miscellanies. … Then, in the second half of the century, short lyrics which had been set to music start to circulate widely, primarily through the editions of printed music published by John Playford …" (Cain and Connelly, 2: 5).

Many poets located in London at the Inns of Court, at court, and in the social and political circles of London tavern culture, circulated verse in manuscript. For example, William Browne of Tavistock, who was at the Inner Temple, wrote poetry that circulated both at the university and in the city.[84] The poet-playwright Francis Beaumont put a number of his poems into manuscript circulation.[85] The dramatist James Shirley allowed his verse to circulate in manuscript in the Inns environment: Chaloner Chute's anthology, for example, contains some 14 of his poems.[86] William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke had a number of poems which Peter Beal states "achieved a considerable measure of circulation in manuscript copies both before and after his death in 1630," some three decades before their publication in John Donne, Jr.'s deceptively edited *Poems … by … William Earl of Pembroke … {and} Sr Benjamin Rudyerd* (1660).[87]

Edmund Waller circulated his verse "amongst persons of the best quality, in loose imperfect manuscripts" before being published in 1645 and 1654 in what Peter Beal calls "allegedly authorised editions."[88] Few manuscript documents survive that contain poems by Richard Lovelace and Sir John Suckling, but, Beal notes, John Cleveland's poems "were widely circulated in manuscript, particularly in the universities and London society" both before and after the several printed editions of his work.[89] Before the Restoration, little of Andrew Marvell's verse escaped what Beal calls his "immediate circle," but after that period a lot of his political pieces were widely circulated.[90] Traherne's voluminous manuscript writings were evidently kept quite close so that they were lost from sight until their modern rediscovery.[91]

Although some women poets, such as Isabella Whitney, Aemilia Lanyer, and Margaret Cavendish, were mainly print poets,[92] sixteenth- and pre-Restoration seventeenth-century women's writing was usually restricted to manuscript circulation—at least initially. For example, Anne Southwell's poetry remained in manuscript, compiled by her husband Henry Sibthorpe in two surviving manuscripts; the colonial Anne Bradstreet's verse remained within her family until her brother-in-law arranged for its (unauthorized) publication in London (Bradstreet 1650); and Katherine Philips had a distinctive literary coterie for manuscript writing before the unauthorized (and personally embarrassing) printing of a collection of her poems in 1664 and the precedent-setting *Poems By the most deservedly Admired Mrs Katherine Philips. The matchless Orinda* (1667) (see Wright 2013, 27–145; Stevenson 2000). All these writers, however, were outside the main manuscript networks in which the work of male poets circulated: the university, the Inns of Court and London tavern circles, and the Court.[93] Margaret Ezell's discussion of "social authorship" in relation to the literary activities of women of the Aston–Thimelby families, and of Marie Burghope, Elizabeth Brackley, Jane

Cavendish, Jane Barker, and Mary Mollineux, points to some of the other routes of manuscript transmission outside those used by their male counterparts—though the writings of Dudley North were part of similar familial and social environments (see Ezell 1999, 21–44).

Coda

In our time, literary manuscripts from numerous archives continue to be reproduced on microfilm and in digital facsimiles. A growing number of scholars are studying these reproductions as well as the original documents for what they tell us of the social history of texts, the routes of transmission, and the large field of poetry writing only incompletely represented by print culture and the literary histories based on it. The poetic production of both canonical and non-canonical authors as well as of anonymous writers are represented in the manuscript medium, but what we find in the various surviving manuscripts are not only individual texts or collections of the work of particular authors, but also the traces of literary interactions and social networks, signs of creative participation of verse compilers in the making of the anthologies they constructed and, in more than a few cases, in the poems they were inspired to compose. Virtually every literate person in the early modern period felt free to write poetry. The professionalization of the role of poet in the modern era may have been an aesthetic advance, but it also represented a cultural loss.

Notes

1 See, in particular, Beal (1980–1993) (now expanded in the online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, hereafter *CELM*), Boffey (1985), Hobbs (1992), Love (1993), Marotti (1995), Woudhuysen (1996) and Beal (1998). The "Perdita Project" of recovering early modern women's writing has resulted in a number of editions of particular authors and in the construction of archives of digital facsimiles of manuscript texts: "Perdita Manuscripts, 1500–1700". Since 1989, the annual, *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, has published many valuable studies of English manuscripts.

2 Auchinleck Manuscript (1977, vii–ix).

3 For example, Bodleian Library MSS Fairfax 16 and Tanner 346, and Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.6 (the Findern Anthology). See Parkes (1991, 293–294); Scattergood (2006, 47–51); see also Barr (2013).

4 See Dyboski (1907). Facsimile images of Hill's anthology are available online at https://www.flickr.com/photos/balliolarchivist/sets/72157626911330875/ and in Jansen and Jordan (1991). For a discussion of Colyns's manuscript, see Meale (1983, 82–103).

5 British Library MS Egerton 3132A, ff. 1–23v; Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Douce 261, ff. 26–48v.

6 TM 756, Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.3.33 (613), composed *c*.1547.

7 British Library MS Lansdowne 208, dedicated to Lord Burghley in 1581.

8 Critical texts of both libels with full textual commentary are in May and Bryson (2016).

9 Ivy (1958, 40) observes that "[i]n manuscript times, the quire was the basic unit of the book. Most books were probably written by their authors in quires. … Miscellaneous manuscripts were compiled by the quire." Crum

(1961) argues that John Donne's attempt to collect his scattered verse for publication in 1614 would have involved gathering loose sheets as well as booklets of his verse. In the preface to the second edition of Richard Corbett's poetry, *Poetica Stromata* (1648), the editor alludes to the messy form of manuscript literary transmission as he offers to stabilize a body of verse in print: "I heere offer to thy view, a Collection of certaine pieces of poetry, which have flown from hand to hand, theses [*sic*] many yeares, in private papers, but were never Fixed for the publique eie of the world to looke upon, til now" (sig. A2r).

10 Woudhuysen (1996, 47) calls these "paper books"; see also Beal (2008, 281).

11 See Marotti (2010). See the description of this manuscript in Eckhardt (2009, 233–235).

12 See Jonson (1963, 256). The *OED* defines the "quaternion" as follows: "[a] quire of four sheets of paper or parchment folded in two. Formerly also: a sheet of paper or parchment folded twice." See also "quire" in Beal (2008, 329–331). The Jonson example is cited in Marotti (1995, 10), where the poet's habit of circulating packets of his poems (e.g., to the Earl of Newcastle) is noted.

13 Calfe transcribed almost all of the contents, but the last pages of Harley 6918 were written by another scribe.

14 Another professionally transcribed manuscript is Bod. MS Rawl. Poet. 31, written in the distinctive hand of the man Beal calls the "Feathery Scribe" (1998, 58–108). British Library MS Harley 6910 and Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.89 are examples of Elizabethan verse miscellanies prepared by professional scribes.

15 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/DonneJohn.html.

16 This mutilation of the manuscript occurred when a later member of the family, Henry Harington, was putting together a late eighteenth-century volume, *Nugae Antiquae* (1779); see Hughey (1960).

17 Saunders's groundbreaking account of the circulation of manuscript texts in various forms and within various groups and coteries is still very valuable.

18 See, for example, William Browne of Tavistock's epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke, "Underneath this marble [sable] hearse," for which *CELM* lists 68 surviving manuscript copies: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/brownewilliamoftavistock.html. Browne was, in Michael Brennan's words, "the official poet of the Herbert family" (Brennan 1982, cited in Michelle O'Callaghan's biography of Browne in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB): http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3706?docPos=6).

19 Folger MS V.a.322, p. 19, has Cary's "An anniversary on Sir Henry Morison. With an apostrophe to my father Jonson," as does BL MS Harley 4955, f.182.

20 See, for example, "An Epitaph on Doctor Johnson Physitian" ("Were thou but a single death? Or but on corse"), found in Folger MS V.a.345, p. 78 and in six other surviving manuscripts—see the Folger Union Index: http://firstlines.folger.edu/advancedSearch.php#results.

21 *CELM* lists 37 surviving manuscript copies of this poem: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/kinghenry.html.

22 Staffordshire Record Office D603/X/9, especially ff.21, 27, 28. Elizabeth (b.1567) was the daughter of Nazareth Newton by her first husband, Thomas Southwell; her second husband was Thomas, third Lord Paget. Her daughter served as a maid of honor from at least 1588 to 1594.

23 National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 19.2.6, ff. 71v, 79–79v.

24 See Radney's "From one that languisheth in discontent" (which survives in five manuscripts) and "What shall I do that am undone" (11 manuscript copes) and the Countess's "Divided in your sorrows I have strove" (which

survives in three). See the Folger Union Index: http://firstlines.folger.edu/search.php.

25 For a discussion of these and other obscene poems, see the chapter "Erotic Writing in Manuscript Culture" in Moulton (2000, 35–69) and Marotti (1995, 76–82).

26 See the discussion of this piece in Marotti (1995, 141–142).

27 The Folger Union Index cites 16 manuscript copies of this poem and two post-1640 printed versions: http://firstlines.folger.edu/advancedSearch.php#results.

28 For a discussion of the literary environment of the Inns, see Finkelpearl (1969, 3–80), Marotti (1986, 25–95), O'Callaghan (2007, 10–34), Nelson and Elliott (2010, xiii–xlvii), and Archer, Goldring, and Knight (2011).

29 See the list in *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/carewthomas.html.

30 Surrey paraphrased Psalms 55, 73, and 88: poems 54, 55 and 56, with several other poems, in Howard (1928). Smith's holograph psalm translations from British Library MS Royal 17 A.17 were edited by Danielsson (1963). Psalm paraphrases by the Dudley brothers are preserved in *The Arundel Harington Manuscript* (see Hughey 1960, poems 289, 290).

31 Goodere's poem was also copied into *The Arundel Harington Manuscript* (see Hughey 1960, poem 147). Southampton's poem has been edited by Crowley (2011). In addition to the four manuscripts collated in May (1980, 125–127), Essex's poem is found in British Library MS Add. 58215, ff. 186–82v and William Salt Library, Stafford, S. MS. 450, ff. 48–55v.

32 Tichborne's poem was printed in 1586, set to music by three composers by 1606, and set forth in a modern edition by Hirsch (1986, 309–310). Forty-five manuscript copies of the poem are recorded in *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/tichbornechidiock.html.

33 *CELM* lists 116 surviving manuscript copies: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/raleghsirwalter.html.

34 *CELM* lists 20 surviving copies: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/hoskynsjohn.html.

35 For a recent study of prison writing in the period, see Ahnert (2013).

36 A text of this work is preserved in BL MS Cotton Vespasian E.8, ff. 169–178.

37 This appears in Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS 325, f. 85 and in 11 other manuscripts. See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/strodewilliam.html.

38 Some of these poems are in Latin; for the English verse see especially ff. 53v–57, and 77v–80v. For a discussion of the Rawlinson manuscript, see Anderson (2000).

39 For texts of poems related to these political topics, see Bellany and McRae's *Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources*: http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html. For examples of Elizabethan libels, see the volume edited by May and Bryson (2016).

40 For poems about Robert Cecil, see Croft (1991).

41 The first is found in Hunt. MS HM 116, p. 48; Folger MS V.a.103.1, f. 23; and Bod. MS Don. D.58, f. 16v; and the second in Folger MSS V.A.162, f. 21v and V.a.339, f. 273v; BL MS Add. 10309, f. 145; and Bod. MS Don. D.58, f. 15.

42 These include Richard Corbett's "Christ Church presents a marriage to the King," William Meredith's "More trouble yet? 'twas but an organist," Peter Heylyn's "Whoop Holiday nay then 'twill ne'er be better," and the anonymous epigram "At Christ Church marriage before the king."

43 This epigram "Upon Dr. Corbett Dean of Christ Church," begins "A reverend dean with his band starch'd clean."

44 The Folger Union Index lists five copies of the first: http://firstlines.folger.edu/advancedSearch.php#results; and *CELM* list seven copies of the second: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/corbettrichard.html.

45 See Ben Stone's "On one Samborne high sheriff of Oxfordshire" (beginning "Fie, scholars, fie, have you such thirsty souls") and

the anonymous epigram beginning "Our Oxford sheriff of late is grown so wise."

46 See Richard Corbett's "On Mistress Mallett" ("Have I renounc'd my faith or basely sold").

47 For texts and commentary see May (1991, 317–321, 339–340, 358–359, 245–247), and May (1983).

48 See also William Strode's "I know no paint of poetry" and Jeramiel Terrent's "I hope at this time 'tis no news."

49 His dedicatory epistle to the Queen was signed, "your most humble subject and slave / Tho. wyat" (sig. A3).

50 Howard (1545). Sessions (1999, 246) affirms without hesitation that the Earl sent his elegy to the press; but if so, it seems odd that he would have allowed his memorial to be diluted by two longer poems not directly connected with Wyatt.

51 May (1991, Part II, "Canons and Texts"). Other aristocratic poets probably did the same, whose collected poems are either lost or have not yet come to light.

52 The Arundel Harington MS preserves two of Greville's poems: his amusing narrative of the discovery of a couple caught *in flagrante dilecto* in public and the lyric beginning "Away with these self-loving lads," which was also set to music by John Dowland in 1597. Dowland also set to music Greville's lyric that was published in the unauthorized first edition of *Astrophil and Stella* (1591; "Faction that ever dwells"). A third lyric, "Love, the delight of all well-thinking minds," was published in 1598, set to music by Michael Cavendish.

53 By contrast, his brother Sir Robert Sidney seems to have more severely restricted the circulation of his verse. Although Sir Robert's influence has been traced in poetry written by his daughter, Lady Mary Wroth (see Roberts 1983, 47–48), none of his poems has surfaced in a contemporary manuscript or print. His poetry may have been shown to family members and friends, but it survives only in an autograph notebook rediscovered a few decades ago (BL MS Add. 58435): see Croft (1984).

54 See the stemma in Ringler (1962, 380).

55 See Beal's discussion in *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/AlabasterWilliam.html.

56 See Beal's discussion in *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ConstableHenry.html. These poems survive in National Art Library MS 44, BL MS Harley 7553 and Berkeley Castle, Select Books 85.

57 See Stringer (2000, xlix). Beal (2002, 122) counts "upwards of 260 manuscripts" containing Donne poems.

58 For a study of these manuscripts, see Smith (2014).

59 Gardner (1963, lxv) notes that in the "Group I" manuscripts of Donne's poetry, these lyrics are separated from the other 41 lyrics by "three unrelated poems."

60 See the list in *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/baconfrancis.html.

61 Another of his poems, "Absence heare my protestation," appears in 18 manuscripts as well as contemporary and later print publications, often mixed with poems of Donne and other Inns writers. For a discussion of Hoskins as a manuscript poet, see Colclough (1998). Colclough points out that Hoskins's poems are found in 110 manuscripts (1998, 374). Of his 44 poems, 19 are witty epitaphs (including the much-transcribed "On a young Gentlewoman" ["Nature in this small volume was about"]) and nine are political pieces, including "A Dreame" ("Me though I walked in a dreame"). For the circulation of "The Parliament Fart," see O'Callaghan (2006).

62 His "Epistle to Mr. Ben Jonson" ("The state and men's affairs") was mistakenly attributed to Donne in the 1635 edition of his poetry and his "Satira sexta. To Sr. Nicholas Smith" ("Sleep, next society and true friendship") was printed in the 1669 edition.

63 See *Orchestra* (1596), *Hymnes of Astraea* (1599), and the book that the Bishops banned in 1599, *Epigrammes and elegies by J. D {avies}. and C. M{arlowe}* [1595–1596?].

64 For Davies, see *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/daviessirjohn.html; also Davies (1975, 435–446).

65 Duncan-Jones states: "Most probably … the bifolium that contains Jonson's elegy on Nashe was transcribed by Stanford, who obtained the texts while staying at Blackfriars, in order to enclose them with a letter to one of the Carey ladies, Elizabeth Berkeley or her mother, Lady Hunsdon, or both" (1996, 11).

66 See Colin Burrow's textual essay in the online component of the Cambridge edition of Jonson: http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/The_Poems_textual_essay/1/. Burrow points to two manuscripts (Bod. MS Rawl. Poet. 31 and BL MS Harl. 4064) that contain collections he speculates were put together before the publication of the 1616 Folio, a collection Jonson assembled in order to send "to one or more of his aristocratic patrons an early version of a collection of classically inspired poems similar to *The Forrest*." Late in his career, Jonson put together a collection represented in the "Newcastle Manuscript" (BL MS Harl. 4955). On this important manuscript, which also has poems by Donne, Richard Andrewes, and Lucius Cary, see Kelliher (1993).

67 See the list of these in *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/jonsonben.html.

68 http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/The_Poems_textual_essay/1/.

69 http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/The_Poems_textual_essay/1/.

70 See, for example, the two defective editions of Richard Corbett's poetry, the first of which was edited by John Donne, Jr.: *Certain Elegant Poems Written by Dr. Corbet, Bishop of Norwich* (1647) and *Poetica Stromata* (1648).

71 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/corbettrichard.html. For a discussion of Corbett's anti-Puritanism and "early Stuart royalism," see McRae (2004, 155–187).

72 However, Strode's 1636 academic tragicomedy, *The Floating Island*, was printed in 1655.

73 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/StrodeWilliam.html.

74 See Forey (2005) and Nixon (1999). For a recent discussion of Strode's writing, see Smyth (2006).

75 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/CartwrightWilliam.html.

76 For a discussion of Moseley's poetry publications, see Marotti (1995, 259–265).

77 Forty-two of his poems also appear in another Christ Church anthology, Folger MS V.a.170. See the edition of the Bodleian manuscript in Gouws (2009).

78 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/KingHenry.html.

79 For a chart showing the overlap of this manuscript and several other Christ Church collections, see Marotti (2014).

80 See Scott Nixon's biography of Carew in the ODNB: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4639?docPos=4, and Beal's discussion of Carew's manuscripts in *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/CarewThomas.html. See also Nixon (2000).

81 National Archives, Kew, SP 16/155/79. This information is in Beal's *CELM* list of Carew's poems: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/carewthomas.html.

82 For example, "To my worthy friend Master Geo. Sands, on his translation of the Psalmes" was published in the second edition of George Sandys's *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (1638) and the only manuscript copy is inserted on tipped-in leaves into an 1810 edition of Carew's works, and "To my Honoured friend, Master Thomas May, upon his Comedie, The Heire" was published as a commendatory poem in Thomas May, *The Heire* (1622) and only the first four lines of it survive in one manuscript.

83 Creaser (2009, 190–193) dates many of the pieces in the 1610s and 1620s.

84 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/BrowneWilliamofTavistock.html.

85 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/BeaumontFrancis.html. There were two poor printed editions of *The Poems of Francis Beaumont* (in 1640 and 1653), in which only four out of the 132 poems are actually by Beaumont; see Ringler (1987).

86 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ShirleyJames.html; and Marotti (2011, 117).

87 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/PembrokeWilliamHerbertthirdEarlof.html.

88 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/WallerEdmund.html.

89 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ClevelandJohn.html.

90 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/MarvellAndrew.html.

91 See *CELM*: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/TraherneThomas.html.

92 Peter Beal, in *CELM*, observes of another woman writer whose work was printed, Lady Mary Wroth, "it is clear that some of the poems incorporated in *Urania* or in her sonnet sequence had a limited circulation in manuscripts, among her immediate family and social circle, though possibly a few copies extended more widely."

93 However, some important evidence to the contrary has been offered by Burke (2004).

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7
Miscellanies in Manuscript and Print

Jonathan Gibson

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, poetry could be found in many locations. As well as circulating as substantial collections of poems it appeared frequently in much smaller units: individual poems on single folded sheets, for example, or a few leaves bundled together. A poem might be enclosed in a letter with the latest news, sung to an audience, jotted into an account book, or attached to a wall or a post as a libelous "pasquil." Much of this verse was written with particular people in mind, whether as emotionally implicated addressees, casual readers, or as willing or unwilling subject matter. Throughout the early modern period, there was a strong association between this extensive and often intimate manuscript literature and the idea of exclusivity, of elite status. Many texts were, indeed, passed around within and between delimited groups: aristocratic or gentry families; students and tutors at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; young graduates undergoing legal training at the Inns of Court in London; courtiers in and around the royal court; roistering "wits" holding forth in London taverns.

Much of this versifying will have left no trace. The long-lived minor poet Thomas Churchyard claimed to have written "An infinite number of … Songes and Sonets, giuen where they cannot be recouered" (Churchyard 1593). Some authors, like the Elizabethan and Jacobean courtiers Arthur Gorges and Fulke Greville and the seventeenth-century poet Bishop Henry King, made, or directed scribes to make, "back-up" manuscript collections of their work; others, like their better known contemporaries John Donne and Sir Walter Ralegh, do not, so far as we know, seem to have bothered. In many cases, we only have access to the words of these authors' poems because they appear in "miscellanies," collections, in either manuscript or print, bringing together works by more than one author.[1]

Manuscript miscellanies, most of which seem to have been put together by or at the instigation of an individual man or woman, come in a bewildering variety of shapes and sizes, often combining both verse and prose. The origins and rationales of some are

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obvious: British Library, MS Egerton 2403, for example, contains devotional verse collected by the Elizabethan Catholic Thomas Wenman, possibly when he was in prison. Many, though, are somewhat mysterious objects: often, extensive research is needed to ascertain who might have compiled a miscellany, for what reason, and within what context(s). Poems are often unattributed, and it is not always clear which, if any, of the people who have scribbled their names on its flyleaves were involved in the putting together of a given manuscript.

Many miscellanies combine texts from more than one "coterie" or "scribal community," as well as also including copies of printed material.[2] Key miscellany sources for Elizabethan court poetry include poems by and associated with their non-court compiler alongside verse by Queen Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Ralegh, and other courtiers. Not all extant manuscript miscellanies come from such elite groups. The higher survival rate of manuscripts from aristocratic and gentry archives, however, means that miscellanies from other social groups tend to be uncommon. Representatives of what must be a very large number of lost texts include miscellanies compiled by an early Tudor London merchant (Dyboski 1907), a Lichfield saddler's wife (Burke 2001), and a Norfolk farmer (May 2005). Meanwhile, verse originally produced within elite circles frequently circulated far and wide, in both manuscript and print copies: two unprinted poems attributed to the Queen, for example, found their way by means of manuscript transcription into a household miscellany compiled by a legal agent in Elizabethan Yorkshire (May and Marotti 2014, 181–210).

Some miscellanies, like the big mid-seventeenth-century collection made over an extended period by the Skipwith family of Leicestershire (Hobbs 1992, 62–67; Marotti 2010), were written out on gatherings of loose sheets and only bound later.[3] Others were copied in pre-bound books (similar to modern-day exercise books) bought at stationers' shops. Navigating one's way through these collections can be a treacherous business. Compilers often divided their materials into distinct sections to guide their copying, starting a sequence of secular poems at the front of the book, for example, alongside a sequence of religious prose texts beginning at the opposite end of the volume, effectively "upside down" (Gibson 2010). Things frequently got more complicated, as new scribes added varying types of text at different points in the miscellany, sometimes altering the miscellany's purpose and/or structure; meanwhile, contemporary or later readers might quarrel with the verse, answering, supplementing, canceling. Folger Shakespeare Library, MS X.d.177, for example, having apparently been started in the late 1580s as an Oxford student's compilation of love poems and dirty jokes, was later used to record the funeral expenses of one of the student's relatives. Later still, Elizabeth Clarke, the original compiler's cousin twice removed, added a slightly more serious love poem (Zarnowiecki 2011).

Miscellanies of this sort (others are much more formal) are best viewed as texts in process, substantively different at different stages in their evolution as they gradually accrue more and more differently colored ink (Gibson 2012). The compilation of "sectionalized" miscellanies of this sort has a family resemblance to the habit of "commonplacing"—assembling extracts from one's reading for reuse in written or spoken discourse in a "commonplace book"—a notebook pre-divided by its compiler into headings ("God," "Marriage," "Anger," and so on).[4] The composition of a commonplace book was recommended

by pedagogical theorists as a fundamental part of the educational system: it was a means of grouping raw material that you could then deploy in your own writing (Beal 1993). Some miscellanies began life as formal commonplace books, while some commonplace books include verse extracts.

If a poem was printed, duplicate texts of it would reach a wider audience than any individual manuscript, but this fact did not in this period lend it a massively increased cultural authority. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, questions of personal and literary status were entangled, with the result that a key part of any poem's cultural capital was the social standing of its author and of the circle for which it was composed. Unpublished manuscript verse from elite circles was, therefore, much prized. It was in this context that the first printed miscellanies present themselves as secondary texts, means of access to elite manuscript culture. The earliest to survive complete, now known as "Tottel's Miscellany" (1557), highlights in its full title the rank of its lead poet, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, by then dead for almost a decade: *Songes and Sonnettes written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward* [i.e., Howard] *late Earle of Surrey, and other.* In the preface, the printer Richard Tottel berates the original aristocratic manuscript writers and readers of the poetry he has decided to print as "ungentle [i.e., "ungentlemanly"] hordersup of … treasure" (Holton and MacFaul 2011, 3). This association between the publication of coterie print material and access to hidden worlds is central to the marketing of the miscellanies that followed Tottel's collection later in the sixteenth century (Pomeroy 1973; May 2009). These books frequently advertise themselves to the reader as acts of voyeurism, means of accessing hitherto secret areas of coterie experience, or, as many of the titles make obvious, pleasurable enclosures: *The Arbor of Amitie*; *The Paradyse of daynty deuises*; *A gorgeous gallery* [as in the long gallery of an elite house] *of gallant inuentions*; *The arbor of amorous Deuises*; *Brittons bowre of Delights*.

This appeal beyond the printed miscellany itself to the elite origins of the poetry and the coterie manuscripts embodying it originally is something which sets the Elizabethan miscellanies apart from modern-day poetry anthologies. The editor of a twenty-first-century poetry collection destined for print publication can choose any text for it she or he wants, provided a copyright payment is made to the authors or their representatives. The concept underpinning this practice, which only gained legal status in 1710, is the idea that an author has a say in the right to reproduce her or his own work, that even if there is no physical copy of the work in an author's possession, he or she nevertheless "owns" it as "intellectual property" (Feather 2007). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by contrast, legal control of a text belonged not to its author but to the owner of its physical (manuscript) form. If a publisher had by whatever means come by a manuscript copy of a work, they could obtain the right to print and reprint it (cutting out other publishers) by simply making an entry in the register of the Stationers' Company.[5] Thus it would not have been possible for the publisher of a new verse miscellany to range across large numbers of printed texts picking and choosing the "best" poems: the right to reprint a text that had already been published belonged to its original publishers and was not something that could be bargained away by the author. In theory, therefore, every new collected anthology of poems needed to derive from a newly provided manuscript or manuscripts. It is not surprising, then, that Tottel's Miscellany and the Elizabethan printed miscellanies which followed in its wake are made up of large blocks of text that look as if they derive from

fairly substantial manuscripts or sections of manuscripts: sometimes miscellany manuscripts, sometimes single-author collections. Thus, Tottel's Miscellany consists of a section of mainly love poems by Surrey, a similar selection from Wyatt, poems by Nicolas Grimald, a miscellany of poems by "Uncertain auctors," and final short sections of additional poems by both Surrey and Wyatt, a very similar structure to that of the older sections of the "Arundel Harington Manuscript" compiled by John Harington of Stepney (North 2003, 172–178).

Although Tottel and his successors claimed to offer access to the world of manuscript literature, that access was heavily mediated. Not only did obscene and libelous poems popular in manuscript circulation—such as the notorious "Oxford libel," a punning list of town and gown cuckolds and adulterers (May and Bryson 2016)—fail to be published, but there were often big differences in appearance and organization between print and manuscript miscellanies. A comparison between Tottel's Miscellany and an earlier, informal manuscript miscellany with which it shares several poems, the "Devonshire Manuscript" (Douglas 2012), makes the distinction clear. As is the case in most manuscript miscellanies, there is no overall title to the Devonshire Manuscript, no indication of what the compilers' intentions for the manuscript were. After a fragmentary flyleaf, messily doodled over, the manuscript's main text begins—appropriately enough for a collection much taken up with secrecy and dissimulation—with a warning, written, like most of the manuscript, in the hand of an unidentified scribe:

> Take heed betime lest ye be spied,
> your loving eye ye cannot hide;
> at last the truth will sure be tried.
> Therefore take heed
> (Douglas 2012, 52)

The poem has no title and the initials which follow it may or may not be "Th. W." (i.e., "Thomas Wyatt"). Tottel's Miscellany, on the other hand, prefaces its opening poem with a panoply of contextualizing information: a title page, a note to the reader, and a title for the first poem (Surrey's "The sun hath twice brought furth this tender green") that provides the reader with an introduction to the poem's supposed situation: "Descripcion of the restlesse state of a lover, with sute to his ladie, to rue on his diying hart" (Holton and MacFaul 2011, 5). The Devonshire Manuscript was written in more than 10 hands and seems to have been put together by a group of Henrician courtiers, including three women from the Court of Henry VIII: the King's niece Margaret Douglas and two cousins of Anne Boleyn, Mary Shelton and Mary Howard. The bulk of the manuscript's verse (much of it by Wyatt) was copied in by unidentified scribes, but some was added by Shelton, Douglas, and Fitzroy, and there are some striking interventions. "[F]orget this," writes Douglas in the margin of one poem, only for Shelton—whose name the poem spells out as an acrostic—to counter by scrawling "it is worthy" (Douglas 2012, 59). In one piece Douglas seems to be self-consciously adapting a male-voiced love complaint into a poem in a woman's voice (Douglas 2012, 21). In such a context, the sort of paratextual props Tottel provides would not have been necessary. Who "Th. W." was would, presumably, have been obvious to the book's original users (cf. North 2003, 161–210).

Tottel's Miscellany was first printed in 1557, in the dying days of the reign of the Catholic Mary I. Mary was married to Philip of Spain, Spanish poets were present in England as part of her entourage, and Petrarchan lyric played a major part in contemporary Golden Age Spanish literature (Warner 2013, 83–86). Tottel was thus able to put together a print miscellany in which love poetry played a major role. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, however, with the return of the evangelical Protestant Marian exiles, the mood was one of stern moralism and the appearance of love poetry in print became more problematic: writers and publishers had to work hard to justify its publication. While Tottel had not anticipated any moral objection to the poetry he printed, ethical anxiety about the morality of amorous verse infused most of the early Elizabethan collections (May 2009, 429), an anxiety that loosened somewhat during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, particularly following the highly influential posthumous publication of the love poetry of the prestigious Protestant culture hero, Sir Philip Sidney (Marotti 1995, 228–238).

At the turn of the century an anthology appeared that audaciously ignored the idea that the print miscellany should primarily be a window onto the textual transactions of elite manuscript culture. This mold-breaking text was *Englands Helicon* (1600), a collection which makes no bones of the fact that it reprints many poems from books previously produced by other publishers, using the genre of pastoral as a method of grouping lyrics by Sidney, Shakespeare, Spenser, Greene, and others. Poems not originally given a pastoral setting are retitled and/or adapted to fit one. There are no single-author blocks; instead, pieces of different types by specific authors are spread across the volume. In the prefatory note "To the Reader," the editor, Nicholas Ling, argues that reprinting a poem in the new context of an anthology is no different from the very common early modern practice of quoting a named source in support of an argument or as an example of something, the practice that provided the rationale for the compilation of "commonplace books" (Ling 1600, A4). Ling's implicit argument is that *Englands Helicon* is an original work in its own right: a new creation designed for print and constructed out of previously printed works. He aligns the reprinting of already printed verse with a larger project on the commonplacing of English literature sponsored by John Bodenham, a member of the Grocers Company.

Although there is no trace of any specific complaint from publishers worried about Bodenham and Ling's co-option of their texts, it is striking that *Englands Helicon*'s free and easy approach to the reprinting of lyric verse did not have any immediate imitators. Its appearance does, however, seem to mark a shift in the nature of print miscellanies, as most of the early seventeenth-century collections that followed differ considerably from their forebears. Like *Englands Helicon* they look like projects deliberately and entirely conceived for print, and they do not, as earlier Tudor miscellanies did, position themselves as dependent on texts provided by elite manuscript circulation. These verse collections are a varied group, including a flood of jokey commendatory poems prefacing Thomas Coryate's *Crudities* (O'Callaghan 2007, 102–110), verse and prose miscellanies linked to the scandal over the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury (Bellany 2003, 117–131), and pastoral verse collections gathering together work by four "Spenserian" poets (O'Callaghan 2000). The very popular *A Poetical rapsodie* (1602), meanwhile, although clearly built on the old sixteenth-century model and deriving from pre-existing manuscript texts gathered by its editor Francis Davison, uses genre as an organizing principle far more extensively than earlier print miscellanies.

The corollary of these developments in the role of printed verse was a massive rise, in the first half of the seventeenth century, in the production of manuscript verse miscellanies. Miscellany readership apparently largely moved—to modern eyes, counter-intuitively—from print to manuscript. Anything approaching a "representative" verse anthology in the early decades of the seventeenth century would have had to have been in manuscript. One factor was perhaps an increase in the number of potential readers and compilers, as the early seventeenth century saw both the universities and the Inns of Court expand their numbers (Hobbs 1992, 23; Nixon 1999, 117). There also, however, seems to have been a political dimension, prompted in part by government censorship. In 1599, in the discontented dog days of Elizabeth's reign, as printed verse (including satires by writers such as Joseph Hall, Thomas Middleton, and John Marston) became increasingly critical of social mores and hierarchies, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London ordered the burning of nine specific titles. This "Bishops' Ban"—and the attitudes it expressed—perhaps helped push satirical writing into manuscript, simultaneously altering its form, rendering it harsher, rougher, and more politically subversive (Cogswell 1995; McRae 2004, 27–29). Certainly, in James I's reign, a series of scandals and crises provided irresistible ammunition for the authors of vituperative verse "libels" (Bellany and McRae 2005), including the fall of Sir Walter Ralegh, the poisoning in 1613 of Sir Thomas Overbury (allegedly instigated by the King's favorite Robert Carr and his new wife Frances Howard), the King's dissolution of the fractious, "addled" Parliament of 1614, and the assassination in 1618 of Carr's replacement as royal favorite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The development of manuscript poetic writing went hand in hand with the development of an early seventeenth-century craze for news (Cust 1986). Such was the demand among the aristocracy and gentry for "newsletters" keeping them up to date with the latest goings on that the occupation of newsletter writer, part of whose job was to seek out the latest scandalous verse, rapidly became professionalized.

Many early seventeenth-century manuscript miscellanies juxtapose prose records of recent political events with poetry; others specialize in a particular episode: Bodleian Library MS Rawl. C. 744, for example, focuses on the fall of the Earl of Essex, including transcripts of his arraignment and execution speech as well as of his poems. In other manuscripts, lurid verse about Jacobean court scandal provocatively rubs shoulders with more idealistic poems from an earlier generation (Eckhardt 2009).

Many of the collections from the 1620s and 1630s feature substantial single-author sections. Much the best known of these poets today—and also by far the most popular in his own time—was John Donne. Donne published very few of his poems in print; many more circulated very widely from miscellany to miscellany, often in big clumps. By the 1620s, Donne's poems (written from the 1590s onward) were circulating in large numbers, in an increasingly large number of manuscripts, including miscellanies (Stringer 2011, 18–20). It has been suggested that some of these earlier seventeenth-century miscellanies might have been speculatively put together for public sale, rather than compiled to individual commission, either within or outside the owner's household, though direct evidence for this practice before the later part of the seventeenth century is lacking (North 2015, 134–136; Woudhuysen 2014).

In the 1630s, a shift can be perceived in the contents and tone of the miscellanies. In the earlier part of the century, much scribal poetry had reflected a widespread cynicism about (if not necessarily overt antagonism to) the courts of James I and Charles I (Bellany and

McRae 2005). In the decade or so leading up to the Civil War, however, manuscript poetry seems to have become particularly associated with royalism and with the licentiousness that would be seen as particularly characteristic of later "Cavalier" writers. (Thomas Carew, one of the most popular manuscript poets of this period, is, in fact, commonly classed as a "Cavalier" poet even though he died two years before the Civil War.)

Manuscript miscellanies of the 1620s and 1630s include many texts produced slightly earlier by writers associated with Christ Church College, Oxford: in particular, the highly crafted verse of Richard Corbett, Bishop of Oxford, and his chaplain William Strode, anti-Puritan, royalist poets whose elegant and witty verse forms a major part of seventeenth-century manuscript culture, but which is very little known today. Their conservative politics found a receptive audience in many miscellany compilers of the 1630s, a period marked by a deepening of religious divisions between radical Puritanism and the "Laudian" church establishment. Christ Church was also the center for the dissemination of writings of an associated group of poets, including Henry King, George Morley, and Jasper Mayne (Hobbs 1992, 41–96, 486–502). The Christ Church tradition may owe its origins to Lambert Osbaldeston, headmaster of Westminster School between 1623 and 1638, for the school had a strong link with the college and Osbaldeston was well known for encouraging verse composition (Anselment 1984). Other poets whose works were read in these coteries included Thomas Carew, Robert Herrick, and Thomas Randolph. Oxford poetry continues to be popular in later miscellanies, where it can be found alongside the work of writers such as John Cleveland, Richard Crashaw, and James Shirley (Marotti 2014, 504–506).

The collapse of censorship which took place from about 1640 (McRae 2004, 210) had a dramatic effect on the production of print miscellanies. Almost immediately, miscellanies compiled along the freewheeling lines of *Englands Helicon* appeared. Rather than advertise their derivation from pre-existing manuscripts, these books are clear about their origins as print projects. They are self-evidently the result of selection from a wide range of possible sources, in both manuscript and print: reprinting was now "fundamental to miscellany editorial techniques" (Smyth 2004, 78). These small-format books often include a welter of light-hearted texts: poems that can be read more than one way; poems in unusual shapes; riddles; two-line mottoes. Stress is on future use: *The Academy of Complements* (1640) collects together forms of words and more extensive strategies, in prose and verse, designed largely for "courtly" wooing. Enthusiastic readers marked passages to transfer into their commonplace books or miscellanies and added material of their own (Smyth 2004, 32–64). Was the reappearance of the printed miscellanies from 1640 onward instrumental in the decline of the number of manuscript verse miscellanies during this period? Mary Hobbs claims that there were "noticeably fewer" of the latter (Hobbs 1992, 149) and suggests a link with the drop in student numbers at the universities and the Inns of Court.

During the 1650s, following the execution of Charles I, as tensions developed between the victorious army and Parliament, the print miscellany, together with its sister genre, the songbooks published by John Playford (Marotti 1995, 103), functioned as a sort of walled garden for cavalier play. Much of the poetry of the past few decades now saw print for the first time, including works previously thought too risqué for print: "Nay pish," for example, an Elizabethan poem in the voice of a woman who moves from resistance to compliance (Marotti 1995, 77), and Donne's elegy "Going to Bed" were both first printed in 1654 in *The Harmony of the Muses* (Marotti 1995, 269).

Critics have in the past highlighted the textual instability of manuscript verse: the tendency for poems, frequently unattributed to any author, to be copied and recopied, adapted and countered, spoofed and imitated, twisting and warping out of shape. A binary opposition has become familiar in the critical literature between such "manuscript fluidity" and what has been viewed as the comparative fixity and author-centeredness of print texts from the same period. This opposition has, however, been overstressed. While there are many author-less texts in the manuscript system, many manuscript compilers are nevertheless extremely interested, in a variety of ways, in the process of authorial attribution (North 2003, 159–210). Equally, while textual variation is certainly a feature of manuscript transmission, concern for fidelity to a copy-text, and the desire to produce an accurate text, does occur in the manuscript system (May 2002). Meanwhile, emphasis on authorship and textual fixity is only characteristic of some areas of print publication. It is certainly not a feature of the later seventeenth-century miscellanies. Meanwhile, quite as many texts were changed for printing from their manuscript copy-text, or in reprinting, as were changed during the process of manuscript copying (Tottel's tidying up of Wyatt's meter for his Miscellany is just one example; see May 2009, 424–426).

In their texts, poets dealt with the expectation—or the fear—of miscellany circulation in a variety of different ways. The memorializing of very specific moments of experience became a hallmark of seventeenth-century miscellany verse, taking its cue, perhaps, from the vividly realized situations that Donne provides for his lyrics (the killing of a flea, the gift of a jet ring). This sort of poetry, in which occasion is worked into the text rather than, as in much earlier highly conventionalized Petrarchan poetry, hidden from it, feels like something written in the knowledge that it will circulate beyond the immediate addressees. Specificity in the poetry that follows Donne is often fragile and subject to change, a tiny, vulnerable moment. Strode's "defining theme," for example, "is transformation" (Smyth 2006, 439): snow on Chloris's breast, in the massively popular "I saw fair Chloris walk alone," thaws into a tear for grief, then freezes into a gem. Other poems seem to have been written in the expectation that they will gather answers and/or supplements (see essay 28 in this volume). Supplementability is clearly part of the reason for the popularity of "The Parliament Fart," a long poem which imagines a sequence of responses to an MP's *faux pas* during a debate in 1607 on the naturalization of Scottish immigrants: a sequence which varied, expanding and contracting, from text to text, recording the names of more than a hundred MPs and continuing in popularity well into the later seventeenth century (Bellany and McRae 2005, C; O'Callaghan 2007, 81–101; Redford 2017, 132–138). A third and final category of poems addresses its vulnerability to rewriting and supplementation by simultaneously inviting and pre-empting it. The seductive lyric "Ask me no more," for example, "anticipates and incorporates debate" (Nixon 1999, 113), answering each question at the same time as it is posed:

> Aske me no more where those stares light,
> That downewards fall in dead of night:
> For in your eyes they sit and there
> Fixed become as in their sphere.
> (Nixon 1999, 97)

Similarly, in "The Lie" Sir Walter Ralegh not only commands his soul to hurl abuse at all sorts and conditions of people, but also, crucially, specifies what the reply to any reply should be:

> Goe sole the bodies guest
> Vpon a thankeles arrand
> …
> Goe tell the Court yt gloze
> And shines lyke rotten wood
> Goe tell the Church it shewes
> Whats good but doth noe good
> If Court or Church reply
> Giue Court and Church the lye
> (Southwell 1997, 2)

The soul must not simply attack the world; it must tell anyone who objects to what the poem says that they are a liar, and thus—according to the early modern code of honor—in effect challenge them to a duel. Ralegh has constructed his poem in such a way that it challenges not just the world he describes in the text of "The Lie," not only readers of the many seventeenth-century print and manuscript miscellanies his poem appears in, but also, potentially, readers of the poem in whatever future medium it finds itself.

Notes

1 "Miscellany" is the term used by modern scholars; confusingly, in early modern usage it usually refers to single-author collections of a variety of texts (Eckhardt and Smith 2014, 1–13). For an overview of miscellanies in both print and manuscript, see Marotti (1995); for surveys focusing mainly on manuscripts, see Woudhuysen (1996, 242–298) and Hobbs (1992); for print material, Pomeroy (1973) and Smyth (2004). Print miscellanies are listed in Case (1935); online annotated editions of some can be found in "Verse Miscellanies Online" (University of Reading and University of Oxford 2016). Beal (2016) provides an invaluable hyperlinked list of occurrences of canonical verse in manuscript miscellanies together with descriptions of those miscellanies only.

2 A term coined in Love (1993). The connotations of the word "coterie"—implying an extended, organized, and intellectually coherent group—are not often very germane to early modern manuscript transmission, which frequently is based in overlapping small-scale friendship groups and more extended open-ended "networks" (Scott-Warren 2000; Smith 2014, 16).

3 There are also many manuscript volumes (*Sammelbände*) in which originally distinct smaller collections of poetry were bound together years later.

4 In older scholarship, "commonplace book" often refers to a less formally structured collection of texts (what many critics would now call a "miscellany").

5 Early modern books were printed by "printers" and sold in the shops of "stationers" who often arranged printing, like modern-day publishers, and who were sometimes also printers; meanwhile, printers sometimes arranged publication. In this essay, the word "publisher" refers to any early modern individual who performed what we would today classify as a publisher's activities. Entry in the Register also indicated that a publisher had had a text licensed by state authority.

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8
Renaissance Authorship: Practice versus Attribution

Stephen B. Dobranski

When William Blake observed in 1793 that "Even Milton and Shakespeare could not publish their own works," he was defending the delayed appearance of one of his books: he had previously lacked, he explained, the "means to propagate" his illuminated poems (Blake 1978). But Blake, a self-proclaimed "Man of Genius," was also comparing himself favorably to his literary forbears, already the two pre-eminent English authors at the end of the eighteenth century. Whereas Milton and Shakespeare had limited authority over the transmission of their texts, Blake claimed to have "invented a method of Printing both Letter-press and Engraving in a style more ornamental, uniform, and grand, than any before discovered." The Romantic poet was boasting, in other words, that he had surpassed not only Shakespeare and Milton but also their publishers.

Blake's self-aggrandizing assertion deserves scrutiny in part because it points up a central paradox of Renaissance authorship: namely, the disjunction between a writer's practical authority and poetic achievement. In the case of Shakespeare, scholars have long viewed him as having almost no authorial ambition, conceding control of his printed works to members of the book trade and willing to collaborate with not just fellow writers but also actors, book holders, copyists, managers, and musicians. Milton, in contrast, had been consigned to the solitude of the poet's study and treated as a master overseer, almost supernaturally intending all aspects of his works, from the most obscure poetic allusions to the design of his title pages.

Recent scholarship on early modern authorship has effectively challenged both of these traditional perceptions. Lukas Erne (2003) has argued that Shakespeare cared about more than the stage and pursued popularity in print, envisioning some of his plays as published literary texts. Alternatively, I have proposed that Milton did not understand writing as an isolated act and routinely accepted advice and assistance from friends and acquaintances

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both during the imaginative creation of his works and in the practical process of putting his writing into print (Dobranski 1999).

Yet, even with such qualifications, Shakespeare and Milton allow us to plot a continuum of more versus less collaboration. On the one side is the tradition of relatively solitary creation, as represented by poets such as Milton; on the other side, we have the practice of an egregiously shared creation as represented by Shakespeare and other Renaissance playwrights. The theorizing of authorship and the careful attention that scholars have paid in the last three decades to the associations and conditions that enabled and influenced literary production during the 1500s and 1600s has potentially obscured this distinction by treating all writing as social. As Heather Hirschfeld has cautioned (2001, 619), "to insist that literary work is by its nature collaborative … risks evacuating the term of analytic meaning." In response to studies that emphasize a collaborative process of authorship, Hirschfeld suggests that critics should define the specific mode of a collaboration. We can differentiate, for example, a writer's social influences from the unique literary act of two or more writers deliberately contributing to the same text.

I would add, following Blake, that discussions of early modern authorship also ought to distinguish between types of creative authority. Even as writers routinely shared control of their works' publication—financially, legally, and practically, as I will show—early printed texts began to promote the identities of individual authors. Thus, Shakespeare's first folio presents itself as "Mr. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARES COMEDIES, HISTORIES, & TRAGEDIES" (A1r), and Milton's first collection of verse prominently announces on the title page, "*Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin*" (a2r)—and yet Shakespeare's 1623 volume was posthumous, overseen by his fellow actors John Heminge and Henrie Condell, and Milton's 1645 volume was also not an act of self-presentation, resembling instead a characteristic publication by the bookseller Humphrey Moseley.[1] In this essay, I am focusing on such inconsistencies, on differences between early modern authorial practices and conventions of attribution, and the ways that the modern concept of authorship grew out of various kinds of shared responsibility. And, in keeping with this book's subject, I am concentrating on poetry: as literary culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was changing—encompassing manuscript and print, as well as aristocratic and professional writers—a new economy of poetic authorship arose that, anticipating Blake's self-promotion, emphasized the value of an author's presence and authenticity.

We can begin to understand the authority that English authors gained during the early modern period by looking first at the typical publishing terms granted writers in the expanding marketplace of print. Whereas authors' rights emerged on the Continent during the sixteenth century—30 Parisian contracts between writers and booksellers survive for the years 1535–1560, for example (Chartier 1994, 47–50)—the financial power of writers developed more slowly in England. Milton's contract for *Paradise Lost* remains the earliest formal agreement of its kind in England.[2] On April 27, 1667, the printer Samuel Simmons agreed to pay £5 for the right to publish Milton's epic and promised the author another £5 at the end of the first, second, and third impressions. While these amounts no doubt seem modest by today's publishing standards, the sums are comparable to the payments given to other contemporary English writers. A bookseller or printer would most often compensate an author with only a small payment or a set number of complimentary or discounted copies; the specific terms depended on whether a buyer expected the text to be vendible.

Thus the seventeenth-century theologian and poet Richard Baxter reports (1696) that he usually received only one out of every 15 copies of his books and sometimes was given 18 pence more "for every Rheam" of the other 14 copies that were printed. Mostly Baxter gave away his fifteenth copies, but others he sold at a reduced rate, "about two thirds parts of the common price of the Bookseller (or little more) or oft less." Baxter bristles at the accusation that he charged his publishers "excessive Rates" and gained "many hundred pounds by the Booksellers"; to have earned such sums, he implies, would have been unethical. As proof of his limited compensation, Baxter cites his early devotional tract, *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1649), which he offered to two booksellers "as an act of meer kindness … leaving the Matter of Profit without any Covenants to their Ingenuity." The booksellers apparently chose to give him £10 after publishing the first edition and then generously paid him £10 apiece for each successive edition—until 1665 and the Great Fire of the following year, when the Stationers suffered personal and financial losses.[3] Although Baxter continued to revise the text "by the Addition of divers Sheets," he received nothing for later printings, "nor so much as one of the Books."

In the case of *Paradise Lost*, most notable is not the amount of money that Simmons agreed to pay Milton but the fact that the poet had a contract in the first place and that it outlined a mutually beneficial working relationship. Writers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who sold their manuscripts typically did not sell the printing rights; they sold their manuscripts outright. Thus, when the publishers of *The Saints Everlasting Rest* decided that they would no longer compensate Baxter, the author had no negotiating power. In contrast, the contract for *Paradise Lost* requires that Simmons pay for three editions of Milton's poem, and, because the contract limits each impression to 1500 copies, it ensured that, if *Paradise Lost* were to sell well, Milton would receive his subsequent payments. The contract stipulates, moreover, that Milton could request "from time to time" an accounting of the book's "Disposing & selling"; if Simmons failed to provide this information, he had to pay Milton £5 for the complete impression (French 1956, IV: 431).

Such generous terms for the publication of a heroic poem might be attributed to Simmons's relative inexperience as a publisher, Milton's long-standing relationship with the Simmons family, or the Stationer's confidence in the success of Milton's poetic theodicy.[4] But that the contract for *Paradise Lost* correlates the author's compensation to the book's "Disposing & selling" also reflects a broader change in early modern literary culture as writers at the end of the century began to benefit from the greater symbolic authority afforded by printed texts. Thirty years after Milton's contract, John Dryden would receive a remarkable sum for his translation of Virgil, apparently between £910 and £1075, in addition to the gifts that Dryden was given by patrons (Barnard 1963).

Still, we cannot chart a steady increase in authors' remunerations over even the final decades of the seventeenth century, and for most of the early modern period, profits from printed texts went exclusively to members of the Stationers' Company, the guild first chartered in 1557 to oversee the English book trade. According to "their ancient, and lawfull birthright," as one seventeenth-century lawyer put it, only members of the Stationers' Company were entitled to the "benefite arising from the sale of books" (quoted in Wither 1624, B6r). Prior to the first copyright act in 1710, the law focused almost

exclusively on the rights of printers and booksellers, who could establish legal possession of a manuscript by either publishing the item in print or having the work formally entered under the owner's name in the Stationers' Register. An author's acquiescence was not legally required.

Based on the few financial agreements that survive from the late seventeenth century, some Stationers seem to have treated writers fairly (see Kirschbaum 1946, 52; Lindenbaum 1995). If, say, an owner were no longer interested in publishing a book for whatever reason, he or his widow might arrange to transfer the manuscript's ownership to its author, who then had the option of seeking out a new publisher. Other Stationers, however, earned the reputation of "sharpers," the term that Dryden used in 1695 to disparage the bookseller Jacob Tonson in a letter about the poet's translation of Virgil. Writing in 1625, George Wither took an even harsher position, excoriating members of the Stationers' Company, not just for opposing his 51-year patent to publish his own *Hymns and Songs of the Church*, but, more generally, for "the Stationers peremptery claime to all Authors labors" (*2v). From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only one formal acknowledgment survives of writers having any legal power. An order from 1587 stipulates that, if a text were out of print for six months, the copy would become the property of the Stationers' Company, unless the owner were to republish it. But, the order adds, the owner in such instances will only be asked to maintain possession of a text through reprinting if "the author of any such copy be no hindrance thereunto," a vague proviso that acknowledges a writer's ongoing connection to a text but falls short of requiring an author's outright approval for a second edition (Greg 1956, 16).[5]

Writers interested in the printed form of their works could pay for the publication themselves or, as Milton did with *Paradise Lost*, try to negotiate with a Stationer whom they knew personally. In 1618, for example, Thomas Middleton was granted a patent to choose his own printer for *The Peacemaker; or, Great Britain's Blessing* (Taylor and Lavagnino 2007), and Ben Jonson stands out as a poet who actively supervised the publication of his masques, plays, and poems, in particular as they were collected in *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*, his grand 1616 folio. In a few cases of religious or scholarly works, authors themselves obtained royal patents from the government: like Wither, these writers were given the sole right to publish—and presumably to profit from—their individual works for a designated period of time (Sheavyn 1967).

More often, though, authors seem to have exerted little practical control over the printing and distribution of their writings. In a late seventeenth-century printing manual, Joseph Moxon (1962) describes how a compositor "*is strictly to follow his* Copy," but we know that printers also sometimes introduced minor changes, tweaking an author's spelling, for example, or inserting abbreviations based on the availability of type or the need to fill out or "justify" a line. Moxon also seems to open the door to printers exercising greater discretion: he recommends that a compositor should "*have so much Sence and Reason*" that he can, in some instances, "*render the Sence of the Author more intelligent to the Reader.*"

Moxon goes on to suggest that writers had little opportunity for revising their manuscripts after turning them over to a printer. Whereas Milton in *Areopagitica* (1644) describes an author "so copious of fancie, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind … while the book is yet under the Presse," Moxon encourages the writer

> *to deliver his* Copy *perfect. … For by no means he ought to hope to mend it in the* Proof, *the* Compositor *not being obliged to it: And it cannot reasonably be expected he should be so good Natured to take so much pains to mend such Alterations as the second Dictates of an Author may make, unless he be very well paid for it over and above what he agreed for with the* Master Printer.

This account clearly indicates the compositors' control over a text's material creation. Authors, it seems, depended on the kindness of Stationers—and then still had to help finance any revisions that they wanted. In the case of Ben Jonson, we thus might be able to explain the poet and playwright's active participation in his 1616 folio: he could afford it. Jonson by this time already received an annual pension of more than £66, in addition to the money he earned from the theater (Riggs 1989). But for other authors, practical considerations such as the expense of revisions or a printing house's proximity—or, as Milton worried in *Areopagitica*, the burden of seeking approval from a government censor for each late revision—must have limited writers' involvement in the printing process.

Authors who were dissatisfied with the final printed form of their works once again had little recourse; they could disavow the text in a separate, later publication or try to compensate a careless or unscrupulous Stationer so that a corrected version could be subsequently printed. Thus, Samuel Daniel at the start of *Delia* (1592, A2r) laments that he "was betraide by the indiscretion of a greedie Printer" who published an inaccurate edition of Daniel's early sonnets: "I … had some of my secrets bewraide to the world, uncorrected." In response, Daniel felt "forced to publish" the complete sonnet sequence, "that which I never ment." Daniel similarly went to press with a corrected and annotated version of one of his masques, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604, A3r), only because, he claimed, "the unmannerly presumption of an indiscreet Printer … without warrant hath divulged the late shewe" and "verie disorderly set [it] forth." And, when a "false Edition" of Katherine Philips's *Poems* was published in 1664 without, she explained, "*any manner of* [her] *knowledge, much less connivance*," she arranged to publish a new version three years later, restoring her works, she hoped, to "their native Shape and Beauty" (1667, A1r, A2r, a2v).[6]

In all of these instances, the subsequent editions make claims of greater authenticity by highlighting—usually on the title page or in a preface or dedicatory epistle—the authors' direct involvement. Certainly such statements may have been honest. But, as we turn from writers' practical authority to their symbolic status, we also need to consider that complaints against unethical or incompetent printers became a trope in early printed books, part of a rhetorical strategy to encourage sales by making old texts seem new and promoting the author's presence.

In the same way, poetic publications from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often advertise the works' genuineness on their title pages. In addition to Shakespeare's folio (1623, A1r), which announces, "Published according to the True Originall Copies," and Milton's *Poems* (1645, a2r), which states, "*Printed by his true Copies*," various poetic publications similarly proclaim that they are authentic.[7] Edmund Waller's *Poems* (1645, A4r) establishes at the start that the collection contains his verses "in their pure originals and true genuine colours"; John Suckling's posthumous volume of poems and letters, *The Last Remains* (1659, A1r), promises that it is "now Published, with The License and Approbation of his Noble and Dearest FRIENDS"; and John Cleveland's collected works (1677, A2r)

announces upfront that the volume is "Published according to the Author's own Copies" and contains his "Genuine Poems, Orations, Epistles, &c. Purged from the many False & Spurious Ones Which had usurped his Name."

We can attribute some of these claims to the period's vibrant manuscript culture. Writers who published their works in the relatively new medium of print were responding to and adapting traditional scribal habits associated with aristocratic coteries. Announcing that a text was genuine may have been an attempt to emulate manuscript culture and counteract the depersonalizing effects of a printed book's widespread distribution. As Wendy Wall (1993) has shown, some early modern texts similarly tried to sanction the new category of the printed author through the representation of women and the appropriation of Petrarchan rhetoric and courtly gender politics. But, if assertions about writers fearing a "stigma of print" have proven to be exaggerated—already during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, aristocrats published a wide variety of works, including poetry (May 1981)—anxiety about the book trade still finds expression in texts throughout the early modern period. While some poets thought it necessary to justify their print publications by evoking the older, scribal form of transmission, other authors—not just poets but also writers of educational, political, and religious works—avoided print altogether (Love 1993). Thus, George Herbert's posthumous *The Temple* (1633) seems sensitive to its own printed form through shape poems such as "The Altar," through the volume's overarching architectural organization, and, most subtly, through lyrics such as "The Garden," whose successively diminishing lines are enhanced typographically. But poets who held on to a courtly model of authorship instead conceived of their writings as manuscripts. Most notably, John Donne and Andrew Marvell preferred to share their works in handwritten copies, presumably to retain ownership and, at least in part, to regulate who their readers were, an especially important consideration for Donne's and Marvell's controversial satires and, in Donne's case, for his licentious elegies. Scribal transmission may also have implied a courtly sense of privilege and intimacy: readers, personally selected by the author or by a close associate, could take pleasure in knowing that they were encountering a work that few others were permitted to see.

Early printed books that foreground the author's involvement seem to mimic the assumption of intimacy associated with manuscript circulation. Reference to an "author's copy" on the title page or in the prefatory matter of a printed text, for example, implies that purchasers are being granted access to a writer's cabinet and buying something close to a holograph original. In like manner, printed dedicatory epistles to members of the aristocracy evoke the coterie world of scribal transmission, as Stationers and writers openly request a patron's favor or protection (see Marotti 1991, 1995). In some instances, such epistles were more aspirational than actual, and the dedicatee may have remained ignorant that an author or Stationer had included such a gesture. But the mere presence of the aristocrat's name, heaped with praise and carrying the sometimes misleading implication of familiarity, could still represent an ethical proof, summoning the ideal of courtly privilege in an attempt to legitimate and elevate a printed book, like the blurbs on dust jackets of modern publications.

Appeals to courtly authority also may have been intended to guide readers' responses and overcome the less personal experience of print (as opposed to manuscript). Analysis of the marks that early readers left behind in books suggests that buyers often freely

appropriated printed texts. Perhaps influenced by the expense of paper in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, readers, above all, *used* their books, sometimes taking advantage of a text's blank spaces and adding their own commentary. In the most intrusive cases, as Adam Smyth (2012, 481, 459) has described, readers participated in a "culture of cutting" in which they clipped and combined pages and then stitched together unique personal copies—a "potentially quotidian mode of textual consumption," according to Smyth, which undermined the idea of authorial intention.[8] More often, readers simply took pens to their texts, but once again some of the surviving notations reveal a disregard of an author's subject as readers pursued their own interests. Thus, in a surviving copy of Boccaccio's *Amorous Fiammetta* (1587), an owner has jotted on the verso of the title page an unrelated recipe for a sauce made with leeks, and in a first edition of *Paradise Lost* (1668), a reader has transcribed a receipt for a seamstress or wigmaker, including the expected costs of "hare," "wigs," "balls," and "Ribbins."[9]

Interestingly, early readers seem to have added fewer marginal notations in literary texts than in legal and religious publications from the period (Sherman 2008, 7–9). Having examined 151 copies of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* printed before 1700, Heidi Brayman Hackel (2005, 158–159) found legible handwritten marks in 70 percent of the books, "ranging from signatures to a few stray scribbles to elaborate polyglot marginalia and indices."[10] Such a wide array of scribal traces is representative of the complete archive of handwritten marks left by Renaissance readers in all types of texts, but is not typical of the scribal notes that survive in early modern literary works (Sherman 2008). Readers may have jotted fewer marginal notations in such texts because poetry was most often read aloud or because readers primarily marked up polemical or utilitarian books that they expected to consult later as reference works. Or, perhaps heavily annotated copies of poetic publications were cleaned up or thrown out during the intervening centuries, as librarians and collectors sought to preserve pristine versions.

We also need to consider that the design of early modern literary texts and their emphasis on the author's presence may have helped to limit readers' appropriative practices. Wouldn't buyers be more willing to respect a writer's intentions and less inclined to jot down miscellaneous receipts and recipes if the writer were visible? Even a cursory examination of seventeenth-century literary publications suggests that poetic texts frequently advertise themselves on their title pages as the creation of a particular person. In addition to Shakespeare's folio and Milton's 1645 *Poems*, other literary works prominently feature the author's name: POEMS. *By* THOMAS CAREW Esquire (1640); *HERBERT'S* Remains. *Or,* SUNDRY PIECES *Of* that sweet SINGER of the TEMPLE, *Mr George Herbert*, Sometime Orator of the University of CAMBRIDG (1652); or POEMS, AND FANCIES: WRITTEN *By the Right HONOURABLE, the Lady* MARGARET Countesse of NEWCASTLE (1653). And when various writers' works are included in a single volume, the title page sometimes simplifies the attribution, so that Katherine Philips's 1664 collection identifies itself as *Poems. By the Incomparable, Mrs. K. P.*, yet it contains poems by at least two other authors; and a book entitled *Poems: Written by Wil. Shakespeare* (1640) comprises not only the bookseller John Benson's clumsy revisions of Shakespeare's sonnets but also poems by, among others, Milton, Jonson, and Robert Herrick.

Certainly contributing to—and perhaps also resulting from—the name recognition that came with the spread of print publication was a new interest in poets' biographies

during the seventeenth century (Pask 1996; Pritchard 2005). These accounts superseded the medieval tradition of writing saints' lives, and because they appeared as part of the prefatory matter in omnibus editions, they served as signposts for would-be readers to establish a text's value based on the author. Following the biography of Geoffrey Chaucer first appended to collections of his works in the 1500s, Izaak Walton's life of Donne was included in the folio edition of Donne's sermons in 1640, Fulke Greville's life of Philip Sidney began appearing as a preface to the *Arcadia* in 1652, and Thomas Sprat's life of Abraham Cowley was published in a folio edition of Cowley's works in 1668.[11] Some editions also include the author's portrait at the start, most often as a memorial for a deceased writer but with exceptions in some folio editions, such as James I's *Workes* (1616) and Michael Drayton's *Poems* (1619), as well as in a few editions in smaller formats: Milton's *Poems*, for example, Cowley's *Poetical Blossomes* (1633), and Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648).

Strong authorial voices such as Milton's, Herrick's, and Jonson's also must have helped to enhance the status of poets in print. Whereas, say, Donne's collected poems represent a wide range of perspectives and personae, other authors cultivated individual identities in their works, an impulse toward self-construction that Richard Helgerson (1983) has traced to the Italian model of the laureate poet as well as religious reform and a nascent nationalism. Herrick thus begins and ends *Hesperides* (1648) by speaking directly to readers and offering specific, forthright instructions that explain how he wishes us to approach his book. He openly announces, for example, "When he would have his verses read," and rhetorically describes a "*generous Reader*" as someone who to appreciate Herrick's poetry will "Wink at small faults, the greater … / Hide" (B2r, C8v). In like manner, Jonson begins his *Epigrams* in the 1616 folio with a couplet addressed "To the Reader" in which he asks the book's unseen purchasers to "Pray thee take care, that taks't my book in hand, / TO read it well: that is, to understand" (Ttt1r). Here Jonson tries to establish the seriousness with which he approached these poems and the concomitant interpretive effort that he demands from readers.

Other, more broadly applied publishing conventions may also reflect Stationers' or writers' lingering uncertainty about the potentially impersonal experience of encountering a work in print. As with Herrick and Jonson's self-conscious verses on their books and readers, Stationers sought ways to engage unseen purchasers and make authors seem immediately present. Some early books thus begin with a prescriptive appeal to an ideal audience by the author or bookseller. Surveying the roughly 1097 Renaissance literary works in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection, I found explicit addresses to "readers" in more than one third of the books.[12] John Marston, *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598, B4), for example, begins with an appeal "To those that seeme judiciall perusers"; the printer Miles Flesher begins Donne's posthumous *Poems* (1633, πA1r–πA2r) by optimistically addressing "the Understander"; and Thomas Jordan's *Poeticall Varieties* (1637, A2r) includes a preface to "The Criticall Reader."

The printing of writers' incomplete works further testifies to the author's emerging status during the early modern period. That classical and medieval texts such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* had come down to the Renaissance unfinished provided a precedent for later writers who wanted to take incomplete works to press. Alternatively, Stationers and authors may have been once again emulating the practice of scribal publication, which routinely accommodated the circulation of works in progress.

With printed texts, though, the presumption seems to have been that even an incomplete work was worth publishing and reading because a specific author had composed it. As the printer Flesher explains at the start of Donne's 1633 collection, "a scattered limbe of this Author, hath more amiablenesse in it, in the eye of a discerner, then a whole body of some other [poet]" (πA1v). Although modern readers may associate the publication of incomplete works with the various types of playful blanks and sly omissions in eighteenth-century novels, many un-ironically incomplete poetic texts—too many to list here—circulated in print in the early modern period, most notably, Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590), Edmund Spenser's *The Fairie Queene* (1590, 1596), Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1598), Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621), Donne's "Resurrection, imperfect" and "To the Countess of Bedford" (1633, 1635), Milton's "The Passion" (1645, 1673), William Davenant's *Gondibert* (1650, 1651), Cowley's *Davideis* (1656) and *The Civil War* (1697), and John Suckling's *The Sad One* (1659).[13]

In some cases, readers took advantage of the blank spaces in such poems and created their own sequels. Most well known are probably the supplements that Renaissance readers composed for *The Canterbury Tales* so that by 1602 the approximately 34,000 lines of Chaucer's medieval canon had expanded to almost 55,000 lines in more than 40 works (Miskimin 1975, 257); in the case of Sidney's *Arcadia*, readers during the seventeenth century wrote so many supplements that a new genre of literature emerged, "Arcadiaes" (Prynne 1633, 6A2r, 6B3r). The paradox is that these addenda further enhanced the original author's reputation. As with the collaborative nature of the book trade, the practical dispersal of textual responsibility in such instances cemented an individual writer's symbolic status: the focus was not on the person who wrote each answer but on the person whose works were deemed worthy of answering. Even when a text's omissions were relatively brief, readers' responses seem to have been informed by the author's presence. Censored versions of Donne's Satires II and IV from 1633, for example, contain a series of horizontal rules, signifying that potentially objectionable words and lines have been excised. At least one contemporary reader troubled to fill in these blanks and, instead of inventing his own verses, tracked down and wrote in Donne's original language, presumably copying it from a contemporary manuscript.[14]

As all of these conventions conferred new prestige on literary authorship, they helped print to overtake scribal publication and become, in Arthur Marotti's words (1995, 211), the "normal and preferred" means of transmission. Conventions of print, in turn, began to influence practices of manuscript circulation so that, following the emphasis on writers' presence in printed books, ascriptions of authorship in scribal copies started to increase in the middle of the sixteenth century (Marotti 1995, 329). Naturally, various types of creative writing—whether in manuscript or print—remained collaborative throughout the early modern period. In addition to the shared writing that occurred in the theater, popular types of literature such as group-writings and verse competitions depended on a directly cooperative process. One of the most widely circulated poems in the middle of the seventeenth century, "The Parliament Fart," was composed by various writers, a different one adding a new verse.[15] The humanist tradition of culling commonplaces and sometimes borrowing another writer's specific language would have also reinforced a collaborative approach to authorship. Jonson in his *Discoveries* (1925–1952, VIII: 638) accordingly includes "Imitation" among the criteria for being a true poet; he defines it as the ability "to convert the substance,

or Riches of an other *Poet*, to his owne use." And he objects to writers who pretend to be wholly original, those "obstinate contemners of all helpes, and Arts" who "presuming on their owne *Naturals* (which perhaps are excellent) dare deride all diligence" (VIII: 586).

Yet, the emphasis on an individual writer's authenticity and immediacy in printed texts sometimes obscured such appropriative or collaborative habits. By the start of the eighteenth century as the courtly tradition of authorship continued to recede, the presence of a visible writer became the primary means of ascertaining the originality and thus value of a work (Chartier 1994, 37–39). Gradually, the name recognition that the book trade promoted also led to a corresponding improvement in writers' economic and legal status. This change occurred in part as Stationers in London sought greater financial security. Lobbying Parliament for a copyright act so as to establish their exclusive rights to publish specific works, the Stationers mostly wished to prevent booksellers in the provinces from printing the Stationers' copies. But because the resulting 1710 law recognized writing for the first time as property, it also benefited authors: the act implied that creators of texts must possess the same rights as Stationers before handing over their works to be published.

More generally, the tension I have been describing—that the modern notion of individual authorship grew out of a collective publishing enterprise—dovetails with historicist accounts of individual identity. In the past 30 years, literary critics have written forcefully about the ways that family, religion, and society shaped self-conscious constructions of identity in the English Renaissance. Also important, I have been arguing, is the collaborative context of the book trade—the material circumstances of textual production—that enabled and encouraged such constructions.

Milton's "On Shakespeare" (2007) provides a fitting conclusion to a discussion of early modern authorship. Once again, the two authors with which this essay began help to illustrate the almost paradoxical relation between shared effort and individual authority. Milton praises Shakespeare's "easy numbers," "Delphic lines," and the "deep impression" that his writing makes on readers' imagination. Milton makes no mention of the theater and focuses instead on Shakespeare's "unvalued book," an apt choice given that the poem originally appeared with six other encomia at the start of Shakespeare's Second Folio (1632, A5r).[16] But Milton's poem is also a prescient acknowledgment of the crucial role that printing would ultimately play in preserving Shakespeare's memory: the poet-playwright needs no monument—no "hallowed relics," no "star-ypointing pyramid"—because he remains alive in print. "[K]ings for such a tomb would wish to die," the young Milton concludes with perhaps a touch of envy, even as Milton implicitly adds himself, the encomiast/critic, as another significant participant in the construction of authorial authority.

Notes

1 On Moseley's influence over the 1645 volume, see Dobranski (1999, 82–103).

2 The contract survives in the British Library, Add. MS. 18,8661; a transcription appears in French (1956, IV: 429–431). In discussing Milton's contract, I am drawing on my previous analysis: see Dobranski (2010) and (2014).

3 Here and elsewhere, I use "Stationers" (with a capital "S") to signify members of the royally chartered Company of Stationers.

4 Samuel Simmons worked mostly as a printer; *Paradise Lost* was the first book entered in the Stationers' Register as his own copy. He thus qualified as the epic's printer and publisher, the latter term signifying that he financed the production. On Milton's relationship to Simmons and his parents, see McKenzie (1980).

5 At the start of the sixteenth century, a few entries in the Stationers' Register also address the rights of writers for reprintings. In the case of John Browne and his "book called *musicke of sundry Kyndes*," for example, an entry dated March 11, 1607 reads, "that this copye shall never hereafter be printed agayne without the consent of master FFORD the Aucthour." See Arber (1877, III: 344).

6 I also discuss Philips's volume in Dobranski (2005, 6–8).

7 Anonymous publications remained common, however. Surveying all printed texts published in 1644 and 1688, D. F. McKenzie (1992) observed that more than half did not include the author's name.

8 The most well known examples of such cutting and stitching remain the 15 so-called Biblical Harmonies—that is, single, amalgamated accounts of the four gospels—created by Nicholas Ferrar and his family in Little Gidding. See Dyck (2008).

9 These two books are held, respectively, at Stanford University Library, shelfmark KC1614.S4F, and the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, shelfmark PR 3560 1668b. The former is also cited in Sherman (2008, 16).

10 In this paragraph and the next, I am drawing on my analysis in Dobranski (2011).

11 Pritchard (2005, 129) also notes that John Davies of Kidwelly wrote a prefatory biography of John Hall of Durham, which appeared in Hall's English translation of Heirocles's commentary on Pythagoras's *Golden Verses* (1657).

12 I excluded broadsides, proclamations, and ballads from my count but included 11 items listed as recent acquisitions in the Pforzheimer Catalogue.

13 I examine more fully how the publication of incomplete works contributed to the Renaissance author's emerging status in Dobranski (2005).

14 This copy of Donne's *Poems* (1633) is held in the Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark 7045, copy 2.

15 On collaborative practices of Renaissance writing, see Dobranski (1999, 14–31); on collaborative play-writing during the Renaissance, see Bentley (1971, 197–234) and Masten (1997, 12–20).

16 After its initial publication in the Second Folio, Milton's poem on Shakespeare was printed in *Poems*: *Written by Wil. Shakespeare* (1640) and again in Shakespeare's third folio (1663–1664).

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9
Female Authorship

Wendy Wall

Introduction

Opening a recently discovered seventeenth-century manuscript attributed to Hester Pulter, the reader lights upon this tantalizing one-stanza poem:

> For I no liberty expect to see
> Until to atoms I dispersed be,
> Then being enfranchised, free as my verse,
> I shall surround this spacious universe,
> Until by other atoms thrust and hurled
> We give a being to another world.
> (Pulter 2014, 169, #58)

As is characteristic of *Poems Breathed Forth by the Noble Hadassah*, the speaker tests vocabularies of cosmology and physics in her evocative religious and personal meditations. Her described state of un-freedom, disenfranchisement, and confinement will be resolved, she asserts, at the moment of death, when her dissolution into minute particles will jettison her like a transcendent comet into heaven. Self-dispersal is prerequisite for liberty in this scenario, for the generous donation of a "being" to another sphere.

For scholars interested in female authorship, the speaker's yearning for freedom appears to accommodate a standard feminist reading. Interpreting desire for release in terms of a restrictive gender ideology seems reasonable, given that the speaker in the preceding poem contrasts her imprisonment with female birds whose male companions allow them to experience the noble freedom of flight. Given this gendering of liberty, we might read the subsequent poem's search for transcendence as a figurative negotiation of early modern

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female authorship. Pulter's failure to publish her work in print or manuscript might appear to offer additional evidence of a sense of social constraint.

But what precisely do we assume about authorship, gender, or media when we explore female authorship in these terms? What is implied—methodologically or theoretically—when scholars identify Pulter's lines as a struggle against a prohibitive gender ideology marked, in part, by a choice to write in manuscript? Putting aside the problem that *verse* models the freedom that the speaker seeks to attain through spiritual transformation in this particular poem, we might hesitate before seeing a decision not to publish in print as a limitation. We might also scrutinize our assumption that Pulter's poem registers an oppositional proto-feminist politics; for in the collection as a whole, the speaker's depiction of confinement is consistently expressed as an ungendered spiritual yearning to be released from physicality. Pulter's mention of the female bird's liberty is, in fact, exceptional in her corpus. Nowhere else does she use gendered tropes in quite this way. In fact, it was entirely standard for speakers in men's religious writing to complain about the imprisonment caused by mortality (though Pulter is idiosyncratic in her attention to atoms and matter).[1] Do we risk distorting her poems when we classify them under the rubric of "female authorship" rather than of devotional poetry, royalist verse, or natural philosophy poems? While these are clearly not mutually exclusive rubrics, might our choice of *emphasis* predetermine the outcome of our analysis?

If scholars seek to study female authorship, would Pulter even *register*, given that this term usually applies to women who managed appearances in a public mode? In this essay, I consider assumptions and methods used in the study of early modern women's writing, with particular attention to the gains and limitations of using the rubric of "authorship studies" to interpret early modern poetry.

Authorship Studies

In my 1993 book, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance*, I felt secure in asserting what a female author was and why it helped us to understand literary production in the early age of print (Wall 1993). I discussed ways that book producers and writers overcame cultural obstacles to publishing largely by gendering and sexualizing relationships among readers, texts, and writers. When early modern women sought to negotiate a public authority in print, they had to devise alternative and revisionary measures to do so, since potent strategies of the day were not gender-friendly. The traces of women's negotiations, I argued, could be found in paratexts (the apparatus of the book including prefaces, typography, headers, and envoys) as well as in the content and genre of their poetry.

Many critics have embraced female authorship as a fruitful way to intervene in literary history, especially in the 1980s and early 1990s when scholars of early modern literary studies energetically undertook canon revision so as to recognize the output of women (see, for example, Goreau 1985; Hannay 1985; Beilin 1987; Hobby 1989; Jones 1993; Lewalski 1993; Schleiner 1994). The cumulative effect of this body of scholarship has been the inclusion of Isabella Whitney, Aemilia Lanyer, Mary Sidney, Elizabeth I, Elizabeth Carey, Mary Wroth, Katherine Philips, and Margaret Cavendish in prominent anthologies.

Not only have women gradually been incorporated in collections of early modern poetry, but they also have been given anthologies "of their own," such as *The Whole Duty of a Woman: Female Writers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Goreau 1985), *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of 17th-Century Women's Verse* (Greer 1988), and the *Oxford Book of Early Modern Women Poets* (Stevenson and Davidson 2001). Expanding the canon has productively broadened our understanding of cultural, intellectual, and social life in the period while refining generalizations we make about genre and periodization.

Over the last two decades, scholars have pinpointed ways in which writers across the social spectrum—from the elite Mary Wroth, to the court-aspirant Aemilia Lanyer, to the cheap print writer Isabella Whitney, to the royalist Katherine Philips—grappled with conceptions of authorship as they discursively configured subjectivity, desire, devotion, and status. While these writers appear to have little in common, they emerge as a group centrally because they were lumped together as "daughters of Eve" by vociferous voices in early modern culture. Sweeping generalizations about the "weaker sex" curtailed, to different degrees, the symbolic, material, and intellectual resources available to women who undertook intellectual projects. Renaissance gender ideologies exerted formative pressure upon what and how women wrote (Lamb 1990). In *Redeeming Eve*, Elaine Beilin elaborates this point: "[T]he concept of woman had a pervasive and crucial influence on women writers in three principal ways: by motivating them to write; by circumscribing what they wrote; and in some seemingly paradoxical cases, by encouraging them to subvert cultural expectations of women's writing" (1997, xvii–xviii).

In order to sketch some contributions made by studies of female authorship, we might start with the case of Isabella Whitney, who was involved at an early date in the commercial literary marketplace in England. Whitney not only published verse at a time when women did not do so, but she was also unusual in writing for a popular literate audience in cheap print form. "Pending further scholarly discoveries," Lynette McGrath writes, "Isabella Whitney's remains the first woman's name we are able to attach to a substantial body of published poetry in England. For her contemporary readers, as well as for subsequent aspirants to poetry, she therefore publicly modeled the newly visible possibility of a woman's poetic subjectivity" (2002, 123).[2] I will return to McGrath's careful qualification in evoking Whitney's "name," but for now I am interested in the fact that Whitney's adoption into the literary canon coincided with attention to how she exhibited gendered authority. Whitney is credited with two poems in the 1567 *The Copy of a Letter, lately written in meter, by a yonge Gentilwoman*, both of which feature female speakers complaining about male inconstancy. Two subsequent poems in the volume (signed respectively by W. G. and R. Witc) portray male speakers bitter about erotic betrayal. Six years after this publication, Whitney appears to have published *A Sweet Nosgay,* an anthology of maxims, epistolary poems, and a mock will and testament.

It is easy to see Whitney's relevance for studies of female authorship, particularly since she employs female personae that comment on how gender makes a difference in economics and erotics. *The Copy of a Letter* invites the reader to examine the speaker's shifting roles, from sage marriage counselor to learned reader of classical legend to jilted lover. The *Nosgay* intermixes 110 versified adages (adapted from a work by Hugh Plat), epistolary exchanges with family and friends articulating the challenges that women of little means faced, and an extended "will" in which a speaker calls attention to the deprivations of social

life in London. Critics have been attuned to the strategies Whitney used to critique social inequality, property relations, and the sexual double standard; they show that her speaker leveraged the position of disenfranchised laborer to construct intellectual authority.[3]

Whitney's key tropes for constructing poetic agency were horticultural and testamentary. Through the unifying metaphor of the floral assemblage (the nosegay), Whitney joined a traditional aesthetic figuration (the poem as flower) to a functional conceit (writing as medicinal, domestic, and utilitarian). Gathering and processing flowers was a staple of early modern housewifery, since flowers served as ingredients for foods, medicines, cordial waters, and the scented pomanders used to combat disease-producing odors. In a poem serving as the finale for her versification of maxims, Whitney instructs readers to use her textual flowers as raw materials for safeguarding morality and health. "A Soveraign Receipt" reads:

> The Juce of all these Flowers take,
> and make thee a conserve:
> And use it first and laste: and it
> wyll safely thee preserve.
> (Whitney 1573, C5)

In seeking to explain the use-value of public writing, Whitney offers a poetic recipe in which reading acts as a spiritual preservative. She trades doubly on the metaphor: the flowers should be made into a durable "conserve" which, when digested, can serve as a moral prophylactic against corruption. Since an *anthology* was, in Greek, a gathering of flowers, the literary analogy was entailed philologically in the domestic enterprise. As such, Whitney self-consciously situates classically defined writing as homey, utilitarian, and potentially profitable for those knowledgeable in the domestic arts.

Whitney employed a strikingly different authorial strategy in her poetic will and testament, where she "left" the material bounty, urban space, and institutions of London to itself. The final poem in *A Sweet Nosgay* combines features from farewell address, travel catalogue, satire, and complaint. Cataloguing, as the title states, the "large Legacies of such Goods and riches which she most aboundantly hath left behind her," the speaker trades on multiple meanings of "leave" to evoke the world of bounty from which she feels disenfranchised. The precise relationship between material and poetic resources here offers an intriguing puzzle; the linguistic abundance of her poetic inventory might compensate for lack of material resources; the poem-as-commodity might even allow Whitney to enter the commercial marketplace so as to shift her balance ledger. Through these devices, the speaker shapes a complex self-authorization that keeps possession and dispossession in productive tension. Rather than a singular conception of authorship, *A Sweet Nosgay* offers a toolbox of rhetorical strategies for sanctioning speech and writing.

While ushering Aemilia Lanyer, Mary Wroth, and Katherine Philips into the canon, scholars have particularly emphasized these women's strategies for situating speaking subjects in relation to imagined audiences. In *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, for instance, Lanyer offers a versified account of the passion of Christ that emphasizes to a striking degree the role of virtuous women as spiritual witnesses, models, and sufferers. By including over 800

dedicatory lines glorifying women in Queen's Anne's court, Lanyer anchors her meditation on women's spirituality in a contemporary female textual community grounded in virtue.[4] In her sonnet sequence *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, Wroth, by contrast, created a female speaker whose sonnets repeatedly turned inward. Reviving a poetic form fashionable in previous decades, she emphasized to an unusual degree the Petrarchan speaker's conventional investment in alienation, withdrawal, privacy, darkness, and introspection, while also rejecting conventions that would have concretized physical and social relationship.[5] Philips takes neither of these tactics: she revised conventions in love poetry so as to reconstitute the ethics, politics, and erotics of friendship. Whereas Donne had described his beloved as "all states" and himself as "all princes," Philips's speaker presents friends who transpose titles and subject positions:

> Divided joyes are odious found,
> And griefs united easier grow:
> We are our selves but by rebound,
> And all our Titles shuffled so,
> Both Princes and both Subjects too.
> (Philips 1664, 44)

Engaging numerous philosophical traditions to create an array of imagined polities, Philips focuses on the intimacy, erotic charge, and power of bounded individuals. As this brief sketch suggests, specifying the ways that female writers imagined relationality and its constitutive subjectivities has been enormously productive for critics of early modern poetry.

The Problems of Female Authorship

While studies of female authorship have forced scholars to refine their understanding of how poetry enabled modes of "identifying" and establishing authority, these studies often rest on unelaborated assumptions about "experience," the "public domain," or "femaleness." The definition of female authorship I employed in *The Imprint of Gender*, for instance, was informed by at least two key assumptions that bear further examination: (1) an author published; and (2) "women" formed a group whose affinities can be mapped by identifying how they defined their writing labors for an audience. In looking at the "distinct but interrelated strategies that women used within their restricted position in the culture to fashion or adapt social and political written forms," I positioned women as a group in conversation with each other (Wall 1993, 282). Pinpointing authorial strategies often entailed locating resistant postures developed out of gendered self-perceptions; female authorship was evidenced by charting "transgressive forays into print" (283). Subsequent scholarly titles echo these assumptions: *Write or be Written: Early Modern Women Poets and Cultural Constraints* (Smith and Appelt 2001) and *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France* (Chang 2009).

Yet "female authorship," as critics are well aware, can be a vexed conceptual category. Using this rubric can encourage scholars to project modern categories into the past, narrow the purview of what counts as expressive writing, or rely on unsophisticated notions of

"voice," "experience," or "referentiality." What type of writing nominates one to be an author? Would it have to take the form of print? Do we tend to showcase writers from the past whose views can be slotted into our present ideological concerns?

Margaret Ezell's work has been particularly influential in critiquing author-centered analyses of early modern writing from an historical perspective. One of Ezell's most influential arguments is that such readings fail to respect the historical meanings of texts' material circulation in the period. If we construct literary history only by considering single-authored published poetry, we overlook the domain of manuscript writing, Ezell contends, which was a prestigious medium for early moderners (including, we might note, Philip Sidney and John Donne). Ezell challenges the claim that women wrote manuscripts because they were anxious about appearing in print. Such a conjecture grossly misstates the nuanced ways that class, local community, and idiosyncratic goals influenced decisions about how to circulate writing. Distributing texts in a scribal community was also hardly, Ezell underscores, private, since handwritten texts were disseminated widely and often addressed public and political issues:

> As their surviving manuscripts and volumes reveal, writing for women and men was a social activity as well as a means of private consolation. Once we leave behind the notion of authorship as an act defined by solitary alienation and the text as an isolated literary landmark, we start to see a much livelier literary landscape for early modern women. (Ezell 2002, 92)

Conceptualizing scribal production as a *social* enterprise leads us to rethink the category of authorship and the social valuation we accord to different media (Ezell 2003). Because women participated more vigorously in scribal publication than they did in print, reliance on the printed record and an ahistorical notion of authorship has resulted in the distorted view that not many women wrote at all (Stevenson 2009, 1). Through the intervention of Arthur Marotti, Peter Beal, Victoria Burke, Jane Stevenson, and others—and catalyzed by the Perdita database and the Brown Women Writers Project—scholars have begun to appreciate the diversity and richness of manuscript circulation and to recognize tasks like patronage, translation, and compilation as valid intellectual labors. We now have access to the works of Anne Southwell, Martha Mousell, Elizabeth Major, and Lady Brackley. And critics are in a better position to appreciate these works, if they do not, as I did in *Imprint of Gender*, examine women's writing in terms of their negotiation of authorial self-possession for a public.

Attending to manuscript compilation brings to the fore the complications of arguments that rest on definitive attribution. Because they are written over long periods of time by multiple authors who collate, compile, and modify other texts, manuscript texts are notoriously difficult to attribute. The Folger commonplace book attributed to Anne Southwell, to take one example, boasts poetry by Walter Ralegh and Henry King. Determining a manuscript's "author" is, in part, the wrong question to ask; or at least, that question fails to appreciate the dynamic way that scribal texts emerged from a world where writing flowed freely without signatures (imagine the difficulty today of establishing "the author" of sayings on Facebook or Twitter.) Measuring participation in literary production by looking solely to printed, original, single-authored books, it now seems clear, is a problematic strategy (North 2009).

Critics concerned with *theoretical* as well as historical issues have seen authorship studies as hindered by an investment in individualistic and positivistic quests for false origins. Scholarship produced after the heyday of deconstruction and poststructuralism in the 1980s has acknowledged the benefit of liberating "voice" from the domain of the author so as to allow for contradictory and multiple layerings of utterances. Given theoretical work that has so fully traced the instability of representation, feminisms grounded in authorship studies might seem to retain a naive view of referentiality. The poetic self, understood as an "amalgamation of identities for contingent manifestations of the self" or "a composite created from a poetic and discursive repertoire" eludes being tethered to a biographical figure or cohesive writing subject (Appelt 2001, xiv–xv). Even sophisticated readings of poetry that acknowledge internal textual contradictions can belie nostalgia for textual stability and origins if they also imagine their objects of study as life writings.

Feminist author-centered criticism has thus often found it necessary to adapt, redefine, or push against the constraints of a key term of analysis. Ezell, for instance, deploys "social authorship" as a way of correcting what she sees as a post-Romantic conception imposed onto the past. Studies that fruitfully elasticize authorship so that it encompasses previously excluded forms include Danielle Clarke's work on Mary Sidney's co-written, multi-voiced, and translated Psalter; Victoria Burke's analysis of the reading and selective transcription of Elizabeth Hastings, Lady Anne Halkett, and Alathea Bethell; and Johanna Harris's investigation of seemingly "private" letter writing (Clarke 2007; Burke 2012; Harris 2012). Even a recognized writer such as Isabella Whitney poses knotty problems for a straightforward author-centered framework. *A Copy of a Letter* is only loosely "hers," in that it collates verse by multiple authors; and *A Sweet Nosgay* versifies moral sayings first "authored" by Hugh Plat. Whitney's works thus might be viewed as literary and social assemblages registering the agencies of printer Richard Jones, writers Hugh Plat, W. G. and R. W., and multiple feigned speakers. One of these voices is "I. W." herself, the identifying marker for the persona whose biography we have created largely through evidence from the fictional text. While the "author" Whitney who protests social inequalities emerges out of this "name," the multi-voiced and contradictory stances taken up by speakers in her poems can become flattened when made to refer to a cohesive self or to express an autobiographical point of view. What is precisely interesting about Whitney's writing is sometimes what does not square with authorship as the guarantor of textual meaning.

Perverse as it may at first sound to some, the first term in "female authorship" also requires more examination than is often granted in criticism. Does making sex the precondition of an analysis stabilize an inherently unstable category? What counts as "female"? What difference would it make if the *Copy of a Letter* were "discovered" to be written by a man? If the goal were to document the history of women's lives and the ways in which early modern women critiqued male privilege in print, then this re-attribution would matter tremendously. But if the goal were to track the strategies, conventions, and discourses through which gendered authority was circulated, the *signature* attached to the *Copy* ("A lady") would have relevance independent of any historical writer. Persona, characters, figurations, and voice have been pivotal for scholars seeking to understand the textual means through which agency and power were gendered in the early modern period, regardless of their point(s) of origin.

Specifying the relationship between fictive voices and authors has often proven to be challenging. When Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson formulated a process for including anonymous texts in their anthology, *Early Modern Women Poets*, they identified female voice as a beginning strategy (2001, xxxiii–xxxvii). In order to determine female authorship, they then eliminated stereotypical misogynistic verse or poems about the pleasures of sex on the grounds that such texts were likely to have been written by men. As Marcy North astutely argues, this tactic fails to account for the possibility that women might circulate anti-feminist views or revel in erotic pleasures (North 2003). But more generally, the drive to attribute anonymous work makes visible tricky interpretative problems. One case in point is seen when the editors introduce a poem attributed to "A Gentlewoman" with this headnote: "All that is known about the author of this poem is provided by a note in the manuscript: 'A gentlewoman yt married a yonge Gent who after forsook whereupon she tooke hir needle in wch she was excele[n]t in and wo[r]ked upo[n] hir Sampler thus'" (Stevenson and Davidson 2001, 155). What follows is a fascinating sonnet about the difficulty of representing despair through the materials of sewing. In *Early Modern Women Poets*, "A Gentlewoman" occupies the typographical position granted elsewhere to historical persons (e.g., "Elizabeth Hoby"). The editors thus interpret what some might see as the "title" or "headnote" to the manuscript poem as its "author function." Since some manuscripts do introduce poems in an overtly biographical manner, this editorial decision is not without reason. Hester Pulter "titles" one poem, "This was Written 1648 When I Lay in With My Son John, Being my 15th Child" (2014, 150; 45). But headings to manuscript poems just as frequently spin out fictional contexts or provide topics for readers. *Early Modern Women Poets* must necessarily erase the instability and possible fictivity of "a gentlewoman" by making her, as the editors assert, "the author of this poem." When Helen Wilcox comments on this poem in an essay on lyric poetry, she further cements the reality of the "Gentlewoman," by opening with a declarative sentence that grafts the title into a narration of concrete historical event: "Near the beginning of the seventeenth century," Wilcox writes, "a gentlewoman married a 'younge Gent who after [her] forsook …" (2009, 208). While Wilcox subsequently acknowledges that the author of the text is possibly unknown, she introduces the represented scene of making straightforwardly; the non-fictional "female author" materializes from a rhetorical effect. Our scholarly urge to find traces of historical women can lead us to ignore the reality that "voice" and "authorship" exist in a precarious and indeterminate relationship.[6] Female ventriloquism, as we have long known, could be a multifaceted rhetorical device used by male and female writers to test the limits of authenticity.[7] Reifying the signature can obscure the ways that gender was the product of social, erotic, and political circulations.

We might additionally wonder if scholars tend to "discover" female authors based on preconceived ideas of gender. While we are quick to acknowledge authorship and gender as imposed constructs *in* the early modern period, we find it harder to recognize the constructions we make in the critical present. Do we selectively shape literary history when we accentuate writers whose anger, alienation, and resistance *qualify* them as proper feminist ancestors? Danielle Clarke's hard-hitting critique of the editing of early modern women's writing contains perhaps the strongest version of this polemic (2003). Clarke is concerned with identifying untenable assumptions about text and author underpinning the editing of women's writing. When editors fix the author so as to determine a stable copy text,

Clarke argues, they end up positioning historically remote texts as "transparent, autonomous and stable vehicles of meaning" (2003, 195). Editors inadvertently assume that that poetry reflects women's "experience," with the definition of "woman" predetermined (e.g., as domestic, self-abnegating, or resistant).[8] Clarke goes on to target anthology editors who select poems that can be "easily assimilated into a pre-existing ideological construct" of gender (2003, 195). The result is that critics and students characterize Aemilia Lanyer only by reading her defense of Eve (and not the whole of her religious writing), or they labor to contort Mary Sidney into an oppositional figure despite the fact that she does not present as tragic or resistant.[9]

Finally, scholars are beginning to grasp not only the broad range of media used in early modern intellectual productions but also the ways that attention to these media pressures us to revise our frameworks of interpretation. As critics have come to appreciate a widened notion of what counts as "writing," the word "author" has seemed an impoverished descriptor. Juliet Fleming's work on the deep-structural materiality of early modern poesis has steered us to see how inextricable meanings were from the matter into which they were inscribed (2001; see also Hackel 2005; Laroche 2009.). "Texts" such as tattoos, sayings inscribed on serving platters, and graffiti defy explanation, in some key ways, as *authored* artifacts. Offering further evidence for this point, Susan Frye (2010) analyzes the verbal and visual works comprising "women's textualities": stitched samplers, calligraphic manuscripts, and embroidery patterns. Early modern recipes, I have found, present a similarly overlooked domain of cultural production and poetics; for not only were recipes artifacts through which creators could exercise wit, represent emotions, and indulge in aesthetic pleasures, but they also recorded domestic "writing" that extended beyond paper to food. Lettice Pudsey's recipes collection, for instance, testifies to "kitchen literacies" that involved posies etched into marzipan desserts and faux representational foods, "texts" whose ephemerality and consumability gave them meaning (see Wall 2015). What might we call the maker of sewn, consumed, and etched worlds resting in the artifacts of daily life?

(Mis)reading Hester Pulter

And so I return to Hester Pulter. In 1996, Mark Robson discovered *Poems Breathed Forth by the Noble Hadassah* (the biblical name for Esther) at the University of Leeds. Containing over 5000 lines of verse, this manuscript offers a treasure trove of poetic forms and tonal modes: from a jaunty poem about William Davenant losing his nose to syphilis (172; 60) to mournful elegies (80; 10); from nostalgic pastoral (48; 2) to the sexual fury of Phoebus in pursuit of the virginal Aurora (56; 3), from ardent royalist defense (120; 27) to emblem poems about animals. Are we poised to read, misread, or distort the works of Pulter now that we have accessed them?[10] Will her poems be unveiled to critics who are only trained to slot them into expected gendered categories? Or, conversely, will readers efface the gender of this writer as they begin to frame her verse?

When I read Pulter's writings, I am struck by the speaker's sustained inquiry into the elemental composition of matter as well as the ways that she attempts to reconfigure,

transmute, and even annihilate a physical world that she fears might be stubbornly intractable. In "Invocation to the Elements, The Longest Night in the Year, 1655," the speaker invites personified versions of the four elements—air, water, earth, and fire—to "come unto my last best feast" in which she offers herself as the main course (139; 41). In this 82-line poem, Pulter implores the elements to devour her "rarefied" core substances, as she invites personified water nymphs to thirstily drink her tears and bodily fluids, Air to extinguish her animating fire, Fire to accept her contracted heat, and Dust to open its womb to receive her particles. What Pulter's verse offers is a poetic material form that exists in tension with the phantasmagoric dissolution of substances it describes. Rhyming "desire" with "expire" and "dissolve" with "involve," the speaker creates a winter solstice verse in which linguistic plenitude paradoxically feeds off loss.

The entire collection is shot through with vivid, dare I say vital, depictions of physical death hanging at the cusp of potential transcendence. Hailing God as the one who "inanimated with celestial breath" her "outward fabric made of earth," she cries:

> But send (oh send) thy spirit from above
> T'irradiate my soul, e'en with one ray;
> It will create in me eternal day.
> For thee, and only thee, my God, I love. (159; 50)

The speaker's yearning to be "irradiate[d]" (illumined, shone light upon) transmutes, in the next stanza, into a command that God "obliviate" her earthly life, imagined as a "story." Pulter's dynamic description of erasure-as-animation fascinates; she turns repeatedly to "debreathing," irradiation, obliviation, and calcination as signature acts of transformation, often eroticized combustions that distill essence, annihilate forms into dusty nothingness, or do both simultaneously.[11]

In an untitled poem addressed to God, Pulter experiments with a three-line stanza of tetrameter couplets ending with a final four-syllable line whose rhymes partition the poem's nine stanzas into a triptych (178; 63). As in "Invocation to the Elements," the speaker offers up fiery, airy, earthly, and watery moments of obliteration as signs of ardent spiritual devotion. Her willingness to be "calcine[d]", dissolved, rarefied, and dispersed testifies to her faith. She writes:

> Though I to atoms am dispersed,
> I in their dances am unversed,
> yet shall no dust
> Of my old carcass e'er be lost,
> Though in a thousand figures tossed;
> for thou art just. (10–15)

Redemption and reclamation for Pulter are not merely corporeal but elemental. While being "unversed" in the dance of atoms primarily signifies lack of knowledge, it graphically indexes the word "universe" (a key Pulter term) as well as the "verse" or poem. The dispersion of physical parts mutates into aesthetic translation, as she joins the dance of a "thousand figures" (or tropes). Through metrical experimentation, poetic form, and

figuration, the poem produces an earthly shadow of the spiritual transformation that the speaker so enthusiastically desires.

And yet, we need not ignore moments, relatively scarce as they may be, where Pulter's poems are readable through the framework of "authorship," despite her seeming lack of interest in making them known. In "The Weeping Wish, January 1665," the speaker yearns for her tears to convert into forms with immortal, palliative, or expressive power (e.g., to become a bezoar, comet, or cordial water). She continues:

> Oh that my tears that fall down to the earth
> Might give some noble, unknown flower birth;
> Then would Hadassah's more resplendent fame
> Outlive the famous Artemisia's name. (175; 61)

Since flowers were one of the most common figures for poetry, Pulter's lines self-reflexively comment on their place in a poetic tradition. The speaker unusually contemplates literary rather than spiritual immortality, one born from the extrusion of bodily tears. Although this conditional wish is declared impossible in the next lines when her tears are declared to be "abortive," these lines register a recognizably "authorial" role for the speaker grounded in eternizing fame. We need not erase the evocation and cancellation of authorship in our worry that we force the verse into inappropriate frameworks; for these lines illuminate an instance where authorship is constructed out of, and deeply connected to, the poems' concentration on material transformation. For a fleeting instance, something that looks like authorship emerges out of poesis, figurative making, and the lineage of goddesses. Of such moments, scholars will, I hope, have more to say, as they grapple in increasingly sophisticated ways with voices in the made worlds of early modern poetry.

Notes

1 While conventional spiritual tropes could certainly be employed to negotiate gender ideologies, Pulter's corpus shows little evidence of this use.

2 On attribution of *The Sweet Nosgay*, see McGrath (2002, 123–127).

3 See Ellinghausen (2005), Phillipy (1998), and Hammons (2005).

4 On Lanyer's work, see Beilin (1987, 177–207), McGrath (2002, 209–249), and Wall (1993, 319–330).

5 On Wroth's complex relationship to public utterance and circulation, see Masten (1991) and Hackett (1998).

6 On complexities of voice, see Enterline (2000).

7 North (2003, 211–256). As Stevenson demonstrates, male-authored and anonymous verse has served as crucial evidence for unearthing the social contexts in which early modern women might have written (2009).

8 See the critique made by Pender and Smith (2012) who edited a special issue of *Parergon* on early modern female authorship studies.

9 Trill elaborates this position (1998).

10 On gender identification and its discontents in Pulter, see Robson (2005). On "voice" in Pulter, see Robson (2001).

11 For instance, Pulter's "The Hope, January 1665" presents death as a lusty embrace (2014, 180 #65).

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10
Stakes of Hagiography: Izaak Walton and the Making of the "Religious Poet"

Jonathan Crewe

To begin on familiar ground, Izaak Walton's hagiographic *Lives* of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Robert Sanderson (Saintsbury 1962), especially those of Donne and Herbert, have long been admired as biographies and connected to the historical emergence of biography as a form; they have also been credited with an enduring impact on the subsequent cultural assimilation of the two poets. Of course, Walton was *not* writing "lives of the poets" when he produced his biographies of Donne and Herbert, but rather presenting them as saints of the pre-Civil War English Church (Walton's term). The always-edifying poems Walton includes serve only as life-documents in his subjects' biographies, while Donne and Herbert's poetic distinction, noted by Walton as received opinion, becomes integral to their spiritual calling.

Of course, the majority of later readers have primarily been interested in Walton's lives of Donne and Herbert *as* lives of those poets. Haskin (2006) makes the well-taken point that the *Lives* did more than their fair share to "make 'Donne' signify an author" (234). At the time of their publication, however, many readers would have been receptive to Walton's presentation of Donne and Herbert as English Church preacher-saints and models of piety. The English Church "restoration" following the Civil War created a milieu favorable to Walton's pious hagiography.

Both narrowly and broadly, the completed Walton's *Lives* helped to legitimize the Restoration. In case anyone was in danger of missing the point, Walton explicitly denounced the Puritan interregnum in his *Life of Richard Hooker*. Martin (2001) subtitles her book on Walton's *Lives* "conformist commemorations," thereby reading Walton's biographies collectively as attempts to model an ideal conformity in church and state. Pritchard (2005) declares that "defence of the Church of England during its period of affliction was a major motive of Walton's *Lives*" (12).

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Both Walton's idyllic *The Compleat Angler* (1653) and his status as a tradesman (ironmonger), unlearned in the classical and modern languages, left an enduring impression that he was an artless innocent: "honest Izaak," as he was addressed by the Bishop of Chichester in an introduction to the 1670 *Lives* (14). He did not belong to the literate gentry to which Donne and Herbert belonged, and did not move in sophisticated courtly circles. (Walton became acquainted with Donne not as a "coterie" associate, but through St. Dunstan's Church in London, where he served as a verger during Donne's tenure as Dean of St. Paul's.)

Innocent or no, it is manifestly the case that Walton intervened actively and to some effect in the politics of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Taking that fact as a starting point, I shall focus on what is entailed in Walton's strategic choice of hagiography to advance his purposes. It is undoubtedly an interesting "political" choice. Walton must surely have counted on a hagiographic rhetoric to lend authority to his undertaking, even if hagiography was no longer quite at home in the seventeenth century, as it would have been in earlier times. (The continuing importance of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* in English Protestant polemic indicates that hagiography had not simply been relegated to the medieval past.) Yet for Walton the choice of hagiography is not narrowly political; for him, the genre becomes a site of almost total investment: religious, historical, rhetorical, affective, political, and personal. From my point of view, there is no way of engaging with the *Lives* without taking hagiography seriously as a rich cultural form, somewhat against the current of present-day denigration.

For many modern readers, "hagiography" is practically synonymous with whitewashing. Hagiography practically means falsification, and the abrogation of a properly critical attitude. The enormous hagiographic corpus of Christian culture virtually disappears in this secular perspective, as does the complexity and cultural embeddedness of hagiographic representation. In *Afterlives of the Saints* (1996), Julia Reinhard Lupton resists the widespread modern tendency to stigmatize hagiography or assume its disappearance within secularized literary culture. Similarly, Kevin Pask (1996) argues that hagiography, including Walton's, left an indelible imprint on "lives of the poets" as a secular genre. I contend that taking Walton's hagiographies seriously as such does not diminish their political import but rather enriches and situates it.

Taking Walton's hagiographies seriously—engaging with their *problematique*, to revive a useful term that has not really taken root in English—will, of course include recognizing the suppression, manipulation, and authorial intervention required for Walton to cast his subjects, and the political–religious dispensation they represent for him, as saintly (for many examples, see Pritchard 2005, 78–80). (Even in Walton's time, many Puritans would have regarded Donne and Herbert as little better than Catholics mired in idolatry.) It will mean recognizing that for readers unwilling to take Walton's "leaps of faith"—leaps without which there can be no hagiography—Walton's hagiography will often seem arbitrarily imposed on biographical materials that often seem to tell a different story. It will even mean recognizing that Walton's hagiographic drive can place him at odds with his subjects, about whom we have other sources of information, not least their own autobiographical writings. I believe nevertheless that thinking Donne and Herbert both through and against Walton remains productive. I shall return to this point in conclusion.

Walton begins both his biographical narratives conventionally by establishing his subjects' worldly credentials and youthful promise of glittering accomplishment. They seem marked out for extraordinary distinction, but that distinction will eventually be the unforeseen although providentially ordained one of sanctity. For both subjects, the way to that distinction will not be one of unbroken success, but rather of intermittent disappointment, failure, illness, and death, all of which Walton will eventually transvalue in the spiritual domain. Saintsbury (1962, xiii) justly remarks that Walton minimizes Herbert's worldly failure, yet Walton nevertheless records Herbert's downward mobility to the status of an impecunious country parson. In this respect, hagiography becomes an anti-narrative of the Renaissance worldly career. Beyond this generic resemblance in their *Lives*, the life histories of Walton's subjects diverge. Donne and Herbert respectively come to represent contrasting types of sanctity, Donne's being the dramatic, "Augustinian" one of conversion from profane, libertine youth to priestly piety ("conversion" itself becoming a crux, as we shall see), and Herbert's being that of the *imitatio Christi*.

First, Donne. It is not clear whether Walton had read William Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, written shortly after More's death but first published only in 1626, before writing his life of Donne. (Neither Martin nor Pritchard cite Roper's text as a direct model for Walton's *Lives*.) Roper at once affirms More's sanctity and penetratingly interrogates it in a manner native to the genre. More, like Walton's Donne, always figures an *excess* to be contained within the hagiographical frame. Roper does not overlook the pun on More's name, while Donne's "for I have more," quoted by Walton, ironizes Walton's attempts to produce closure to his narrative of Donne's life and death. Almost by logical necessity, sanctity will constitute a form of "holy" deviation or excess, requiring containment and normalization with respect to prevailing sociopolitical norms.

Walton, like Roper, cites testimony to remarkable abilities evinced in youth that mark Donne out as special, and elicits from a contemporary the opinion that "this age had brought forth another *Picus Mirandula*" (23).[1] Donne's antecedents include names that establish social credit and further promise of high achievement: "his father was masculinely descended" from a very "antient family in Wales," while his mother was descended from "the famous and learned Sir *Thomas Moor*, sometime *Lord Chancellour* of *England*" (23). Another distinguished forebear was Judge Rastell.

However blandly these antecedents are rehearsed, however, they carry a certain ominous potential. Walton and his readers would have known that More died as a Catholic martyr under a Protestant king. That was a bullet Donne would dodge, but both the threat and the ethical obligation, explicitly imposed by Catholic teaching, were brought home to him by the fate of Jesuit priests and Catholic recusants in Elizabethan England. Walton mentions that Donne's beloved brother, Henry, died in prison, where he had been confined for harboring the Jesuit priest William Harrington. Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr* seeks to discredit Jesuit martyrdom as an unwarranted imposition by the absolutist, post-Tridentine, Catholic Church, but although Donne's text worked well for James I and the Church of England party, it draws attention to Donne's *personal* dilemma, from which, according to Carey (1981), there was no clean exit. Donne's consciousness of Thomas More as a commanding figure, characterized by "his firmnesse to the integrity of the Romane faith" (Carey 1981, 15) left him in a compromised position—in Greenblatt's view (2004), a position consciously shared by many, including Shakespeare.

Furthermore, the family legacy passed on through Donne's mother was uncompromisingly Catholic. The daughter of the Catholic recusant John Heywood, she took risks to abet the English Jesuit mission and visit Catholics imprisoned in the Tower. She ensured that the young Donne would have Catholic tutors. She never renounced her Catholicism, and she spent most of her adult life abroad, where she could practice her religion. Donne himself could not take a degree from Oxford since he would not subscribe to the Oath of Supremacy.

Dealing with these potentially compromising circumstances, Walton first exonerates Donne's mother by remarking that she sucked in Catholicism with her mother's milk (71), a disclaimer that also, however, maternalizes the Catholic legacy while pointedly omitting any reference to Donne's father's religion. (Carey 1981, 27, does, however, note a *Hamlet*-like reference to "thy father's spirit" in Donne's *Satire III*.) In Walton's narrative, Donne is thereby freed up for entry not just into the Church of England, but into the symbolic order, substituting a succession of good Protestant "fathers"—Sir Thomas Egerton, Dr. Morton, James I—for his own prematurely deceased Catholic father.

For Walton, Donne's transition from Catholicism is the product of exceptionally conscientious study and deliberation rather than the opportunism of which later critics including Carey have sometimes accused Donne:

> About the nineteenth year of his age, he, being then unresolved which religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concern'd his soul to choose the most Orthodox … begun seriously to survey and consider the Body of Divinity as then controverted between the *Reformed* and the *Roman Church*. (25)

This review included an extended commentary on the works of Cardinal Bellarmine, whom Donne regarded as the best defender of the Catholic position. The upshot, for Walton, is that "truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an Inquirer" (25).

That assertion is not only at variance with Donne's lifelong refusal to grant a monopoly of truth to any denomination, but also understates the subjective drama of Donne's process of religious choice, vividly dramatized in *Satire III*, as well as its possible traumatic residue in Donne's life and writings. The point, however, is that Walton single-mindedly purges Donne (and purifies the English Church he wants Donne to represent) of any Catholic taint.

To some degree, this purgation is a function of Walton's Restoration agenda more than Donne's Jacobean one. That agenda seemingly includes Walton's inability or refusal to imagine an England haunted by its Catholic past, a form of haunting to which recent critics including Greenblatt (2013) have, importantly, drawn attention. When Walton represents Donne's break with Catholicism as an Augustinian conversion, he situates Donne in an English Protestantism that has likewise made a clean break with the Catholic past. Hauntedness and lingering bad conscience as such have no place in Walton's providential scheme, any more than does a Hamlet-like, melancholic Donne.

What precipitates something like a hagiographic crisis, however, is the episode in which Donne experiences a "vision" of his wife while he is away in France. Let us recall that, in Walton's narrative, Donne's marriage to the "curiously and plentifully educated" (31) Anne More puts an end to the promising quest for patronage that had made Donne, notwithstanding his Catholic antecedents, both a secretary and a domestic favorite of the Lord

Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Thomas Egerton. An ambassadorship beckoned. According to Walton, Egerton did not "account him to be so much his Servant, as to forget he was his friend … [and] appointed him a place at his own Table, to which he esteemed his Company and Discourse to be a great Ornament" (27). He nevertheless dismisses Donne for courting Anne More, niece of Lady Egerton, under his own roof and marrying without the consent of her father, George More.

For Walton, the marriage is "the remarkable error" (60) of Donne's life, consequent upon the "flattering mischief" (60) of love. Walton cites no Donne love poems that might serve to gloss this error. Nor does Walton entertain the thought that the ambitious Donne might have hoped to get away with it, counting on the charm to which Walton attests: "his winning behavior, which, when it would intice, had a strange kind of irresistible art" (30). For Walton, the *felix culpa* of Donne's marriage creates the conditions that eventually leave Donne no option but the priesthood and service of the king. In hagiographic retrospect, the "remarkable error" reveals the hand of providence, to Donne close to his own death as well as to Walton: "I now plainly see it was [God's] hand that prevented me from all temporal employment" (76). Walton concurs: "he was destined to this sacred service by a higher hand" (35). Sir Thomas Egerton's words of dismissal to Donne, that he "parted with a Friend; and such a Secretary as was fitter to serve a King than a Subject" (29), become prophetic. In trying to persuade Donne to take holy orders, Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, offers Donne the prospect of an ambassadorship at a higher level, "*which is to be to be an Ambassador for the Glory of God*" (33).

Walton recognizes Donne's concern about what his wife will have to suffer: "These and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts" (31). Conflating some of Donne's letters, Walton produces a riveting text of lamentation:

> My wife is fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extreamly, but that the sickness of all her other children stupefies her … and these meet with a fortune so ill-provided for Physick … that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that. (34)

For Walton, all this adversity constitutes a salutary chastening that prepares the ground for Donne's conversion, and ultimately serves, like the repented follies of Donne's youth, to magnify the drama and triumph of that event: "Now the *English Church* had gained a second *St. Austine*, for, I think, none was so like him before his Conversion" (47). Nevertheless, Walton has to deal with Donne's disturbing "vision."

That "vision" occurs when Sir Robert Drury, Donne's host in London, has invited him to accompany him on an embassy to the French court. Concerned about his pregnant wife's health, Donne declines, his wife having "professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her, saying "*her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence*" (39). In the end, Donne yields to pressing entreaties that he feels he cannot, because of his dependent situation, refuse, and goes abroad.

In Paris, Donne has remained alone in a dining room one evening after Drury and the rest of the party have gone out. Returning half an hour later, they find Donne in an "extasie," and "so alter'd as to his looks as amaz'd Sir *Robert* to behold him" (39–40). Donne

informs them that "I have seen a dreadful Vision since I last saw you: I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms" (40). Donne's premonition is confirmed later when a messenger sent to London returns with the news that Donne's wife is ill, having been delivered of a stillborn child.

The status of this apparition immediately becomes subject to debate. Reaching for an obvious diagnosis of time, Sir Robert opines that it was "some melancholy dream" (40) that Donne should forget now that he has awakened. A day later, however, Donne reaffirms that it was a waking vision, and elaborates: "at her second appearing, she stopt, and look'd me in the face, and vanisht" (40). Walton, making one of his leaps of faith, feels bound to weigh in with reasons to refute "the incredulous" (42), including Sir Robert, who would deny that it was a vision. Walton adduces the existence of guardian angels, the sympathy of souls in harmony, Caesar's appearance to Brutus, the holy visions of St. Augustine and St. Monica, etc. For Walton, the vision attests to Donne's special privilege as a receiver of divine illumination, a standard hagiographic trope, and as an anticipation of his saintly conversion. Yet Walton ultimately cannot resolve the status of the "ghost," and leaves it up to the reader, disclaiming partisanship.

Perhaps Walton's inability or refusal to conclude may imply some recognition on his part of the limits of religious authority in his time, in which "the incredulous" (skeptical materialists among others) are an increasingly formidable presence. Yet the apparition momentarily exposes irreducible epistemological plurality in the existing order of things, in a manner akin to that of the ghost's appearance in *Hamlet*. Perhaps in keeping with literary and theatrical convention, perhaps with popular belief, the apparition turns an enigmatic, possibly accusing, glance on Donne before vanishing. The same applies to the second appearance of the ghost and its seeming ability to "pass through" the room. It also verifies Anne's foreboding, investing *her* with a certain prophetic foresight. How the apparition should be named and classified, and to what dispensation it belongs, remain unresolved. Samuel Johnson, one of whose favorite texts was Walton's *Lives*, noted that the vision had been omitted from a recent edition and "should be restored." The omission suggests that a later editor felt it did not belong (Haskin 2006, 235).

In addition to claiming the vision as evidence of Donne's divine election, Walton attempts to dispel the vision's uncanniness and implied guiltiness by citing in full Donne's "A Valediction, Forbidding to Mourn" (as he titles it), a poem of conjugal parting that asserts unbroken spiritual unity and denies separation. Reading the poem as wholly autobiographical, and tying it to this specific event, enables Walton to "move on," yet his later narrative of Donne's consuming grief upon his wife's death retroactively makes the vision a proleptic anticipation of *her* death, not the child's. After her death, Walton quotes the grieving Donne in what reads like signature Donne love poetry: "*As the grave is become her house*, so I would hasten to make it mine also; *that we two might make our beds there together in the dark*" (51). Walton nevertheless subsumes Donne's grieving in biblical lamentation before putting words in his mouth that enable *him* to move past the affective after-effects of the marriage, which threaten to be endless. Walton tells us that Donne's recollection of his duty to preach "disperst those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forc'd him to behold the light" (52). Perhaps the "forcing" is as much that of the hagiographer as of Donne's sense of duty.

Practically everything that might now strike us as problematic about Walton's hagiography of Donne comes down to the issue of "conversion": its nature, meaning, and consequences at every level. *Antes muerto que mudado*, a motto borrowed from Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* (1559) and imprinted on the Marshall portrait of the young John Donne, anticipates the issue of change as conversion. Walton's (mis)translation of the phrase as "How much shall I be chang'd, / Before I am chang'd" (79) opens up a question about the meaning of "change," and of how much of it is needed before change can really be said to have transpired. Both the Spanish text and Donne's choice of it remain somewhat enigmatic; Flynn (1985) has argued, for example, that it functions as a defiant declaration of Donne's unchanging adherence to "the ancient Catholic nobility."

For Donne at the end of his life, anticipating Walton, conversion *is* that change:

> Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, "His great and most blessed change was from a temporal to a spiritual employment." (80)

Donne's preaching exemplifies both change and conversion for Walton:

> Preaching the Word so, as show his own heart was possest with those very thoughts and joys that he labored to distill into others: A Preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an Angel from cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. *Paul* was, to heaven in holy raptures, and inticing others by a sacred Art and Courtship to amend their lives … and all this with a most particular grace and an unexpressible addition of Comeliness. (49)

Well might readers now, but quite possibly auditors then, ask how much this Donne really is "changed." For Walton, it is enough that Donne has redirected his passion to a worthy object, and has applied his rhetorical skills, *sprezzatura*, and seductive charm to a divine purpose, but here preaching becomes manifestly another great Donne performance, now on the ecclesiastical stage and shortly to appear on the page as well in Donne's published sermons. The intrapsychic drama of a Donne preaching to himself is not new. The drama continues to the very last moment, when Donne disrobes in order to don the shroud as his final costume, moving, so to speak, from the tiring room to the platform, and playing his last role as a corpse (a move anticipated in many "posthumous" Donne poems):

> Several Charcole-fires being first made in his large Study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and, having put off all his cloaths, had this sheet put on him, and so tyed with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed, as dead bodies are usually fitted to be shrowded and put into their coffin. (78)

Martin (2001, 132–152) argues that Donne shapes his own death within recognized conventions of *ars moriendi*, widely popularized in Europe following the publication of the anonymous *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* (1415), and later known in England as the art of holy dying. As poignantly narrated by Walton, Donne's final reconciliation with his father-in-law, farewells to friends, equitable distribution of worldly goods through his

will, readiness to die, and deathbed pronouncements all exemplify "holy dying," as everyone would then have understood. If, however, everyone would have understood, Walton gives no inkling of that. Perhaps it went without saying. Yet Walton's narrative attests to Donne singularity rather than his conformity. As far as I am aware, no provision is made in any *ars moriendi* for the last-minute creative burst in which Donne first devised his own emblem to be imprinted on rings to be distributed to his friends, and then hired a painter to produce his partly self-addressed *memento mori* portrait (still preaching to himself) in a shroud according to his exact instructions.

Even more than the emblem, the shroud-portrait (or dictated self-portrait), without any clear iconographic precedent in Renaissance painting, might now seem, and could *have* seemed, like an extravagant conceit manifesting Donne's intense self-absorption, obsession with the dead body, posthumous self-inscription, self-reflexive narcissism, and contradictory impulses of self-erasure and self-portrayal. At Donne's bidding, his grave in St. Paul's was paved over without any inscription, but the erected monument was his own "immortal" picture of himself, fixed at last. *Antes muerto que mudado.*

Admittedly, Walton betrays unease about Donne's self-aggrandizing impulse: "It is observed that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man, and … those of the severest and most mortified lives … have not been able to kill this desire of glory" (77). The irony, however, is that Walton cannot fail to abet this impulse in publicizing and immortalizing Donne. Furthermore, in producing his "portrait" of Donne, he is in a position akin to that of the painter producing an image largely dictated by its subject. Donne's own scripting of his life and death, as well as Walton's "channeling" of him, makes Donne his own auto-hagiographer. Walton and Donne become collaborators in the production not of a strange, melancholic extravaganza, but of a normalized, conforming, exemplary Donne. Clinching the collaboration, Walton tells us what Donne must be "seeing" in the very last moment: "his body melted away and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some Revelation of the Beatifical Vision" (81).

Walton's Herbert obviously differs in almost every respect from his Donne. I will shortly consider the type of sanctity Walton's Herbert represents, but before doing so I want to confront the fact that, for modern readers, Walton's Herbert will almost inevitably conform to certain stereotypes, however coarse, misconceived, or anachronistic, of the gay man. I use the term "gay" advisedly, since those stereotypes do not necessarily yield a *queer* Herbert, although they may tend toward that outcome in our minds. Not wanting these stereotypes to become the elephant in the room of my ensuing discussion, I advert to them at the outset. This is partly, but only partly, a matter of getting them out of the way. There is now no need to belabor the point that the modern homo–hetero binary is anachronistic with respect to early modern culture. Insofar as queerness rather than gayness is at issue, Rambuss (1998) and others have shown that queerness subtends seventeenth-century English devotional poetry, including Donne's and Herbert's. Yet even the modern stereotypes draw attention to a salient feature of Walton's sanctification of Herbert. To a significant degree, Herbert's sanctity constitutes a *deviation* from prevailing norms, including familial ones, of aristocratic masculinity and public accomplishment.

Herbert belongs to the stereotype of the gay man as one dominated, shaped, and emasculated by his mother. According to Walton, Herbert's father died when he was four years old, and he grew up "in a sweet content under the eye of his prudent mother" (262).

He was educated in her home until the age of 12, after which he attended Westminster School, where he was placed under the watchful eye of a tutor chosen by Lady Herbert. There, "the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit, shin'd and became lovely in his innocent age" (262). When Herbert entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of 15, his mother again placed him under tutors of her choosing. Going even further to supervise George's elder brother Edward, Lady Herbert moved from Montgomery Castle, the family home, to Oxford, where Edward entered Queen's College, later having a distinguished worldly career as a diplomat, soldier, poet, amorist, and supposed inventor of Deism:

> She continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself … but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her Child; but with such a sweetness and complyance with the recreations and pleasures of youth as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother. (264)

These allowed recreations would hardly have been the ones in which Donne indulged. If the all-male college situation were not enough to keep women at a distance, Lady Herbert evidently took up all the female space and indulged as well as disciplined her sons (yet Edward's autobiography dramatizes revolt against, rather than submission to, his mother's strictures).

In Walton's narrative, George presents his "dear" (268) mother with the poem "My God, where is that ancient heat?" at the age of 17. Anticipating a succession of poems in which Herbert renounces secular poetics for divine ones, this includes the line: "Doth poetry wear Venus' Livery? Serve only her turn?" (268). The poem continues by repudiating the secular love lyric, and, by the same token, the "service" of Venus. Evidently a blameless celibate throughout his youth, Herbert's only worldly foible in Walton's account is a conspicuous dandyism that would again conform to the modern gay stereotype. It becomes incumbent upon Herbert, however, to marry at the time of his ordination. That he must do so is mandated by Protestant culture, by social expectations, and by his need for a wife both to make a home for him and support him in his parish duties.

Speaking again from a modern standpoint, but not necessarily outside the bounds of Elizabethan and Restoration comedy in this case, it is difficult *not* to detect an element of comedy and even of satire in Walton's account of Herbert's "courtship." In fact, the father of the prospective bride initiates the courtship:

> These and other visible vertues, begot him much love from a Gentleman, of noble fortune … namely, from Mr. *Charles Danvers of Bainton* … [who had] long and publickly declar'd a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many) but rather his Daughter *Jane* … because *Jane was his beloved Daughter.* (286)

Charles Danvers was not the first to be taken with Herbert, both James I and Francis Bacon having preceded him. With nine daughters to marry off, Danvers is willing to give any one of them in marriage to Herbert, but if it is his beloved daughter Jane it will add value as well as infuse an erotic charge into the homosocial transaction. As for Jane, Mr. Danvers "had so much commended Mr. *Herbert* to her that *Jane* became so much a *Platonick* as to fall in love with Mr. *Herbert* unseen. This was a fair preparation for a marriage" (286).

Mr. Danvers dies before the wedding can take place, but "some friends to both parties procured their meeting," at which "a mutual affection entered both their hearts as a Conqueror enters a surprized City, and Love, having got such possession govern'd" (286). The couple marries three days later. Walton explains: "This haste might in others be thought a *Love-phrenzie* or worse, but it was not; for they had wooed so like Princes, as to have select Proxies" (286) who understood their compatible minds and temperaments. This negotiated union gives little ground for any suspicion of love-frenzy.

Herbert's marriage presents an obvious contrast to Donne's, as does its childless sequel. (We recall Anne More, having been delivered of 12 children, stillborn or otherwise, by the age of 33, dying in childbirth on the last occasion, just as we recall Donne's wish at Mitcham to be "eas'd with burials"). As represented by Walton, George and Jane seem cut out for an asexual marriage. Or a "companionate" one, maybe. We cannot, of course, know what transpired in the marriage bed, but the couple's childlessness inevitably prompts speculation, both about the couple's "orientation," and about the effects of Herbert's poor health.

Walton emphasizes the happiness of a union broken only by George's early death. Herbert and his wife also adopt three nieces, her deceased sister's children, thereby forming a family. To modern readers, this domestic community might seem like a candidate for recognition as a queer family. For the hagiographic Walton, however, the marriage comes close to representing a normative ideal of unimpassioned social conformity, mutuality, and friendship. Unlike Donne, a Christ-like Herbert seems cut out for sanctity from the start; his hagiographer need only transcribe his life.

Yet Herbert does present challenges to Walton both as biographer and hagiographer. The challenge to the biographer begins with the fact that Herbert evidently has so little life to record. That is not an objective fact about Herbert, but an appearance Walton creates. In Walton's text, Herbert sometimes seems to be getting crowded out of his own "life" by the interpolated lives of others: his elder brothers, his mother, John Donne as his mother's friend (Walton is quick to forestall any suggestion of impropriety), Nicholas Ferrar, Arthur Woodnot. Typically, these figures seem to overshadow Herbert. Herbert is debilitated by almost lifelong "consumptive" illness, and dies young. His life is lacking in outward drama and worldly achievement, although Walton incorporates Herbert's powerful lyric "Affliction," thereby suggesting that the only Herbert drama—and the only, always self-canceling, impulse to revolt—is inward.

As a hagiographer, Walton must contend in the first place with the nature of Herbert's qualifications for sanctity. Walton's hagiography of Herbert is implicitly contentious. "Virtue" as unsullied purity and immunity to temptation belongs to what contemporary Puritans would have regarded as a Catholic, cloistral tradition, precisely the one Milton excoriated in *Areopagitica*. The fault line between a "fugitive," feminized virtue and Milton's masculinized "warfaring" (Orgel and Goldberg 1990, 247–248) virtue runs extremely deep in Civil War and Restoration culture. One notable articulation, both poetic and polemical, of Catholic sanctity is Richard Crashaw's "A Hymn to the Name and Honour of the Admirable St. Teresa." Herbert does not just happen to conform to Catholic type. Lady Herbert has systematically raised her sons on a "cloistral" principle she fluently articulates: "Our souls [do] insensibly take in vice by the example or Conversation of wicked Company … ignorance of Vice [is] the best preservation of Vertue;

and … the very knowledge of wickedness [is] a tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning" (264). In effect, Walton rehabilitates both the "Catholic" ideal and maternal authority in the wake of the Civil War. In keeping with this wise authority, Herbert's mother "would by no means allow him to leave the University, or to travel, and, though he inclin'd very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfie his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful Son to so affectionate a Mother; but did always submit to her wisdom" (275).

Again, the contrast with the youthful Donne, who accompanied the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Ralegh in naval actions against the Spanish in the Azores and at Cadiz, and also traveled across Europe, could hardly be more pointed. In short, Donne incarnates an elite cultural masculinity of the time, from which Herbert is excluded. Honored by being appointed university orator at Cambridge, however, Herbert impresses James I on the king's many visits to Cambridge. He also briefly enters the religious lists when he responds in print to the Scottish Presbyterian, Andrew Melvin, who was, according to Walton, an anti-episcopal satirist of "unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a Zeal, and of so ungovern'd passions that his insolence to the King, and others at this [Hampton Court] conference, lost him both his Rectorship at St. Andrews, and his liberty too" (272). Herbert, enjoying royal favor, could hope that "as his Predecessors … he might in time attain the place of a *Secretary of State*, he being at the time very high in the king's favor" (274).

Herbert's prospects do not suffer a dramatic reversal, as did Donne's. Perhaps characteristically, they merely fade with the deaths of James I and of two of Herbert's notable patrons, the Duke of Richmond and the Marquess of Hamilton. Renunciation of court life does not come easily to Herbert. In fact, his wish to stay connected manifests itself in his close association with the community of Salisbury Cathedral, where he plays the music that is "Heaven on Earth" (303) to him; in his epistolary friendship with Nicholas Ferrar (known, according to Walton, as "St. Nicholas" from the age of six); and his connection with the Little Gidding religious community. The friendship results in Ferrar's publication of *The Temple* after Herbert's death: for Ferrar, it is a text of luminous sanctity, "the picture of a divine soul in every page" (315). Conflicted or not, however, Herbert takes the holy orders "to which his dear Mother had often persuaded him" (277), occupying a succession of minor, rural, clerical positions culminating in his brief incumbency in Bemerton. A friend regards these clerical positions as "too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind" (277).

From Walton's hagiographic standpoint, this descent is also, of course, potentially an ascent to the higher condition of Christian sainthood. Walton duly records Herbert's good works, which include rebuilding at his own expense, and that of his mother and her friends, the dilapidated churches of Layton Ecclesia and Bemerton. That action has symbolic import for Walton as part of the English Church "restoration" to come, but Herbert's poems lavishly attest to the spiritual import of the material church in his own mind. Walton seems afraid, however, that both his narrative of Herbert's "life" and his representation of Herbert's sanctity are insufficient.

Walton supplements the life-narrative with extended ventriloquism (a practice to which many later scholars objected) of Herbert's admonitions and homilies to his congregants. Edifying though these may be, their extent seems to call for an apology: "I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a *Treatise*, which I meant to be a much shorter account than

I have made it" (301). Herbert acquires sanctity by association with Nicholas Ferrar and the Little Gidding community (the "Arminian nunnery" to its Puritan detractors; possibly another candidate for "queer family" status), and from "the general report of their sanctity" (312). Yet Walton's interpolated account of Ferrar and Little Gidding tends (again) to crowd Herbert out of his own *Life.* Walton's sanctification of Herbert must thus ultimately rely on his own hyperbolical infusion of the miraculous (it being already a miracle when any clergyman lives up to his Christian professions): "*{I must} bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story, of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life … {I} profess myself amaz'd, when I consider how few of the Clergy liv'd like him then, or live like him now*" (288–289). What that story includes is not just Herbert's life of "Charity, Humility, *and all Christian virtues*" (288), but also specifically his Christ-like colloquies on the road to and from Salisbury:

> Thus, as our blessed Saviour, after his Resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to *Cleopas*, and that other Disciple which he met with and accompanied in their journey to *Emmaus*, so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward Heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction. (306)

Such is Herbert's ambulatory imitation of Christ.

For Walton, the contrasting types of sanctity represented by Donne and Herbert respectively can both be accommodated within an ideal Anglican conformity. (The same applies, of course, to the other virtuous lives in Walton's collection.) Being accommodating will be precisely one of the features of that ideal conformity. Herbert's one recorded act of aggression, against Andrew Melvin, shows where the line has to be drawn, at "unruly wit … strange confidence … furious Zeal … ungovern'd passions … insolence to the King," all of which characterize the "late rebels," who, among other things Walton mentions, razed Montgomery Castle, the ancestral home of the Herbert family.

To conclude, then, I suggest that taking Walton's hagiography seriously not only means respecting it as a genre but gaining access to the multidimensional "political theology" of the Anglican Restoration. It is in that context that we can see the making of the religious poet as a collaborative effort between the poets in question and their hagiographer. Both the meaning and the making of "the religious poet" will change as contexts change, but Walton's construction has proven singularly tenacious in subsequent English literary history. Beyond that, I suggest only that reading Walton's *Lives* retains at least a heuristic value in our continuing efforts to think through Donne and Herbert as poets. That is not necessarily to say "as authors," but, if this is to be preferred, as historical and textual subjects, from whom withholding the title of poets must surely seem like absurdly overstrained pedantry. In my view, engagement with these poets will be nothing if not critical, but it will be an engagement as free as possible of the arrogance, condescension, and prosecutorial zeal that strangely characterize so many of our recent dealings with writers we batten on professionally, and undertake to "teach." Even a new literary hagiography would not necessarily be out of place.

Note

1 All quotations are from the Saintsbury edition of Walton's *Lives*.

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DEFENSES AND DEFINITIONS

11
Theories and Philosophies of Poetry

Robert Matz

Introduction

In Renaissance England, "theory" had a dubious reputation. The military fraud Parolles in Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* dedicates himself to the "theoric" arts of war. Gabriel Harvey criticizes those "addicted to theory," and then Thomas Nashe attacks Harvey for even using such not-quite-English phrases (Harvey 1592, 55; Nashe 1904, 316). Philip Sidney begins his *Defence of Poesie* by mocking the theoretical point of view. He makes fun of his Italian riding master John Pietro Pugliano, whose enthusiasm for the "contemplations" of horsemanship overshadows his "practice." Pugliano praises horseman and horse beyond belief: to the point, Sidney jokes, he nearly wished himself a horse (Sidney 2004, 3). This beginning of the *Defence* ironizes the entire work, which becomes an example of the dangers of theoretical abstraction: "thus much at least with his no few words he drave into me, that self-love is better than any gilding to make that seem gorgeous wherein ourselves be parties" (3–4). The *Defence*, Sidney tells us, will provide a further example this danger, this time with respect to poetry: "wherein, if Pugliano's strong affection and weak arguments will not satisfy you, I will give you a nearer example of myself, who (I know not by what mischance) in these my not old years and idlest times having slipped into the title of a poet" (4). In this sense the *Defence* provides not a theory of poetry, but a demonstration of the limits of theorizing.[1]

Theory implies an objective perspective derived from systematic thought and protracted study; Pugliano's example, however, suggests that theory merely gilds misrecognized subjective desires. Theories of poetry, moreover, appear even more suspect than theories of horsemanship. Horsemanship is "by no man barred of his deserved credit," while poetry has "even the names of philosophers used to disgrace it" (4). Pugliano at least theorizes

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about a legitimate practice, one Sidney himself respected. Sidney describes his own poetry writing, on the other hand, as an "unelected vocation" and as the product of his "idlest times" (4). It seems unlikely that an activity into which one merely falls can have a theory, which implies intentional thought. And if writing poetry is idle, writing about writing poetry must be doubly so.

Perhaps then we should not expect theory in the strict sense, but rather statements about poetry that are as occasional and ironized as the activity they describe. Clark Hulse notes the ad hoc quality of writing about poetry during the period, and the distortions that occur when we try to straighten this writing into a coherent and evolving theory by applying post-Enlightenment ideas of the aesthetic to the Tudor period (Hulse 1999, 36). It is important to remember that much of the theorizing about poetry in the period was, like poetry itself, amateur and occasional. Even the most systematic work on poetry of the time—George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*—is riven by embarrassment at its efforts to create a systematic account of poetry, since that aim, Puttenham notes, properly belongs to scholars rather to than courtiers such as himself (see Matz 1997).

Critics writing since the 1970s, influenced by poststructuralist skepticism of unitary truths and historicist attention to immediate historical pressures, have been more likely to emphasize contingency and contradiction in the period's theorizing about poetry. I consider some of these contradictions and contingencies with respect to three interrelated and overarching areas of concern: poetry's truth, function, and form. I note in particular the way in which gender and social identities underlie and shape apparently theoretical accounts of these concerns.

Truth

> Now, for the poet, he nothing affirms, and therefore never lieth.
>
> Philip Sidney, *Defence of Poesie*

In the modern world, the poet is often viewed as a truth-teller. This view depends on a post-Romantic valorization of the individual mind, of which poetry is seen to be a powerful expression. Earlier cultural formulations are often more suspicious of the individual and his or her perceptions and creative products. For Plato, whose comments about poetry influenced Renaissance poetic theory, the human world was a flawed version of an ideal one. Representations of that world, then, enacted a second-order decline from the original, ideal forms. Poetry was particularly dangerous, because its marshaling of the powers of language to appeal to the senses and to human desire made it apt to mislead: an image of an image, the poetic representation may nonetheless be mistaken for the ideal (see Spingarn 1899, 4–5, 266–267). Christian and especially Protestant theology seconded Plato's disapproval. Writings about poetry in the late sixteenth century followed strong waves of iconoclasm, in which reform-minded English Protestants sought to rid the church of "idols" such as church ornaments or clerical vestments, false but sensually compelling substitutes for true divinity. Tellingly, Sidney calls poetry that imitates "the unconceivable excellencies of God" (Sidney 2004, 10) the chief of three kinds of poetry. But he does not draw further attention to this

poetry, in part because poetry, as Sidney observes of classical poets, is equally capable of creating false gods (10). Protestant suspicion of human representations of God and Plato's disapproval of poetic fictions came together: "Plato found fault that the poets of his time filled the world with wrong opinions of the gods, making light tales of that unspotted essence" (39). Like Sidney, Puttenham defends classical poets by arguing that they were simply imitating what everyone in their day believed to be true (Puttenham 2004, 80; compare Sidney 2004, 40). He subsequently describes, however, how poets appeared in the images of satyrs not only to protect themselves from the revenges of those whom they admonished, but also to make their admonitions "seem graver and of more efficacy" (83). The latter suggests continuing doubt about the truthfulness of the poet, whose disguise recalls Protestant criticism of the theatricality of Catholic priests.

Poetry did not fare better in secular contexts, where its connection to the arts of rhetoric rendered it equally suspect. Defenders of poetry who praise its power to influence or educate must inevitably admit that the poet's powers of persuasion can be used for evil as well as good. The poet's figurative speech, Puttenham acknowledges, may be used to "deceive the ear and also the mind" (143). The words of the poet are especially deceitful, since poetry with its sensuous imagery and sound, and its unfettered creation of fictions, exploits human desires and fears (see, for example, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V.i.15–23). Francis Bacon, typically suspicious of language and the "idols" of the mind it creates, writes of poetry that its use "hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it." Departing from "the nature of things," the flowers of poetry turn out to be the luxurious riot of an unweeded garden (Bacon 2004, 289; see also Halpern 1991, 57–58).

Suspicion of poetry's truth was common. Having written several chapters detailing the high reputation of poetry in ages past, Puttenham acknowledges that the poet is now regarded with "scorn and derision," for being a "light-headed" or "fantastical man" (Puttenham 2004, 70), while Sidney similarly observes that poetry "from almost the highest estimation of learning is fallen to be the laughingstock of children" (Sidney 2004, 4). Defenders of poetry address these criticisms by distinguishing between good poetry and its "abuses." First, there is good and bad imagination. Bad imagination, the product of a bad disposition, creates "busy and disordered fantasies," while the good imagination, which is the source of all human invention and wit, is likewise profuse but nonetheless limited by a certain propriety. This imagination is "in his much multiformity uniform" (Puttenham 2004, 70), an expression that captures the ambition of the great poetic work of Puttenham's day, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, if not always readers' experiences of it. The *Defence* makes a similar distinction between *eikastike* poetry, which "some learned have defined figuring forth good things," and *phantastike* poetry, "which does contrariwise infect the fancy with unworthy objects" (Sidney 2004, 35–36). The distinction between good and bad imagination, however, reassures only to the extent that one has confidence in the likelihood of virtuous and well-ordered minds. As Peter Herman and Andrew Weiner have pointed out, such confidence was unlikely for English Protestants, who emphasized the inescapability of human sin (Herman 1996, 68–70; Weiner 1990). Other critics have suggested that for Sidney the poet is divinely inspired (Hamilton 1957, 54, 56; Ulreich 1982, 79; Hunt 1987, 10–11). Yet when Sidney compares the poet to a "maker" who creates in and as the image of the God who created him, he immediately qualifies this optimism by observing

that these possibilities end up showing how far we have fallen as a result of original sin: "our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it" (Sidney 2004, 10).

Second, there is good and bad language, a distinction often figured in terms of sartorial or cosmetic enhancement. The beauties of poetry are like "richest attire" (Puttenham 2004, 133) which, when used to the right ends, makes virtue "more lovely in her holiday apparel" (Sidney 2004, 29). Language used to deceive or mislead, on the other hand, is like the "crimson taint" of a cosmetic improperly applied (Puttenham 2004, 134), or like the "honey-flowing matron Eloquence apparelled, or rather disguised, in a courtesan-like painted affection" (Sidney 2004, 49). Frances Dolan has observed how poetry's art is frequently rendered not only as feminine cosmetic self-improvement, but also as feminine deceit or sexual wantonness. Dolan argues that this pattern, which reflects women's subordinate place in Renaissance England, scapegoats women for culture-wide ambivalence about poetry's truth. Women's reduced license to create or self-create, as compared to men, makes the painted or painting women a powerful figure for the adulterations of art (Dolan 1993).

Yet if defenses of poetry's truth are partly enabled through the scapegoating of women's self-fashioning, it would be a mistake to view this dynamic as creating a stable opposition between confident masculine creation and illegitimate female adulteration. As Dolan notes, "even in Sidney's aggrandizement of masculine creativity … femininity and artifice are associated with each other, valued, and granted seductive power" (227). Although Sidney figures the abuses of poetry as feminine cosmetics, he praises the capacity of poetry to reveal the truth in similarly feminine terms: a poetry that makes virtue beautiful, "more lovely in her holiday apparel," cannot be completely dissociated from the feminine. The association of poetry with the feminine may even defend the truth of poetry by circumscribing poetry's range and force. While in the first part of the *Arte* Puttenham provides a familiarly soaring account of poets as founders of civilization, in the third part he limits the scope of poetry to the flirtations of "princely dames, young ladies, gentlewomen, and courtiers" (Puttenham 2004, 144) in order to minimize the consequences of poetry's power to deceive. Because the beguilements of poetry are for entertainment only, "to dispose the hearers to mirth and solace," they are "not in truth to be accounted vices" (144).

Some New Historicists have argued that the overlapping boundaries of courtship and courtiership mean that such flirtations remain politically potent. However, this shift in Puttenham's account of poetry, from founding civilizations to providing entertainment, is not best regarded as a cover for the real power of poetry. Rather, the shift reflects doubts about the truth of poetry and a consequent desire to rein poetry in. Sidney's *Defence* most notably enacts this shift, as O. B. Hardison and others after him have traced. On the one hand, Sidney, following strains within Plato developed by Neoplatonism, initially represents the poet as an inspired creator (or "maker," playing on the Greek root of the word *poetry* meaning "to make") who "lifted up with the vigour of his own invention" surpasses natural creation (Sidney 2004, 8). From this "high flying liberty of conceit" and "divine force" of the poet (7), however, Sidney shifts to a "more ordinary" (10), Aristotelian account of poetry as "an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in the word *mimesis*, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth—to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture—with this end: to teach and delight" (10).[2]

As Herman observes, "to redefine poetry as 'an art of imitation' implies that poetry is now a subordinated art in that it re-presents nature rather than creating things 'that never were in nature'" (Herman 1996, 71).

Other critics have proposed readings that attempt either to reconcile the *Defence*'s internal contradictions or to treat them as enacting instructive tensions (Levao 1979; Raitiere 1981; Ulreich 1982; Ferguson 1983). These accounts, however, often fail to address the *Defence*'s most striking rhetorical feature: persistent self-irony.[3] Sidney's famous refutation of the charge that poets are liars—"now, for the poet, he nothing affirms, and therefore never lieth" (Sidney 2004, 34)—strikes one less as a persuasive argument than as rhetorical bravado. Sidney is whistling in the graveyard of truth. At the end of the *Defence*, and more ironically still, Sidney refers to the work as an "ink-wasting toy" and "conjures" his readers to believe "many a poetical preface" that will affirm them "most fair, most rich, most wise, most all" (53). This mockery of self and poetry may be understood as a conventional trope of humility. Yet even conventional tropes—and in this case the irony is more corrosive than the trope demands—bespeak ambivalence about what is claimed. The *Defence* speaks with many voices. The desire to unify them reflects the aims of an academic program committed to such unity.

Function

> Poetry is the companion of camps.
>
> Philip Sidney, *Defence of Poesie*

In contrast to modern theories of poetry that focus on the poem as a formal work, early modern theory is centrally concerned with the function of poetry, its capacity for good (or ill) in the world. A poem may imitate, invent, or delight, but its value finally resides in its capacity to educate the reader through those activities. As Sidney writes, it is not formal skills—the ability to write in rhyme or meter—that make a poet; rather "it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by" (12). In his elevation of function over form, Sidney echoes the early Tudor humanist Sir Thomas Elyot, who even more emphatically reverses the modern hierarchy that defines poetry by its craft rather than its didactic content. "They that make verses, expressyne therby none other lernynge but the craft of versfyeng, ne nat of auncient writers named poetes, but onely called versifyers." These versifiers do not share in the high esteem granted to ancient poets, who were regarded as including "all wysdome" in their work (Elyot 1992, 61).

Function and truth are intertwined in early modern theories of poetry because the ethical function of poetry grounds its truth. Sidney argues that poetry's fictions are not "wholly imaginative, as we are wont to say by them that build castles in the air," because their imaginings create moral patterns to live by. By crafting in a fiction the ideal leader Cyrus, the poet offers his (gentlemen) readers a model on which to craft themselves as ideal leaders: the poet "bestow[s] a Cyrus upon the world to make many Cyruses" (Sidney 2004, 9). As Ronald Levao observes, while Puttenham locates the difference between good (*eikastike*) and bad (*phantastike*) poetry in whether the poem conforms to truth, Sidney locates this

difference in ethics, whether the poem influences the reader to virtue or vice (Levao 1979, 227). Even for Puttenham, however, truth and virtuous behavior go hand in hand. Disordered fantasy produces not only "chimeras and monsters in man's imaginations," but also "in all his ordinary actions and life which ensues" (Puttenham 2004, 71). For Sidney, who aspired to be a warrior, the traditional role of an English gentleman or noble, the most virtuous action that poetry can encourage is heroic. Thus the ultimate kind of poetry is the "heroical, whose very name I think should daunt all backbiters" (Sidney 2004, 29).

Renaissance histories of poetry underline this treatment of the poem as a vehicle for teaching, rather than as an aesthetic object independent of its capacity to instruct, whether in virtue, heroism, or religion (see Hulse 1999). Puttenham titles chapter 3 of his *Arte of English Poesie* "How poets were the first priests, the first prophets, the first legislators and politicians in the world." He provides as examples of the chapter's heading Amphion's "mollifying of hard and stony hearts by his sweet and eloquent persuasion" and Orpheus's bringing "the rude and savage people to a more civil and orderly life" (Puttenham 2004, 60). For Sidney, the legendary figures Amphion and Orpheus likewise exemplify the civilizing of stony or beastly men through the "charming sweetness" of poetry (Sidney 2004, 4–5). English Renaissance education for elites, particularly elite men, likewise encouraged this instrumentalist view of poetry. The manner in which these readers were most likely to first read or write poetry—as boys undergoing a humanist education—encouraged the emphasis on poetry as a vehicle for instruction. Poetry, like other classical writing, was thought to provide not only training in the arts of language, but also examples of virtue and vice. Writing poetry was not taught as a valuable activity in its own right.

This instrumentalist view of Renaissance poetry has been amenable to New Historicist criticism of it. The mid-twentieth-century New Critics found their catchphrase for Renaissance (and other) poetry in Donne's description of his poem as a beautiful and self-contained "well-wrought urn." Later twentieth-century New Historicist criticism found its catchphrase in Theseus's description of the poet in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* of the poet's "shaping fantasies." These shaping fantasies refer to the poet's ability not only to create powerful imaginative visions, whether true or false (Puttenham 2004, 70–71), but also to shape the fantasies, beliefs, and behaviors of others. Louis Montrose argued in a seminal essay bearing the title "Shaping Fantasies" (1983a) that Renaissance cultural materials shaped as much as they were shaped by culture, politics, and ideology. In this respect poetry had a potent instrumentality. And because poems were part of the cultural materials that educators used to teach good behavior or princes used to represent their rule, there was no distinct sphere of the aesthetic, apart from these ideological uses of poetry (see, for example, Montrose 1983b). As with the belief in poetry's special access to truth, this New Historicist criticism of Renaissance poetry and poetic theory thus challenges the view of poetry as a special, aesthetic kind of language. It appears to have Renaissance theories of poetry to support this view.

Yet this instrumentalist view of poetry—both in the Renaissance and for Renaissance New Historicism—is unsettled by an alternative view of poetry as decoration. Criticism of Renaissance poetry has seen in more recent years a return to questions of form, in an effort to define the particularity of the literary text. Hence, for example, Stephen Cohen argues that while Greenblatt and Montrose are "certainly not wrong" in their view of poetry as a "powerful cultural practice," they "downplay or ignore an equally fundamental aspect of

Renaissance criticism: its careful delineation of the unique ways in which 'poesy' performs its ideological suasion" (Cohen 2002, 31). Corey McEleney seeks to show how the romance wanderings of *The Faerie Queene* upend the assumption that Spenser wrote the epic for its moral ends, rather than its pleasurable means (McEleney 2012). And John W. Creaser, arguing against historical or psychoanalytical readings of Herrick's *Hesperides*, stresses instead the poetry's aesthetic and sensuous pleasures (Creaser 2006). The best of this recent work, David Scott Wilson-Okamura's *Spenser's International Style*, stresses what Wilson-Okamura calls the period's "ornamentalism," in which figures of speech were seen as beautiful covering—clothes or embroidering—for naked ideas, the former distinct from the latter and valuable in themselves. Formal decoration should also be decorous—appropriate to the content—but that did not mean it was to be, in Romantic and post-Romantic terms, inseparable from it. This view of poetry also has roots in the education of the period's elites, who were taught to think in terms of content first, then organization, then style (Wilson-Okamura 2013, 146–150).

This view considered decorated language an emblem of civility—and hence of status (see, for example, Puttenham 2004, 134).[4] Because the ornament communicates status, it may be seen as instrumental too, rather than simply beautiful, a point made by some New Historicists. Nonetheless, while poetic ornament may be of social use, it is not clearly instrumental in the sense of training servants to the state—particularly heroic warrior ones. As we have seen, Puttenham maintains that the poet, unlike the rhetorician, uses figures of speech not to dispute matters of great weight in the courtroom but in the flirtatious talk of the court (2004, 144). Herman makes an effective case for Sidney's lack of sympathy, despite appearances to the contrary, for the cause of poetry. His argument leaves unanswered, however, why Sidney would have embraced poetry at all, even ironically or half-heartedly. I have argued elsewhere that Sidney found compelling the idea of poetry's profit and pleasure or *dulce et utile*, a familiar, Horatian way of describing poetry's function in the Renaissance. The didacticism of poetry—inculcating civility, virtue, and heroism—satisfied humanist and Protestant beliefs that the gentleman or noble must serve the state; the pleasure of poetry satisfied the otiose courtier's habits of conspicuous consumption not just of fine clothing or other material goods, but also of time (Matz 2000).

The gendering of poetry again marks a contradiction in views of it—in this instance of its function. Mary Ellen Lamb has argued that Sidney figures poetry as a sword rather than a needle (Sidney 2004, 36) because he wishes to separate the masculine writer from a longed-for but deprecated childhood androgyny, one shaped by early maternal figures and pleasure rather than subsequently encountered male teachers and self-discipline (Lamb 1994, 503; see also Harington 2004, 36). At issue, in part, is ambiguity concerning what it means to be first. On the one hand, writers during the period frequently praise poetry for being a first bringer of knowledge, not only to the developing individual, but also, as we have seen, to developing civilizations. On the other hand, the very qualities of poetry that make it appropriate for young children and primitive cultures, its easy sweetness and pleasure, also mark it as a less mature or hard knowledge (Harington 2004, 4, 6; Puttenham 2004, 60–91). The gendering of poetry is clear in this schema, and Lamb's psychoanalytic frame, which associates women with children and adult life with men, captures this ambivalence about poetry as a first knowledge.[5] But the adult world for Sidney and his companions also gave rise to ambivalence about gender and to the expression of poetry's

function in gendered terms. For while the grammar school and university were male spaces, the court was not so exclusively male. When Sidney describes writing the *Arcadia* (an ambivalently heroic poem, in Sidney's terms), the male–female split is not across generations, but between an ashamed brother author and his much-admired sister reader: "But you desired me to do it, and your desire, to my heart is an absolute commandment. Now, it is done only for you, only to you" (Sidney 1977, 57). Renaissance poetry is not just a "companion to the camps"; it is a form of companionship between men and women.

Form

It is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet.

Philip Sidney, *Defence of Poesie*

Writing about Renaissance poetry was no more unanimous concerning the form of poetry than it was concerning its function. English poetry frequently imitated classical genres or overlaid them on native and vernacular forms. Departing from Aristotle's hierarchy of genres, however, Renaissance literary critics usually put epic poetry, rather than tragic drama, at the top of the generic heap (see Spingarn 1899, 107–111). As we have seen, the pre-eminence of epic—frequently referred to in Renaissance England as "heroic" poetry—satisfied the English aristocracy's own ideal self-image. However, the English aristocracy was no longer predominantly a warrior class but rather a courtly one. So love poetry remained central, to the chagrin of writers such as Sidney and Sir John Harington. Neither identifies love poetry as a genre or includes it in their hierarchies; instead, they find it an unwelcome guest in other poetic forms: "Cupido is crept even into the heroical poems" (Harington 2004, 271; see also Sidney 2004, 35). [6] On the other hand, sticking to classical tradition and to his more comfortably courtly identity, Puttenham describes love poetry as a form of elegy and grants it a regular if not primary place within his account of poetic genres (Puttenham 2004, 94–95).

It was regularly assumed that poetry should feature rhyme, meter, and rhetorical ornament. Visible artifice in poetry was highly valued—though not unambiguously so, as we shall see. Poetry was not primarily a vehicle for self-expression but, as befitting its roles as a pedagogical tool and social marker, a means of displaying learning, wit, and elegance. Thus, for example, when George Gascoigne in his "Certain Notes of Instruction" explains that if he were "to write in praise of a gentlewoman, I would neither praise her crystal eye, nor her cherry lip, etc., for these things are *trita et obiva*," he does not instead advise, as does Sidney in the first sonnet of *Astrophil and Stella*, "look in thy heart, and write," but rather offers a set of less hackneyed conventions (for example, "find some supernatural cause") in order to "avoid the uncomely customs of common writers" (Gascoigne 2004, 238). The overlay of poetry and music during the period, with lyric poetry frequently written to be sung, or later set to music, likewise shaped an idea of poetry as "a skill to speak and write harmonically, and verses or rhyme be a kind of musical utterance" (Puttenham 2004, 108–109). Meter and rhyme were also seen to reflect an orderly world (Daniel 2004, 216; Puttenham 2004, 108). While mastery of rhyme and meter demonstrated the writer's learning, wit, and elegance, the potentially disruptive ambition of this self-advertisement

was contained within a notional emphasis on the containment of the writer and poem in regular social, political, and cosmic orders. As Richard Halpern observes, poetry's formal regularities could be seen as partial antidotes to the poet's wayward imagination (Halpern 1991, 56–58).

There was disagreement about what counted as poetry. In particular, then as now the boundaries between poetry and prose (or for early moderns, poetry and oratory or rhetoric), could be unclear. Most writers held that meter and rhyme were essential qualities of a poem. For example, Daniel in *A Defence of Rhyme* writes that "all verse is but a frame of words confined within certain measure; differing from the ordinary speech and introduced the better to express men's conceits, both for delight and memory" (Daniel 2004, 210). To meter Daniel adds rhyme as an additional "excellency" (211) that surpasses the merely metrical verse of classical poetry. Sidney is an important outlier from this view. He argues it is not "rhyming and versing that maketh a poet" and that verse is "an ornament and no cause to poetry" (Sidney 2004, 12). For Sidney, poetry is defined by the scope of its imaginative fiction and by its didactic purpose rather than by rhyme and meter. These formal features are, as the poem's mere "ornament" or "rainment" (12), inessential to it. Though an outlier in its particulars, Sidney's view reflects what we have seen are common anxieties about poetry's function and truth. By de-emphasizing rhyme and meter Sidney seeks to refute the idea of poetry as unproductive and untruthful—only fancy trimming or, worse, a deceptive cloak.

It might seem that Sidney's rejection of rhyme would find more agreement than his rejection of meter. Meter had classical precedent to recommend it. Most classical poetry, however, was unrhymed, so that rhyme was often viewed during the period as a "barbarous" adulteration of the purity of classical Latin and Greek poetry. Yet rhyme was also associated with both courtly and English poetry, and defended by Puttenham in those terms (Puttenham 2004, 66). Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme* makes an impassioned argument for both rhyme and syllabic rather than quantitative meter (the latter also characteristic of classical poetry) based on the value of custom and nature over classical rules. Daniel writes that he could have tolerated Thomas Campion's defense of quantitative measure if Campion had not "disgraced our rhyme, which custom and nature doth most powerfully defend—custom that is before all law, nature that is above all art" (Daniel 2004, 210). Richard Helgerson has argued that Daniel's position is part of a larger attempt during the period to imagine a distinctively English poetics, "a kingdom of our own language" (Helgerson 1994, 25–37).

But whose language? English was fractured by regional variation, foreign vocabulary, and the difference between speaking and writing, particularly as the latter was shaped by an elite education in classical literature (see, for example, Puttenham 2004, 137–138). The counsel against using "inkhorn terms" in poetry—highly Latinate words that marked the user as having learned to write poetry in school (where the texts were in Latin or, less frequently, Greek)—provides a case in point. Puttenham counsels avoidance of these terms and related foreign words: "ye shall see in some many inkhorn terms so ill-affected, brought in by men of learning, as preachers and schoolmasters, and many strange terms of other languages by secretaries and merchants and travellers, and many dark words and not usual nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken in court" (Puttenham 2004, 138). Gascoigne likewise advises poets to "eschew strange words, or *obsoleta et inusitata*, unless

the theme do give just occasion" (Gascoigne 2004, 243). These comments reflect the complexity of the goal to create a "kingdom of our own language" in poetry. That language is already so mixed that it is not just foreigners and pedants speaking it, but also courtiers. And Gascoigne cannot counsel against "strange words" in poetry without insinuating some Latin into his advice, or qualifying that some themes do require a stranger language.

Social distinction as much as national identity drives the repudiation of inkhorn terms, as in Sidney's favorable comparison of the courtier to the scholar: "I have found in divers smally learned courtiers a more sound style than in some professors of learning, of which I can guess no other cause but that the courtier, following that which by practice he findeth fittest to nature, therein (though he knoweth it not), doth according to art, though not by art" (Sidney 2004, 51). As with his position that rhyme and meter do not define a poem, Sidney is partly emphasizing the truth of poetic language against what he describes, in the gendered terms we have already encountered, as a "courtesan-like painted affectation." These courtiers exemplify a frequent dictum concerning Renaissance poetry, that one should use art to hide art. Again, this dictum is not simply theoretical. There is a social dimension to this preference for an easy style and familiar language. Inkhorn terms revealed acquired learning, in contrast to *sprezzatura*, the natural grace of one whose poetic wit seemed as inborn as his social status. In this respect, true possession of the "kingdom of our language" was limited to a select, gentle, or noble few, as was authority in the political kingdom.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most radical statement on poetry in the period comes from Daniel, who in his too infrequently read *Defence of Rhyme* favors, as we have seen, custom over abstract principles or foreign dictums. In Daniel's anti-theoretical theory, good poetry hath "as many shapes as there be tongues and nations in the world, nor can with all the tyrannical rules of idle rhetoric be governed otherwise than custom and present observation allows" (Daniel 2004, 213). By the end of the *Defence of Rhyme*, however, even the relativistic authority of custom has dissolved into the most arbitrary of fashions. Styles of poetry emerge "as we see some fantastic [i.e., eccentric person] to begin a fashion which afterward gravity [i.e., serious men] itself is fain to put on, because it will not be out of the wear of other men" (230). Anything may become custom, provided it has "power and strength" on its side. Custom may check to the self-loving poet who "persuades himself that his lines cannot but please others which so delight himself" (233). But it turns out that custom is hardly more than self-love writ large across a culture. Given custom's shaky foundation, it isn't surprising that Daniel finally finds that the "law of time" (233), rather than providing the stability of long tradition, equally reveals a chronicle of "perpetual revolution," in which "few years will make all that for which we now contend *nothing*." Sidney unmakes his theory of poetry through ironic self-laughter. Daniel more directly calls out the psychological and social drivers of theory. His anti-essentialist *Defence of Rhyme* anticipates contemporary postmodern, psychoanalytic, social, and historical approaches to our subject.

Notes

1 For two different accounts of ironies in Sidney's *Defence*, see Ferguson (1983) and Herman (1996).

2 For two views of this shift, see Craig (1980) and McIntyre (1962).

3 For an important exception, see Ferguson (1983).

4 Wilson-Okamura (2013, 155–156). As much as I admire Wilson-Okamura's careful and richly historicized formalism, his use of Prospero as an example of the definition of man as an artist seems willfully naive. Artistic expression did not function in the early modern period as an expression of universal humanity: just the opposite.

5 See Lamb (1994, 504, 513–515). Lamb partially locates her psychoanalytic frame in history by suggesting the emergent male bourgeois subject must internalize self-discipline and deny desires figured as feminine (515). However much Sidney may have internalized some bourgeois ideas, he certainly did not see himself as bourgeois, but a courtier. And women and pleasure both meant something else, and more valuable, if ambivalently so, in courtly circles.

6 As Alexander notes, while Sidney discusses "elegiac" poetry, the Roman love elegy is "sidelined" in Sidney's account (2004, 336–337, n.124).

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12
Tudor Verse Form: Rudeness, Artifice, and Display

Joseph Loewenstein

The Progress of Poesy: Rudeness and the Motives of Decorum

Twentieth-century reflection on sixteenth-century poetic form was once dominated by teleological thinking, as if serious early modern poets were not only trying to *give* form, but were also trying to *improve* form. Thus we had accounts of the making of the iambic pentameter line or the development of the English sonnet that propose Surrey, Wyatt, and Sackville as anticipating Sidney, Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Donne. While it is not a folly to survey a century of any complex set of practices as if one were observing both a stream of developments toward later practices and a cluster of disinclinings from earlier ones, it now seems fruitless to imagine that practitioners of the sonnet were groping to discover its ideal form or that narrative poets were engaged in a set of experiments that would eventually yield the "discovery" that the 10-syllable line was better or more expressive than a longer or shorter line. Yet in one sense a progressive historiography of verse form does have warrant, since many of those who wrote about versification in the sixteenth century urged that English poetry needed a firm corrective hand. For Margery, the speaker of Skelton's "Philip Sparowe," the problem originates in the gracelessness of English itself:

> Our naturall tong is rude
> And hard to be enneude
> with pullysshed termes lusty
> Our language is so rusty
> So cankered and so full
> Of frowardes and so dull
> That if I wolde apply
> To wryte ornatly

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> I wot not where to fynd
> Termes to serue my mynde.[1]
> (Skelton 1545, C2v–C3)

Yet as Margery continues her not-quite-mock lament for a dead parrot, she suggests that, however hobbled by its linguistic medium, English poetry was once distinguished, although it had deteriorated since the days of Chaucer and Gower. For Ascham, writing a quarter of a century later, the decline of English poesy dates from the fall of Rome:

> our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyd by them: and after caryed into France and Germanie: and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit in deede, but of small learning, and lesse iudgement in that behalfe. (Ascham 1570, R4)

While Ascham is the great proponent of education by imitation, he alleges that the dismal state of contemporary poetry derives from the habit of imitating unworthy models. He writes of discussions he has had with the likes of Cheke and Watson, and reports on their consensus that as "*Virgil* and *Horace* were not wedded to follow the faultes of former fathers … but by right *Imitation* of the perfit Grecians, had brought Poetrie to perfitnesse also in the Latin tong" (R4) so English poets might lead English poetry to recovery by choosing better models. Other Tudor critics would propose other paths to "perfitnesse" and, given all this reformism, modern literary historians may be forgiven for trying to discover the Progress of Poesy that their forebears so fervently anticipated.

The conversations on poetics to which Ascham adverts in *The Scholemaster* would have taken place sometime between the early 1530s and the mid-1540s. They may be a retrospective fiction by which Ascham foists mid-century concerns on a time closer to Skelton's and Margery's. Still, by Elizabeth's reign considerable energy was being expended to quicken general attention to poetic diction and verse form. The *Scholemaster* was written during the 1560s and published in 1570; five years later, George Gascoigne published his "Certayne Notes of Instruction" on English versification as a preface to his collected *Posies* (1575). The year 1580 saw the publication of five letters on prosody (and meteorology) exchanged between Spenser and Harvey; 1586, William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie*; and 1589, the magisterial *Arte of English Poesie*, usually ascribed to George Puttenham and now believed to have been composed over a decade or so. The mutual responsiveness of Elizabethan poetry and Elizabethan poetics bespeaks a burgeoning culture of literary connoisseurship.

Such a culture begins to disclose itself in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, that monumental collaborative effort to construct an English chronicle in verse. In the second edition (1563), the volume's impresario, William Baldwin, reports on the reception given to Seager's tragedy of Richard, Duke of Gloucester by the poets who had assembled to review the contributions to the volume: "The matter was wel ynough lyked of sum, but the meeter was mysliked almost of all" (Baldwin 1563, Y8v). One auditor similarly censured Cavyl's tragedy of the Blacksmith, interpolated in the third edition of 1571 in a position just after Seager's "Richard": "It is pity (quoth one) that the meeter is no better seing the matter is so good: you maye do very well to helpe it, and a lytle fylinge would make it formall" (Baldwin 1571, U3v).

In the case of each of these two poems, one of the auditors salvages the metrical irregularity of the poem: "seyng than that kyng Rychard never kept measure in any of his doings … it were agaynst the *decorum* of his personage, to use eyther good Meter or order" (1563, Y8v). Another member of Baldwin's collective invokes the same principle in assessment of the blacksmith's complaint, urging that "it maye passe in such rude sorte," on the grounds that the author "observeth therein a dowble *Decorum* both of the Smith, and of hymselfe: for he thynketh it not meete for the Smyth to speake, nor for himselfe to write in any exact kynde of meter" (1571, U3v). The decorum of the blacksmith's disorder is moral, like Richard's, but it is also social, a matter of finding a versification proper to the "rude sorte." This sociology of form is anticipated in the epistle prefatory to Tottel's Miscellany of 1557. For Tottel the reformation of English poesy must entail the promotion of a courtly aesthetic, its "statelinesse of stile removed from the rude skill of common eares" (A1v). Baldwin's collective takes "rude skill" somewhat more seriously, proposing that rudeness might have its own estimable aesthetic place.

It would have its place in *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579). Spenser's glossator, E. K., indicates that the poet has settled on an antiquated diction "fittest for such rusticall rudenesse of shepheards," yet the *Calender*'s "rough sounde" is deployed quite strategically, as we learn (if we have not already) when Colin solicits Pan's connoisseurship in the December eclogue:

> I thee beseche (so be thou deigne to heare,
> Rude ditties tund to shepheards Oaten reede,
> Or if I ever sonet song so cleare,
> As it with pleasaunce mought thy fancie feede)
> Hearken awhile from thy greene cabinet,
> The rurall song of carefull Colinet.
> (Spenser 1579, N1)

Colin lays claim to two forms here—two tunings—the rude ditty and the purer ("cleare") sonnet. The December eclogue thereby captures a very particular literary-historical predicament—a predicament elaborated from that in which Skelton and his Margery also found themselves—in which the rude ditty is recognized as a formal and modal practice in which a modern poet might wish to excel, but that he or she might also wish to outgrow.

Turberville writes from the same predicament when, in translating Mantuan, he evokes a rudeness at once alluringly satisfying:

> A Flaggon full to brimme,
> as much as it can holde,
> Barne full, fatte Cattle, and a Pursse
> puft vp with peysing Golde,
> These make the merry minde.
> Then pleasaunt 'tis to wake
> The Winter nights, and with a sticke
> at fiers side to make
> Good sport with streking of
> the Asshes furrowise:
> (Turberville 1567, G5)

and inadequate:

> For Vergil (by report)
> Mecoenas bearing sway,
> The Countrey, Oxen, oyle and eke
> the Martiall warrs did splay
> Aloft in lustie tune,
> and strake with stately Verse
> The starry Skies, his Musike did
> the haughtie Heauens pierce.
> Good luck and store of wealth
> allowde him fluent vaine:
> Vs sellie,[2] poore and patched soules
> the Muses do disdaine.
> To vs that Gruell suppe
> with greedy gaping gumme,
> As leane as rakes, the God of skil,
> Apollo scornes to come.
> (Turberville 1567, G5–G5v)

If the tension between satisfaction and aspiration is endemic to pastoral, this same tension is what made the indecorous decorum of pastoral especially appealing to poets in the generation that succeeded Ascham's. One can observe Turberville's mastery of pastoral rudeness in the stuffed spondaic weight and ostentatiously awkward promotions of "Barne full, fatte Cattle, and a Pursse / puft vp with peysing Golde." Turberville here employs one of the important rude meters of mid-century, poulter's measure, a two-line strophe of lines paired by rhyme, the first of 12 syllables, the second of 14. (Here in Turberville's Mantuan, the rhymed pairs lines are broken into four lines of 6, 6, 8, and 6 syllables, a *mise en page* perhaps dictated by the octavo format, which cannot easily accommodate a long line.) The relation of line and rhyme unit to phrase, clause, and sentence is unsettled: "These make the merry mind" is cut off prosodically from the sentence it concludes and the lines that follow are similarly un-accorded with syntax. And Turberville handles alliteration as subtly as he does the relation of line to syntax: that rural plenitude and Maecenan reward are at once similar and different is highlighted by alliterative practices that foreground the difference between a Virgil who "strake with stately Verse / The starry Skies" and those of us "that Gruell suppe / with greedy gaping gumme."

These are subtler effects than those remarked in *The Mirror for Magistrates*; they may also be subtler than those that Spenser achieves in *The Shepheardes Calender*, which is characterized, above all, by displays of great formal range and sharp contrast. Thus "August" juxtaposes a rude and improvised roundel with a recitation of Colin's more convincingly "heavy laye," a poem all the more impressive for being executed within the constraints of the sestina. In "October," the wise elder Piers exhorts Cuddie, the poet-critic of "August," to a *career* of contrast, of modulation at once social, generic, and formal:

> Abandon then the base and viler clowne,
> Lyft up thy selfe out of the lowly dust:
> And sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts.

. . .
And when the stubborne stroke of stronger stounds,
Has somewhat slackt the tenor of thy string:
Of love and lustihead tho mayst thou sing.
(Spenser 1579, L1)

The exhortation to modulation bespeaks the large cultural ambition of establishing a Poesy that can range articulately across such elaborate imported forms as the sestina of "August" or the odes of "April" and "November" and the awkwardly nativist March eclogue, which archly claims its Chaucerian inheritance by adopting the Sir Thopas stanza, its strong-stress Englishness spiked with an aspiring classicism:

Seest not thilke same Hawthorne studde,
How bragly it beginnes to budde,
And utter his tender head?
Flora now calleth forth eche flower,
And bids make ready *Maias* bowre,
That newe is upryst from bedde.
(Spenser 1579, B4v)

The Practical Inheritance

Long-term linguistic changes to English were crucial to the development of metrical practice. The first such change was the compaction of stresses, the effect of both the simplification of inflected forms and the reduction of syllables by both syncope and schwa deletion (see Barber 1993, 151–163). Stress compaction created a linguistic environment increasingly inhospitable to Germanic strong-stress meters, in which a few highly stressed syllables are counted (and linked by a small set of alliterative patterns) and relatively unstressed syllables are not (although the arrangement of unstressed syllables was never unconstrained).[3] At the same time the increase in the number of monosyllabic words meant that fewer syllables had a lexical stress relationship to their neighbors, affording poets considerable freedom to produce repetitive stress patterns and thereby encouraging the growth of regularly stressed, syllable-counting meters. Yet the strong-stress inheritance was hardly shed. It persisted in the isochronic, three- and, more frequently, four-beat meters of proverbs and nursery rhymes (like "Pease porridge hot"), of psalms and songs (like Shakespeare's "Blow, blow, thou winter wind"); the strong-stress past also asserts itself in the predominantly triple-rhythmed, four-stress, "tumbling" meters like those that Spenser adopts for his moral eclogues:

But if thee lust, to holden chat
with seely shepherds swayne,
Come downe, and learne thee little what,
that Thomalin can sayne.
(Spenser 1579, G2v)

Moreover, although line-terminal rhyme had established itself as the predominant form of systematic phonemic repetition in Tudor poetry, the Germanic inheritance also persists in the *decorative* use of alliteration, which had already surrendered its prominence as a *structural* feature of English poetry by the late fifteenth century.

The developmental model thus implied—of versification adapting itself to linguistic developments while sustaining its allegiance to what appears in hindsight as residual prosodic forms—is far too simple to capture the transformations of English prosody that began in the eleventh century and were still underway in the sixteenth (see Hanson and Kiparsky 1996; Minkova 2013, 348). While the slow withdrawal of four-beat meters from elegant poetic practice and the complementary development of rhymed, syllable-counting meters is the central narrative of early modern English verse form, that narrative involves inter-cultural pressures as much as intra-linguistic developments. Syllable-counting versification takes its place in a history of foreign influence and imposition. The pressure of strict French syllable-counting breaks through to English versifying during the final third of the fourteenth century, in the work of Gower and Chaucer. Whether the syllabic practice of the Francophile Chaucer and Gower would have seemed foreign to their contemporaries is difficult to judge. It would likely have seemed at least slightly strange, if only because of their strict treatment of word-final schwa as syllabic before consonants, a willfully archaizing rule, given the advancement of schwa-deletion in English (see Windeatt 1977). Most late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers failed to recognize this key to the regularity of their most prestigious predecessors' meters, with the result that the most emulated English verse from the period before the troubles of the fifteenth century appeared "ragged" and "rude"– puzzlingly artless, given its prestige.

Rhyme emerged as a structural device in English verse even earlier than did strict syllable-counting. Like syllable-counting, the "modern bondage of rhyming" in English (as Milton would characterize it in his note on the prosody of *Paradise Lost*) may be traced to post-Conquest French influences, rhyme having long been a crucial structural feature in French verse. But poets in bilingual England also had non-Gallic models for line-terminal rhymed verse, for feminine rhyming had become a distinguishing feature of Latin verse in the eleventh century, so the swift adoption of rhyming in twelfth-century England, both in couplets and as a matrix for more complex strophic patterns, registers pressures from at least two prestigious traditions.

While rhyme had become the most firmly established element of English verse form, syllable-counting and regular stress-patterning were somewhat less well established. Skelton exemplifies the situation:

Chaucer that famus clerke
His termes were not darke
But plesaunt / easy / and playne
Ne worde he wrote in vayne
Also John Lydgate
wryteth after an hyer rate
It is dyffuse to fynde
The sentence of his mynde
Yet wryteth he in his kynd
No man that can amend

Those maters that he hath pende
Yet some men fynde a faute
And say he wryteth to haute
wherfore hold me excused
If I haue not well perused
Myne englyssh halfe abused
(Skelton 1545, C3v)

The irregularity of stress and syllable count in Skelton is complemented by the exuberance of his rhyming, the insistence of which, however irregular, confirms that line-terminal rhyme has become the *sine qua non* of vernacular poetry.

Like Ascham, Skelton's Margery has the reform of poetry on her mind: because Lydgate's manner suffers as "to haute" in comparison to Chaucer's she has not "perused" him, preferring a more plain, easy, and laconic manner. Many others adopted a similar plainness. Yet by mid-century the reform-minded began to concentrate on regulation: "If againe Art be but a certaine order of rules prescribed by reason, and gathered by experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with vs aswell as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diuersities then theirs?" (Puttenham 1589, C2). Thus Puttenham, who, like any number of other learned writers, was sharply aware that the formal system of classical Greek and Roman quantitative verse, organized around the metrical foot, differed considerably from that implicit in contemporary practice and in the practice of their forebears, and many aspired to find English versions of that system. Puttenham, however, finds himself obliged to concede "one point":

> which is their feete whereupon their measures stand, and in deede is all the beautie of their Poesie, and which feete we haue not, nor as yet neuer went about to frame (the nature of our language and wordes not permitting it) we haue in stead thereof twentie other curious points in that skill more then they euer had, by reason of our rime and tunable concords or simphonie, which they neuer obserued. (Puttenham 1589, C2)

Puttenham seems to suggest that contemporary regulatory ambition, thwarted by the insurmountable difficulty of adapting quantitative prosody to the English case, could best be channeled into systematic uses of rhyme, and he therefore took it upon himself to formulate abstract rules to govern its use, stigmatizing *rime riche* (e.g., *constraine* / *restraine* or *aspire* / *respire*; L3v) and such vulgar use of couplets in short measures—apparently, those with three or fewer stresses—as could be found in that "rude rayling rimer," Skelton (M1). But Puttenham's regulatory ambition is plainly anticipated in the generation of poets who succeed Skelton: they steadily submit to the regulative discipline of imitation, conforming their rhyming to the strophic designs of eminent Romance practitioners: sonnet, sestina, canzone, rondeau, and terza rima.

Quantitative Metrics and the Cultivation of the Line

Although Puttenham and others could reason that English words were unconformable to Greek and Latin quantities, the ancient model remained tantalizing, and especially because of the prestige of classical epic. Various solutions were attempted. Surrey had Gavin

Douglas's loosely rhymed, loosely decasyllabic translation of the *Aeneid* before him when he undertook to translate its second and fourth books sometime between 1538 and 1544, and although he relied a good deal on Douglas's diction, he adopted a more regular form:

> The clamor rang vnto the pallace toppe,
> The brute ranne throughout al thastoined towne,
> With wailing great, and womens shril yelling,
> The roofes gan roare, the aire resound with plaint,
> As though Cartage, or thauncient town of Tyre
> With prease of entred enemies swarmed full …
> (Surrey 1554, E1)

decasyllabic (like the line made venerable by Chaucer), fairly regularly caesural, and, in deference to classical principle and thereby boldly violating current native practice, unrhymed.

The 14-syllable line of Thomas Phaer's incomplete *Aeneid* (the first seven books published in 1558, just under three more published in the posthumous edition of 1562) is very different:

> Lamenting loude beginnes, and wailinges wide, and roring hie,
> In every house they houle, and women cast a ruful crie.
> The citie shakes, the noise rebounding breakes the mighty skie.
> Non otherwise, than if some rage of enemies all their towne
> At ones had overronne, and houses hie were tearing downe,
> As all at ones should fall, Carthage proude or auncient Tyre
> (Phaer 1562, L1v)

Phaer draws on a range of resources: the Germanic tradition shaping the half-line by means of alliterative pairings; the more modern rule of line-terminal rhyme (emphatically extended here into a tercet, and supplemented by resounding internal rhymes); and the loose phrasal repetition of "all their towne / At ones … / As all at ones," to emphasize the great Virgilian leitmotif of ruination.

Phaer tends to break his line after the sixth syllable, whereas the fourteener that Arthur Golding developed for his version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (the first four books appearing in 1565 and the complete poem in 1567) usually breaks, often quite firmly, after the eighth syllable.

> The Pallace also of the noyse and shouting did resounde
> The which the people made for ioy. There was not to be founde
> In all the Citie any place of sadnesse. Nathelesse
> (So hard it is of perfect ioy to find so great excesse,
> But that some sorrow therewithall is medled more or lesse,)
> Aegeus had not in his sonnes recouerie such delight,
> But that there followed in the necke a piece of fortunes spight.
> (Golding 1567, M7v)

Golding's line betrays debts to that ballad form known as *common measure*, usually written as a partly-rhymed quatrain (*abcb*) with alternating lines of four and three beats.

Thomas Sternhold had appropriated the form for psalm translations sometime in the late 1540s, and his efforts were widely imitated by mid-century religious poets.[4] Golding seems to regard the form as capable of appreciable gravity. Schooled by Phaer and, perhaps especially, by Golding, George Chapman would later adopt the same line for his *Iliad*, "for this long poem asks this length of verse" (Chapman 1611, A1v).

That the length of these lines all but obliges the reader to pause at least once deserves ungrudging reflection. The obtrusive caesura, which has earned for the fourteener any number of condescending assessments, seems to have been one of the original attractions of the line: for the reader trained in grammar school to be alert to the placement of the caesura, the tug toward regularity in the placement of that pause combined with the very length of the fourteener to create some native simulacrum of the epic hexameter. Happily, the square-ish quarto format in which Golding's Ovid was originally published makes it easy for the printer to present his English classical line at full length, so that Golding's fourteener achieves something of the *look* of the Greek or Latin hexameter.

Yet neither Surrey's blank verse approximation of the epic hexameter nor the rhymed fourteener of Phaer and Golding met the stringent demands of many intellectuals seeking a properly classical English meter. Ascham is adamant: "my Lord Surrey … Tho. Phaer, and other gentlemen, in translating Ovid, Palingenius, and Seneca, have gone as far to their great praise as the copy they followed"—the metrical forms they adopted—"could carry them. But if such good wits and forward diligence had been directed to follow the best examples, and not have been carried by time and custom to content themselves with that barbarous and rude rhyming" (Ascham 1570, R4), the praise would have been unalloyed. Ascham is himself so carried away in his disapproval of the translations of mid-century that he lumps Surreyan blank verse together with English rhymed verse under the general rubric of "barbarous and rude rhyming." Ascham seeks a more radical formal departure than Surrey's and polemically inaugurates an Elizabethan critical topos, the opposition of a denigrated "ryming" to the observation of "right quantitie of sillabes, and trewe order of ver[s]ifiyng" (H4): a reform that would achieve the triumph of "learning[,] skill and judgement" over the "lewd and rude" (R4v).

If Ascham is to be believed, serious reflections on English quantity began no later than the 1540s, with the conversations at Cambridge among himself, Watson, and Cheke; and they continued sporadically through the composition of Jonson's *English Grammar*, written in the 1630s. While attempts to *compose* in quantitative meters begins in the 1540s and continues through the mid-1650s, the heyday of production falls between the late 1570s and the early years of the next century, during which time quantitative poems were written and circulated by two Watsons, Ascham, John and Gabriel Harvey, Philip and Mary Sidney, Spenser, Byrd, Greene, Campion, Barnfield, and a number of others (see Attridge 1974, 123, 127–134). In 1582, in this cultural climate, Richard Stanyhurst published a translation of the first four books of Virgil's *Aeneid*:

> With sighs, with yelling, with skrich, with woommanish howling,
> Thee rafters rattle: with shouts thee perst skye reboundeth.
> With no les hudge bawling, than yf al Carthago wer enterd
> By the enymy riffling, with flaming flasshye toe scorch al
> Thee roofs of tenements, of Gods thee consecrat howses.
>
> (Stanyhurst 1582, M4v)

The challenge and allure of such versifying had to do with its very strangeness, its palpable artificiality and complexity. While it was recognized that, as a mere matter of the facts of pronunciation, in Greek, Latin, or English, different syllables had different durations, it was also generally accepted that *metrical* quantity, especially in Latin, was to some degree a matter of rules detached from pronunciation: syllables might "have" a natural duration, but for metrical purposes, duration could be artificially adjusted by the spelling of the syllables or words immediately following them. Moreover, the artificial pattern of metrical quantities in a Greek or Latin verse line was disarticulated from the pattern of word stress that would be produced were a line of verse read simply as a transcribed utterance, disarticulated, that is, from the very linguistic feature around which English versification had come to be organized. The quantitative metrical system thus had three distinguishing features: it was meticulously artificial, it was highly dependent on orthography, and it was orthogonal with respect to stress-patterning.

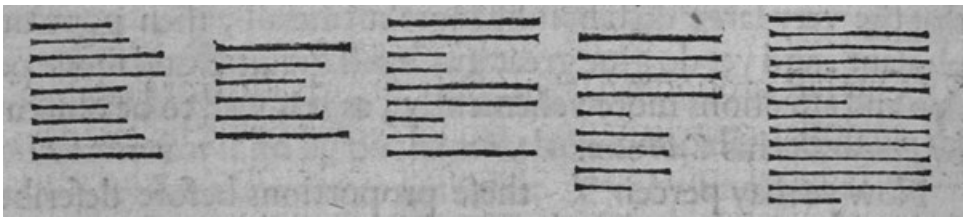
Stanyhurst captures all three distinguishing strangenesses. According to a rule of Latin prosody, all syllables containing diphthongs are long, so he adopts an eccentric spelling for the definite article, doubling its vowel in order to lengthen the word twice in each of the second and fifth lines quoted above.[5] Each of the quoted lines opens with a long syllable, as dactylic hexameter requires—Stanyhurst plainly regards the vowel of "By" (and "my") as a diphthong—yet none of those long syllables are accented. Not all of Stanyhurst's rules seem simple adaptations of Latin ones, however. If it is not to disrupt the dactylic pattern, the second syllable of "rattle" must be taken as long, and this will depend on its being long "by position," lengthened, that is, by a doubled consonant at the onset of the next word: in this case, as elsewhere in Stanyhurst's *Aeneid*, the "v" of "with" is consonantal, and doubly so. "VV" does not always count thus: it does not lengthen the final syllable of "Carthago" in the lines above. The focused flexibility that governs this lengthening and non-lengthening reduces to authorial will, a willfulness with eminent classical precedent. Lily's Latin *Grammar* stipulates that in dubious cases, quantity is determined *a poëtarum usu* ("according to the practice of poets") (Lily 1544, H1). Gabriel Harvey will make the same point in one of his letters to Spenser on quantitative versification: according to Harvey, the first syllables of τιμὴ (*timē*, "honor") and *unus* ("one") were "naturally" short, but Homer and Ennius *made* them long by the very act of beginning lines of their epics with those words (Spenser 1580, E1). That "rattle" should instance two long syllables seals Stanyhurst's triple achievement: a metrical pattern in which orthography takes precedence over speech, in which the meter is orthogonal to stress, and in which the poet performs as artificer before an audience that has been mobilized as connoisseurs of that artifice.

Prestigious poets like Sidney and Spenser retreated from their quantitative experiments and the movement died out in only a few decades, but we should not under-estimate its importance. This "versifying" constitutes a sustained group inquiry into the individual verse line as a unit of composition, into the degree to which poetry should be rule driven, and into what elements were to be regarded as constitutive of poetry as such. Quantitative poets continued to propose the question of whether end-rhyme was to be a necessary and sufficient constituent of English verse, and the continued interrogation of the question prepared for a subsequent experiment—the attempt to compose heroic verse drama in blank verse, an experiment so successful that it radically transformed several decades-worth

of verse drama, with the Marlovian experiments in tragedy extended by other writers across almost the entire range of generic practice. The Stanyhurst era enabled the transformation of Surrey's decasyllabic line into modern iambic pentameter.[6]

Puttenham, Print, and the Strophe

Puttenham treats poetic form in "Of Proportion," the second book of his *Arte*; in its final chapters, he broods over the new-fangled archaism of the quantitative movement. Yet he devotes less than half of the book to line and foot; most of book two is concerned with rhyme and with those fixed stanzaic forms to which rhyme gives shape. Indeed, although Puttenham's vocabulary throughout the book is mathematical and musical—an exposition of proportion and harmony subdivided into discussions of "measure" (meter), "concord" (rhyme), and "staffe" (stanza length)—his attention drifts to disposition and geometry, to shape (see Ing 1951, 88–96; and Hazard 2000, 47–59). For Puttenham, poetry makes an address to the eye, and it therefore makes sense to him to represent stanzas by means of wordless diagrams:



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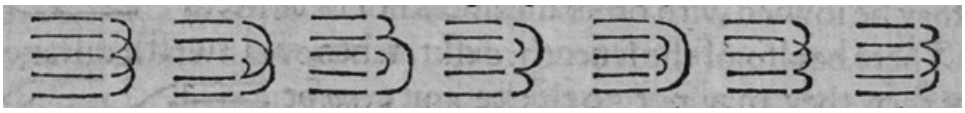
Even when he is representing rhyme schemes, Puttenham represents verbal "lines" as abstract geometric ones:



(Puttenham 1589, M3v, M2v)

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Puttenham's concern for the shape of poetry marks his attunement to the place of poetry in a first age of mechanical reproduction.

The effect of print on verse practice is complex, of course.[7] The fact that the versions of Wyatt's poems transmitted in manuscript form not only vary each from each, but are distinguished, variously, by rhythmic irregularities—and that, when Richard Tottel edited those poems for print, he regularized their stress patterns—suggests hypotheses that are difficult to test: that the stabilizations of text and image effected by print had a supplementary effect on prosodic taste, and that an editorial practice which addresses texts not to the small and relatively predictable audiences for which manuscripts are produced, but to the somewhat larger, more heterogeneous, and relatively unpredictable audience for

print adopted rhythmic regularity, and such other regularizations as the stabilization of genre and of "literary" vocabularies, as an aesthetic simplification appropriate to a new generalization of literary consumption (see Thompson 1961, 17–36). Difficult as it is to confirm these literary-historical intuitions, we may find them warranted in a letter commendatory to Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia*, in which John Lyly thanks the author for having shown him his poems: "and seeing you have used me so friendly, as to make me acquainted with your passions, I will shortly make you privy to mine, which I would be loath the printer should see, for that my fancies being never so crooked, he would put them in straight lines, unfit for my humor" (Watson 1582, ☙1v). This is wit, and possibly insincere, but it suggests an alertness to the constraints that print was imposing on the irregularities of manuscript poetics.

We have already observed the effects of which print lineation was capable. By stabilizing the look of the poem it established sheer line *length* as a carrier of formal kind. Thus the ballad in common measure, available to the ear as four units alternating between four and three beats and usually rhymed *xaxa*, can be re-lineated as the fourteener couplet, *also* available to the ear as four units alternating between four and three beats and similarly rhymed. The forms are distinguishable, both modally—by subject matter, diction, and traditional association—and phonetically—by the fact that the fourteener is (usually) regulated as to syllable count (hence the name) whereas the ballad is regulated as to beat, allowing zero to three syllables between beats—but the press makes a *show* of these differences, displaying the beetling gravity of Golding's and Chapman's epic lines.

The case of the sonnet as a canonical form exemplifies straitenings taking place at scales slightly larger than the individual line. We may begin by observing that the style and manners of the Petrarchan sonnet, a refined eroticism that antedates both Petrarch and Dante, had been sustained uninterrupted since the late Middle Ages across a range of verse and prose forms, yet the composition of poems in the sonnet *form* remained fitful until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Crucial to that revival was the printing of Petrarch's vernacular poetry, which began in the 1470s, but accelerated decisively after the Aldine edition of 1501 edited by Pietro Bembo, who became Petrarch's foremost exponent and imitator in the ensuing decades, and to whose example we can trace the pan-European revival of sonneteering.

As European poets adapted the Petrarchan model to their vernaculars, it was by no means clear what features would become the objects of formal imitation. Petrarch's most repeated form had a number of regularities: 14 hendecasyllabic lines organized into an octave and a sestet, the rhyme of the former a figure of poise (*abbaabba*), the more variable rhyme of the latter usually a figure of patient progress (for example, *cdcdcd*, *cdecde*, *cdedce*, etc.). Petrarch's French imitators were far more experimental. Marot, Saint-Gelais, Tyard, and Ronsard preferred a transformed version of the Petrarchan sonnet, beginning it with a couplet and then exploring a variety of configurations of the final quatrain. But this hardly exhausts French experimentalism: they imitated Petrarchan poems in dizains and rondeaux; nearly half of Du Bellay's extensive output of sonnets is written in alexandrines. That this formal freedom also characterizes the early decades of English Petrarchism may be traceable to Wyatt's and Surrey's sojourns in France: Wyatt adopts the rondeau for some of his earliest imitations of Petrarch; Spenser's first Petrarchan efforts are translated from douzaines by Marot, and those translations are paired with

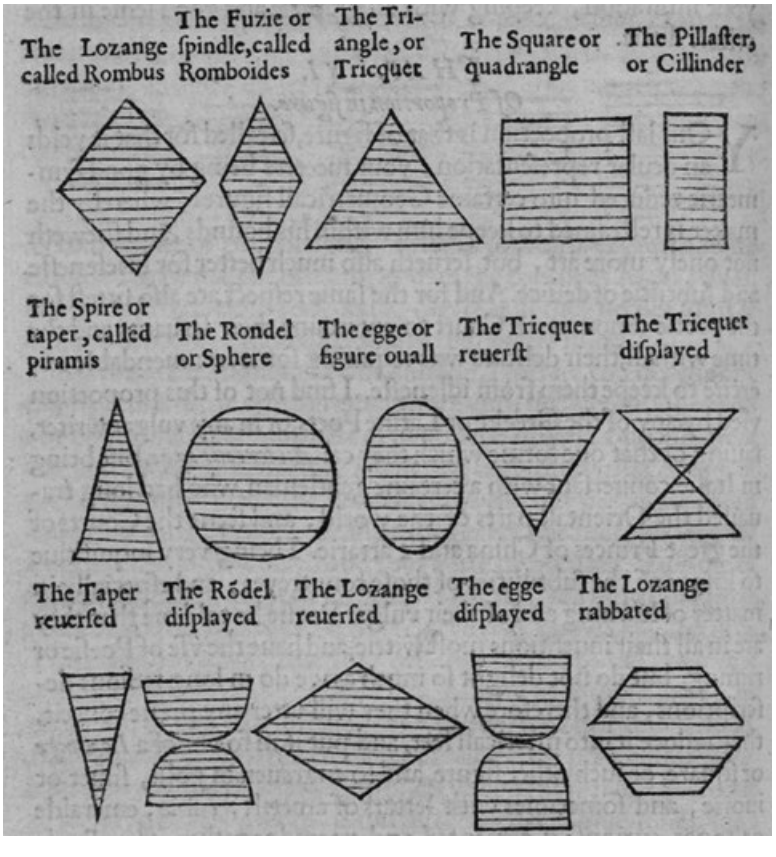
translations of Du Bellay's sonnets, translations in which Spenser advances on Du Bellay's own experimentalism by translating Du Bellay's rhymed poems into Surreyan blank verse; Watson's "sonnets" for *Hekatompathia* (1582), many of them close imitations of Petrarchan originals, are 18-line poems comprising three six-line "staffs" each consisting of cross-rhymed quatrains followed by a couplet, and Lodge and Breton both follow Watson's example in several "sonnets" (as they both call them) included in their collections of 1589 and 1591 respectively.[8] And just as their French predecessors had reworked the rhyme scheme of the Petrarchan sonnet, so do Wyatt and Surrey: Wyatt's innovations are concentrated on the sestet, where he favors a reorganization into a quatrain and couplet (*cddcee*), whereas Surrey prefers a much deeper transformation that breaks the sonnet into two bipartite units, a split octave (*abab cdcd*) and a snappily conclusive sestet (*efef gg*). The Surreyan redesign, which became, in the latter decades of the century, an English canonical form may be said to accommodate the constraints of English, which is far less well supplied with rhyme than French or Italian.[9] The formal redesign also enabled—even promoted—a reconception of the Petrarchan ethos: Surrey's form exerts a disintegrative pressure on the Petrarchan sonnet (and especially on the octave), promotes schematic organization and shorter periods, and solicits the sort of witty conclusion that became the hallmark of the sonneteering of such later practitioners as Sidney and Shakespeare.

The establishment of the Surreyan plan as the canonical form of the sonnet was slow in coming and the term "sonnet" therefore continued to designate almost any short poem, usually on the subject of frustrated love, but regardless of stanzaic design. The canon would become firm in the 1590s, the cumulative effect of several reprintings of Tottel's Miscellany, of the publication of such imitations of the Surreyan design as Gascoigne's corona of seven sonnets, of the manuscript circulation of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (formally various, but with a great number cleaving to the Surreyan model), and, perhaps most decisively, of the 1591 printing of *Astrophel and Stella*, almost immediately supplemented by other collections that, like Sidney's, build loose narrative sequences with sonnets of largely Surreyan design: within only two years, Daniel's *Delia* (1592), Constable's *Diana* (1592), Fletcher's *Licia* (1593), and Barnes's *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* (1593).[10]

The press makes its contribution to canonizing Surrey's form. Not only did printing multiply examples of that form and so compound its influence, but layout confirmed the contours of its design. Tottel had printed the sonnets of Wyatt and Surrey as uniform text blocks with no indentations to set off quatrains, couplets, or even the beginnings of octave or sestet; Bynneman's and Middleton's compositors had adopted the same integral layout for Gascoigne's corona of seven moral sonnets (Gascoigne 1573). But in 1589, Richard Jones chose to print Lodge's only Surreyan sonnet, "If that I seek the shade," in such a way as to make its structure apprehensible at a glance (Lodge 1589, E4v). Charlewood would use the same layout in the 1591 edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, and, for the most part, the sonnet printers of the 1590s did the same.[11] In *Delia*, *Diana*, Drayton's *Ideas Mirror* (1594), and Spenser's idiosyncratic adaptation of the Surreyan model for *Amoretti* (1595), the sonnet attains a canonical literary and typographic form, lineation indicating the strophic substructure of the poems, each sonnet occupying a single page,

and often embellished with a printer's flower that decoratively likens each poem to each preceding and succeeding one.

Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* was composed over many years. Internal evidence suggests that the central treatment "Of Proportion" was originally to have included only three chapters on metrics, and the rest of the book was to have been devoted to rhyme and the stanza. The final chapters, on the adaptation of classical meters to English practice, seem to have been composed at a late stage, presumably in response to the rise of quantitative prosody in the late 1570s. As finally printed, then, "Of Proportion" stages a competition between two possible poetic futures, two paths for reform, both of which had important antique antecedents. Quantitative prosody claims the sovereignty of the poet's ear; shaped poetry claims the sovereignty of the eye. As originally designed, the book was to have given the eye the last word: the appendix on quantitative prosody obscures a conclusion that proceeded from stanzaic forms organized by rhyme and line length (see illustrations above), to "proportion in figure," which he illustrates both by diagram:



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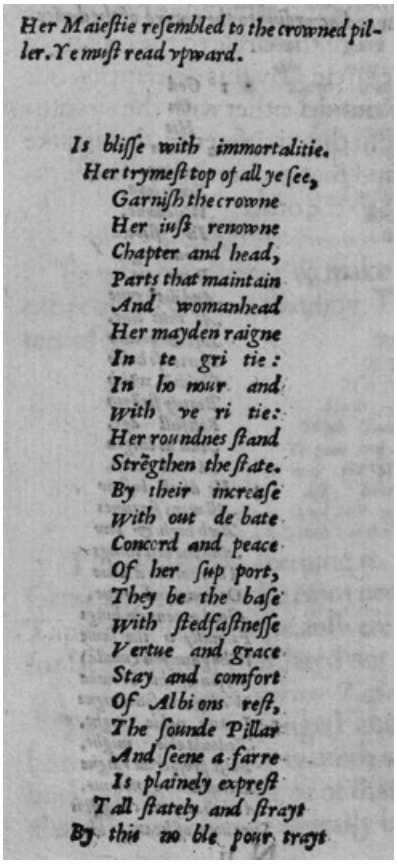
and example:



Her Maieſtie reſembled to the crowned pil-
ler. Ye muſt read vpward.

Is bliſſe with immortalitie.
Her trymeſt top of all ye ſee,
Garniſh the crowne
Her iuſt renowne
Chapter and head,
Parts that maintain
And womanhead
Her mayden raigne
In te gri tie:
In ho nour and
With ve ri tie:
Her roundnes ſtand
Strẽgthen the ſtate.
By their increaſe
With out de bate
Concord and peace
Of her ſup port,
They be the baſe
With ſtedfaſtneſſe
Vertue and grace
Stay and comfort
Of Albions reſt,
The ſounde Pillar
And ſeene a farre
Is plainely expreſt
Tall ſtately and ſtrayt
By this no ble pour trayt

(Puttenham 1989, M4v, N2v)

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Puttenham turns then to poems that may be read both forwards and backwards and in so doing reminds us of other favored early modern verbal forms that depend on visual display: anagrams, circular posies, acrostic and acrotelestic poems, forms cherished as gifts and frequently employed for praise or flattery. These forms, shimmering with word-magic, challenge the conception of the poem as an oral event and replace it with a conception of the poem as diagram or verbal map, a visual object to be construed and counter-construed by an eye forced to bestir itself: "ye must read upward."

Notes

1 On the rudeness attributed to English, see Jones (1953, ch. 1).

2 I emend "stellie" here, following the 1572 edition.

3 On Old English metrics and their relevance to later practice, see Duffell (2008, 51–61).

4 On this sacralization of the ballad form, see King (1982, ch. 5), Quitslund (2008, ch. 1), and Smith (1946, 265–66, 271).

5 See Stanyhurst's discussion of this practice at B2v.

6 Thompson (1961) remains a useful introduction to early modern iambic pentameter, but Hanson and Kiparsky (1996) and Duffell (2008, 126–127, 130–146) command closer attention, as does Tarlinskaja (1976, 138–175).

7 Ing (1951, 81–90) anticipates these speculations.

8 One might add the intriguing instance of "The Straunge Pangs of an Pore Passionate Lover," (P4–P4v) in *The Forest of Fancy* (1579) by H. C. [Henry Chettle], with its dense rhyme structure, *ababbccadaddee*.

9 Puttenham (1589, M3) pays heed to this difficulty in his treatment of long stanzas.

10 Like Sidney, Barnes continues to experiment with various rhyme schemes although, like Sidney, he often returns to the Surreyan model. Spenser's "Visions of Bellay" and "Petrarch" in *Complaints* (1591)—revisions of his earlier translations—should perhaps be included here.

11 The layout of poems in *Parthenophil and Parthenope* is unhelpful, since Barnes's rhyme scheme obviously confounds his printers.

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13
Genre: The Idea and Work of Literary Form

Patrick Cheney

The English Renaissance is an Age of Genre, an Era of Literary Form. The evidence exists both in practice and in theory. During the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, authors writing poetry, drama, and prose fiction—from Skelton and Surrey to Spenser and Shakespeare to Wroth and Milton—join literary critics producing treatises—Gascoigne, Sidney, Webbe, Puttenham, Daniel, Jonson, Hobbes—in making this period if not the most innovative in English literary history then arguably the most pioneering. In this essay, I take the cue of this combination to heart, and argue that a sustained symbiosis between intelligent formal theory and revolutionary inventive practice becomes a defining feature of the English Renaissance: a crucible for creative excellence.

Practice and Theory

Certainly, classical culture produced innovative practice and theory in major poetic genres: for instance, epics by Homer and Virgil; lyrics by Sappho and Catullus; pastorals by Theocritus and Virgil; elegies by Propertius and Ovid; satires by Horace and Juvenal; together with the literary criticism of Plato, Aristotle, Horace, and Longinus. Yet our most authoritative criticism denies symbiosis. According to Joseph Farrell, "Classical genre theory was a powerfully essentializing discourse," tethering itself to the author's "character" in "metrical form" (Farrell 2003, 383). As Aristotle put in in the *Poetics*, "Poetry … broke up into two kinds according to the differences of character in the individual poets … The result was that the old poets became some of them writers of heroic and others of iambic verse" (Aristotle 1941, 1448b, 24–33). In contrast, classical genre practice calls such essentializing into question: "by the Hellenistic and Roman periods … testing and even violating generic boundaries" was "an important aspect of the poet's craft" (Farrell 2003, 388). As Farrell emphasizes, the

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poets' "intergeneric awareness" (390) produces "generic hybridization," as when Virgil represents Italy "as a pastoral world" inside the epic *Aeneid* (393). In this model, the "Roman poets were … obsessed with genre" (396). Thus, Farrell privileges practice over theory: "The most important point I can make … is to urge that the implicit theory of genre embedded within Greek and Roman literature came to play a significant role" (403).

In medieval culture, the gap between practice and theory is wider, because some of the greatest works in the Western canon—Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Criseyde*—tower over a small corpus of literary criticism—for example, Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*—and the practice of classical genres such as pastoral gets short shrift (Cooper 1977). In English literature, Chaucer produces *The Canterbury Tales* as a generically unclassifiable masterpiece, while his "litel … tragedye," *Troilus* (Chaucer 1987, 5.1786), rarely makes the list of great Western tragedies. As Henry Ansgar Kelly observes, a "nominalist" principle of genre is at work in *Troilus*, where "the name of tragedy is a sufficient and necessary condition for being a tragedy" (Kelly 1993, 110); so we might follow Hans Robert Jauss in abandoning literary handbooks, "according to which one promiscuously uses … classical genre concepts," and instead follow medieval "horizons of expectations": medieval literature displays "quirky misinterpretations of genre and generic names" (Jauss 1982, 77).

While medieval England is largely silent about genre theory, we do get glimpses of it versified in poetry, as in Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*:

> Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie,
> As olde bookes maken us memorie,
> Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee,
> And is yfallen out of heigh degree
> Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly.
> (Chaucer 1987, lines 3163–3167)

For Chaucer, tragedy is an intertextual fiction about the fall of a great man of high class into misfortune. Chaucer's definition may recall Aristotle's more famous one, but it neglects what Aristotle also emphasizes: the affective way that the form of tragedy—"the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself, in language with pleasurable accessories"—"arous[es] … pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions" (*Poetics*, 1449b, 24–28).

When we get to the tragedies of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Webster, we may be able to see the lineaments of Aristotle's and Chaucer's models, but that may not be the most striking thing about them:

> Why should a dog, a horse, a rat have life,
> And thou no breath at all? Thou'lt come no more,
> Never, never, never, never, never.
> (Shakespeare 1997, *King Lear*, V.iii.307–309)

As in classical and medieval culture, Renaissance practice outstrips theory. Yet can anyone today, not simply then, theorize what is happening at the end of *King Lear*? If anything, Aristotelian catharsis, the purging or purifying of unruly emotions, cedes authority to

the exquisite terror of Longinian sublimity, an aesthetics that delivers, writes François Lyotard, "a major blow to didactics" (Lyotard 2011, 589). For the "aim" of sublimity is "astonishment" (Longinus 1972, *On Sublimity*, 15.2: 159), not persuasion, consolation, or wholeness: "sublimity … tears everything up like a whirlwind" (1.4: 144). The idea that authors like Shakespeare wrote in distinct literary forms, yet gave the slip to genre theory, looks to be the wise thing to take away from the English Renaissance: *King Lear* is a "tragedy" that defies *tragedy*.

Among classical literary critics, Longinus may not emphasize genre but he does not ignore it. "[T]ragedy," he says, is "a genre which is naturally magniloquent" (3.1: 145), and he illustrates sublimity through Greek tragedy. Sublimity is not the antagonist of genre but what renders it explosive. To be a tragedy that defies tragedy, *Lear* needs to know what it is about: "Is this the promis'd end? … Or image of that horror?" (V.iii.264–265). The key point is twofold: Renaissance England charts a sublime path of generic possibility, mapping a new literary world that constitutes one of its major achievements; and this era begins the enterprise of English genre criticism that points to today. *The Defence of Poetry*, *The Arte of English Poesie*, *Timber*, *The Reason of Church Government*: these and other remarkable treatises on poetry join the lyrics of Wyatt and Surrey, *Astrophil and Stella*, *The Faerie Queene*, *Hero and Leander*, *Shake-speares Sonnets*, the *Anniversaries*, and *Paradise Lost* as treasured artifacts of English culture. What is largely an anomaly in both classical and medieval culture—Horace and Dante are major exceptions—becomes standard in the English Renaissance: poets compose both poems and literary criticism as part of a single oeuvre, as Sidney does pricelessly; the list includes Gascoigne, Spenser, Lodge, Nashe, Harington, Campion, Daniel, Chapman, Drayton, Jonson, and Milton.

The goal of the present essay is to look into English Renaissance generic ideas of literary form, in order to argue, generally, that our attention to genre and form can provide a useful lens for interpretation, dialogue, and empowerment. Specifically, the essay argues against the received wisdom that diminishes theory at the expense of practice. That theory, we are told, is "driven … by rigid taxonomies" that poets must break free from through "dynamic, flexible, and transformative practice" (Burrow 2010, 405). Yet we might consider an alternative, one that emphasizes the utility of taxonomy to invention, theory to practice. What finally makes the English Renaissance pioneering, I suggest, is a concerted professional project in which poets and critics *alike* use generic taxonomy as the tool of artistic creativity. Taxonomy, rather than being the antithesis of invention, is the driving engine of sublime authorship, the very authorship that makes English Renaissance literature great and canonical (Cheney 2011b). As we shall see, theorists like Sidney and Puttenham usefully demarcate an "idea" for each genre—not a rigid definition—and this idea proves useful to authors who compose the literary form of a given genre. Without a basic grasp of the idea of pastoral, authors could not write pastoral at all; with it, they could produce one of the era's most inventive forms. A symbiotic model between theory and practice better accounts for what is valuable about genre and literary form during this period.

The above argument counters another tenet of the received wisdom, mounted by James Simpson: "In the shift from 'medieval' to the 'early modern'," literary history "could be written" as a "contrast" between "unresolved generic juxtaposition versus attempted generic coherence" (Simpson 2002, 1–2). For Simpson, "coherence" translates into "diminishing

liberties" (1): "In sum … the sixteenth century witnessed a contraction and simplification of much more complex 'medieval' jurisdictional fields," with one of the "main features of 'medieval' cultural practice" being "clearly demarcated and unresolved generic … divisions within texts" (558), what he terms "formal segmentation" (66). Since authors up through Skelton "do not observe the generic decorum of neoclassical writing," but commit themselves to "generic heterogeneity," Simpson organizes his book around eight "modal, adjectival categories" (67) (e.g., "The Elegiac"). In this history, "The very compartmentalized structure of the sonnet as practised by Wyatt and Surrey itself bears witness to an inquisitive and threatening discursive environment … The form of late fourteenth-century elegy, by contrast, is characteristically heterogeneous in both style and structure" (122).

We might contest the conclusion that "compartmentalized" literary forms like the sonnet are measures of surveillance and tyranny rather than instruments of artistic freedom. To the contrary: it would seem that no genre exhibits greater inventive liberty in such restrictive space than does the sonnet, as testified to by Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, but also by Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, Spenser's *Amoretti*, the Holy Sonnets of Donne, and the mini-sequence of 23 by Milton: "Methought I saw my late espoused Saint / Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave" (Milton 1957, Sonnet 23.1–2).

This debate over sonnet tyranny replays one between Campion and Daniel in 1602–1603. Campion (1999) claims that the sonneteer "handles his subject as tyrannically as Procrustes" (Alexander 2004, 284), yet Daniel (1999) rejoins, "Nor is this certain limit observed in sonnets any tyrannical bounding of the conceit, but rather reducing it *in gyrum* [into a circle or circuit], and a just form," and he echoes Genesis when saying that the poet uses "imagination" to imitate the "divine power" of the Creator when making "an orb of order and form" (Alexander 2004, 216; see 428, n.17 for Jonson's similar criticism of Petrarch's sonnets). For Daniel, the little room of the sonnet is infinitely rich, a celestial orb, and the poet who makes its "just form" a god.

To support an argument about the symbiosis between theory and practice, I will first inventory studies of both genre and Renaissance genre to sort out a taxonomy of terms; second, outline a model of genre for reading English Renaissance poetry; third, return to genre theory in the period to highlight what is most useful about it; fourth, look briefly at the era's fictions of genre as evidence of generic practice; and finally, say a word about the role of print in the symbiosis of practice and theory. As we shall see, perhaps at no time has the generic idea of literary form performed such valuable work on behalf of authors and readers, from the haunting prison poems of Wyatt and Surrey to the militant Christian epic *Paradise Lost*. In the present volume design, the essay sets up the next unit, "Forms and Genres," which consists of 21 essays: a design that itself testifies to the importance of the topic today.

A Taxonomy of Terms

Indeed, genre studies continues to be a healthy enterprise. In 2007, *PMLA* published a Special Issue on Genre, in which the editor calls genre "a runaway reproductive process: offbeat, off-center, and wildly exogenous … Stackability, switchability, and scalability are

the key attributes of genres when they are seen as virtual" (Dimock 2007, 1379). That same year, Routledge's New Critical Idiom series updated Heather Dubrow's 1982 Critical Idiom *Genre* by publishing John Frow's volume by the same title, and in 2015 Frow published a second edition: "This book is about … how genres organise verbal and non-verbal discourse, together with the actions that accompany them" (Frow 2015, 1). Usefully, Frow advances an "argument" that forms a baseline: "far from being merely 'stylistic' devices, genres create effects of reality and truth, authority and plausibility, which are central to the different ways the world is understood" (2). Aiming to free readers from seeing "genres" as "fixed and pre-given forms," he presents them as "open-ended … frames" having "organising force in everyday life" (3). Specifically, genre "gets a certain kind of work done" (15).

Here, Frow counters several waves of modernism rejecting the value of genre. Early in the twentieth century, Benedetto Croce announced, "Every true work of art has violated an established genre" (quoted in Jauss 1982, 78), and toward the end of the century Jacques Derrida agreed, using Horace's phrase "the law of genre" against him: "a text would not *belong* to any genre. Every text *participates* in one or several genres, there is no genreless text, there is always a genre and genres, yet such participation never amounts to belonging" (Derrida 1992, 230). Most of these waves have produced aftershocks of genre defenders, such as New Criticism with its attention to form, but also Kenneth Burke's *The Philosophy of Literary Form*, first published in 1941: "Art forms like 'tragedy' or 'comedy' or 'satire' would be treated as *equipments for living*, that size up situations in various ways and in keeping with correspondingly various attitudes" (Burke 1973, 304). Similarly, in *Anatomy of Criticism* Northrop Frye finds literature organized around four basic mythical forms: comedy, romance, tragedy, and irony/satire. "The true father or shaping spirit of the poem is the form of the poem itself, and this form is a manifestation of the universal spirit of poetry" (Frye 1957, 98): a spirit, Frye says in *The Educated Imagination*, that "goes to work in society" (Frye 1964, 129).

Indeed, the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s produced a series of powerful defenses:

- E. D. Hirsch: "All understanding of verbal meaning is necessarily genre-bound" (Hirsch 1967, 76).
- Claudio Guillén: "[T]he theory of genres is coextensive with the history of poetics" (Guillén 1971, 107).
- Fredric Jameson: "[I]t is hard to see how any genuine literary history could be written without the aid of something like a concept of genre" (Jameson 1975–1976, 136).
- Tzvetan Todorov: "Genre is the point of intersection of general poetics and literary history; in this sense, it is a privileged object, which is enough to make it the principal subject of literary studies" (Todorov 1976–1977, 164).
- Stephen Greenblatt: "[T]he study of genre is an exploration of the poetics of culture" (Greenblatt 1982, 6).

This last statement, by the inventor of New Historicism, looked good for the continued vitality of genre studies, except for one thing: subsequently, many practitioners of New Historicism separated history from genre.

During the past few decades, Renaissance studies has paralleled these developments. Several important "theorists" have been Renaissance critics: Greenblatt, Rosalie Colie, Barbara Lewalski, Alastair Fowler, Heather Dubrow, Richard Helgerson. According to

Colie, "as an expression of Renaissance culture … the notion of genre is historically significant," for genre allows us to "understand how literary works were thought to come into being" (Colie 1973, 2). For Colie, "literary invention—both 'finding' and 'making'—in the Renaissance was … largely in generic terms, accomplished by generic instruments and helps" (17). Specifically, "genre-system offers a set of interpretations, of 'frames' or 'fixes' on the world" (8). Fowler especially offsets the achievement of this era: "Of all modern periods before our own, it is the Renaissance in which the most sustained development of genre theory can be discerned" (Fowler 1982, 25–26; see Lewalski 1985, 1; Mueller 1986, 213). In his *Forms of Nationhood*, Richard Helgerson argues that "[d]iscursive forms matter … [T]hey … are as much agents as they are structures. They make things happen … [Forms] constitute[d] … the nation" (Helgerson 1992, 6). More recently, Jean E. Howard argues that Shakespeare's "dramatic genres construct distinctive and discrete imagined geographies … historically," with "tragedy perform[ing] … the work of mourning" (Howard 2007, 52, 57).

Howard's statement comes from a 2007 volume edited by Stephen Cohen titled *Shakespeare and Historical Formalism*, which was preceded in 2002 by *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements*, edited by Mark David Rasmussen. Both volumes advance the New Formalism (coined by Dubrow in 1990), which weds historical analysis to literary formalism (Levinson 2007; see Strier in this volume). As Cohen puts it, "any thoroughly historicist criticism must account for form, even as any rigorous formalism must be historical" (Cohen 2007, 2). Today, I hope, it is axiomatic that we can wed history to form without divorce.

Thus far, we have been using "form" and "genre" largely interchangeably, but we may also distinguish between them, as the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* does. In the entry on "Genre," M. Cavitch focuses on "literary classification" into "kinds" as "one of the chief engines of literary history," featuring the "trio of 'major' or 'basic' genres: epic, dramatic, and lyric" (Cavitch 2012, 551). The origin of this triad can be traced to Plato: "there is one kind of poetry and taletelling which works wholly through imitation … tragedy and comedy, and another which employs the recital of the poet himself, best exemplified … in the dithyramb, and there is again that which employs both, in epic poetry" (Plato 1961, *Republic* 3.394.c). In the *Poetics*, Aristotle works from this triad in privileging tragedy over epic but says little about the dithyramb: "Given both the same means and the same kind of object for imitation, one may either (1) speak at one moment in narrative and at another in an assumed character, as Homer does; or (2) one may remain the same throughout … or (3) the imitators may represent the whole story dramatically" (Aristotle 1941, *Poetics* 1448a.20–25). In *The Art of Poetry*, Horace includes the triad but emphasizes *decorum*: "each subject should retain / The place allotted to it, with decent thews" (translated by Jonson 1975, lines 124–125). As Frow demonstrates, Goethe calls the triad "the natural forms," and subsequent writers develop it, from Hegel to Joyce to Genette (Frow 2015, 60–69). In Frow's summary, "Plato and Aristotle theorised genre in terms of three distinct modes of presentation: direct narration, dramatic imitation, and a mix of the two. Later genre theory either described a heterogeneous multiplicity of genres or shifted the classical triad into an apparently universal distinction between the three 'natural kinds' of the epic, lyric, and dramatic" (78).

Conversely, in the *Princeton Encyclopedia* entry on "Form," S. J. Wolfson focuses on the "binary" of form and content, featuring "the notion of constitutive form—form as active

producer, not just passive register, of meaning": "form is meaning and meanings are formed" (Wolfson 2012, 497, 499). In this way, form makes genre up: each genre has its form, constitutive of meaning. Nowhere is this more visible than in the pattern poems of George Herbert, who crafts "The Altar" in the form of an altar and "Easter Wings" in the shape of wings, a topic that Puttenham introduced (Smith 1904, 2: 96–101). Yet Terry Eagleton cautions us about this "'incarnational fallacy'," by which "form and content … are entirely at one" (Eagleton 2007, 59): "to see form and content in terms of each other is not necessarily to see them as unified" (69). He goes on to give several examples in which the two are better understood as "intimately interwoven" (67), even "at loggerheads" (69).

Frow's term "mode" also requires pause, since theorists distinguish it from genre. As he points out, theorists are not always consistent in using these terms, but he suggests that "modes are usually qualifications or modifications of particular genres (*gothic* thriller, *pastoral* elegy, *satirical* sitcom) … they specify thematic features and certain forms and modalities of speech, but not … formal structures" (Frow 2015, 71). As he adds, "modes start their life as genres but over time take on a more general force which is detached from particular structural embodiments" (71).

A Model of Genre

From this brief history theorizing genre and form, we may offer a summarizing model for English Renaissance poetry: *A poetic genre is an author's created metrical form, one that often traces to antiquity or the Middle Ages or the two in succession, to frame a verbal world in the shape of the cosmos, in relation to other genres, often as part of a poet's oeuvre, and finally inspiring an idea of literary and cultural value for the reader to interpret, derive meaning from, and put to work in society*. Let us unpack the key terms.

The model subsumes genre under the literary rubric of *authorship*, a concept, writes Andrew Bennett, that is co-equal with literary criticism: "The history of literary criticism from the earliest times may in fact be said to be organized around conceptions of authorship" (Bennett 2005, 4). What literary authors create are metrically ordered forms like the sonnet: 14 lines of iambic pentameter, in a particular rhyme scheme, such as the Surreyan/Shakespearean sonnet, with its three quatrains and couplet: *ababcdcdefefgg*.

The poetic form of a genre functions *historically*, in four interrelated ways. First, a genre often originates in classical culture, such as Spenser's first pastoral, *The Shepheardes Calender*; in medieval culture, such as Spenser's *Complaints*; or in some historical combination, such as Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes*, which weds classical and Christian (Rollinson 1971). Second, authors produce genres in response to occasions and environments, such as the death of Wyatt in five Surrey elegies; the queenship of Elizabeth I in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*; or the failure of the Cromwellian Republic in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Third, genres evolve historically; they stay in motion: for example, certain poems of Greek, Roman, and Renaissance culture qualify as pastoral—Theocritus's Idyll 1, Virgil's Eclogue 1, and Spenser's *Januarye* eclogue—but they are not the same pastoral. And fourth, consequently, the original historicity of a genre may function for new readers, the way Donne's songs and sonnets did for T. S. Eliot and his generation.

The historicized form of a genre functions as a *frame* or *fix* on the *world*, in Colie's formulation, which Frow brings center stage: "the frame enclosing any piece of text is both a set of material determinants and a metaphor for the frame structure of genre" (Frow 2015, 117). In the *Calender*, Spenser uses the word "frame" eight times, only to describe the action of his poetry, as in *Januarye* when describing the style of Colin Clout: "Well couth he tune his pipe, and frame his stile" (Spenser 1999, line 10). In *December*, Spenser uses the architectural term to represent Colin's pastoral forms: Colin "seek[s] the honey Bee, / Working her formall rowmes in Wexen frame" (lines 67–68); and later, Colin "make[s] fine cages for the Nightingale, / And Baskets of bulrushes was my wont" (lines 79–80), the cage and basket joining the beehive as long-standing metaphors for literary form (cf. Fowler 1975, 65; Cheney 1993, 106).

As Spenser's metaphors indicate, an author's literary form responds to previous literary forms. As his glossator, E. K., points out in the *Dedicatory Epistle* to the *Calender*, England's New Poet "follow[s] … the example of the best and most auncient Poetes," listing Theocritus, Virgil, Mantuan, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marot, and Sannazaro (Spenser 1999, 29). Such *imitatio* ensures that *intertextuality* lies at the heart of generic forms: genre is always intertextual (Frow 2015, 48–54). Thus, Theocritus plucks his bucolic "idylls" out of Homeric epic (Halperin 1983, 174–177). For Mikhail Bakhtin, such "incorporation of genres" forms the key dialogic principle of "heteroglossia," defined as "*another's speech in another's language*" (Bakhtin 2011, 286, 288). According to Lewalski, *Paradise Lost* is a veritable "encyclopedi[a]" of literary forms: epic, lyric, and drama but also "odes, psalmic hymns … sonnets, epithalamia, love lyrics," "support[ed]," she adds, by "Renaissance critical theory" (Lewalski 1985, 3, 4).

Renaissance poets also use genre patterns to form a poetic oeuvre and shape a career. Sometimes poets open a work by announcing their move into a higher genre, as Spenser does to open *The Faerie Queene*:

> Lo I the man, whose Muse whylome did maske,
> As time her taught in lowly Shephards weeds,
> Am now enforst a far unfitter taske,
> For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds:
> And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds.
> (Spenser 2001, *Faerie Queene* I. proem 1. 1–5)

Here the anonymous author of the *Calender* takes off his pastoral "maske" to identify himself as the author of a national epic romance (Burrow 1993): "Knights and Ladies." Yet sometimes poets rely on the classical principle of *recusatio*, the refusal to write in higher genres (Cheney 2015), as Anne Bradstreet does to open *The Tenth Muse* (1650):

> To sing of Wars, of Captaines, and of Kings,
> Of Cities founded, Common-wealths begun,
> For my mean Pen are too superiour things,
> …
> Let Poets and Historians set these forth,
> My obscure Verse shal not so dim their worth.
> (Bradstreet 2001, 233: lines 1–3, 5–6)

In both cases, genres form the building blocks for shaping a career and for communicating it to the reader.

For Renaissance poets, all such genres necessarily center on an *idea*, one derived from literary convention or decorum, and that is useful to recognize. I borrow the principle of *idea* from the 1561 *Poetics* of Julius Caesar Scaliger, who titles Book 2 "The Matter of Poetry" after Aristotle, and Book 3 "The Ideas of Poetry" after Plato (Scaliger 1905, x–xi): each poem participates in a larger generic idea, even if it possesses its own matter (see Cheney 2011a, 92). Accordingly, we can read a sonnet by having a basic grasp of the idea of Petrarchan sonneteering; we can even say that it would be unwise not to have such a grasp, although typically sonnets express what we need to know about them: "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun; … / And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare / As any she belied with false compare" (Shakespeare 1997, Sonnet 130, lines 1, 13–14)—the word "compare" evoking Shakespeare's self-conscious comparison with Petrarchism. All genres have a form, and every form has an idea: if we read a poem in terms of its idea, we create a lens useful for reading closely. Such an idea is not the end of interpretation but rather its medium, and literary analysis then supplies necessary details.

The medium proves useful because it allows us to see how "Genres frame the world" (Frow 2015, 101): both the world of the poem itself and the world outside the poem. Hence, we may speak of "generic worlds," which have dimensions of "time, space, categories of actors and settings, causality, and motivation—and the interpretation they call for" (Seitel 2003, 279): for example, "the world of the Petrarchan sonnet, where lovers are constant and fair mistresses are not, where suffering or bliss are the poles between which love moves, where eyes shoot beams to twine souls together, and where time is that of biological decay and its transcendence in love or in writing" (Frow 2015, 94). By reading a poem for its generic world, we come to terms with its basic idea and the elements that compose its form.

The concept of a generic world speaks to "[t]he master topos of post-classical … literature" (Braden 1999, 60): in Dante's *Commedia*, the "unprecedented union … of subjective vision and objective fact," or what Ernst Robert Curtius calls "the assimilation of the poet to the creator of the universe" (Curtius 1953, 400). As Puttenham puts it, "A poet is as … God; who … contrives out of his own brain both the verse and matter of his poem" (Puttenham 1999, 191–192). According to Harry Berger, we can distinguish between three worlds in the "Renaissance imagination": the first is the earth created by the deity; the second is its imitation, the heterocosm or artifact of the poem; and the third is the green world inside the heterocosm, a fictional place of repose that "transform[s] the bounded moment of esthetic delight into a model or guide for moral action" (Berger 1988, 37). The world of the poem functions in and for the world.

The central element of a generic world is a set of *values*, a concept that Denis Donoghue borrows from Pierre Bourdieu: "the values embodied in a work of art by virtue of its form" (Donoghue 1999, 20). "Form," writes Donoghue, "is the value which enables writers … to stand aside from political issues, even in the midst of public clamour, and to mind their own artistic business. It is also the value which permits writers to take part in political conflict, but with weapons 'that are not those of politics'" (20, quoting Bourdieu 1996, 131). As Bourdieu and Donoghue argue, "form" is a "creative force" (21), and that force is in the hands of the reader. In English Renaissance poetry, *genre equips the reader for living*, even if that means, as Eagleton says, "the exploration of words in themselves" (Eagleton 2007, 89).

Renaissance Genre Theory

Renaissance literary criticism anticipates this model about the idea and work of genre. We have space for only a few examples. In *The Defence of Poetry*, Sidney inventories poetry's "parts, kinds, or species" (Sidney 1999, 360), including ideas of pastoral, elegy, satire, lyric, and heroic (360–366). Famously, Sidney builds on Horace to identify poetry's instrumentality: "to delight and teach; and … move men to take that goodness in hand" (346). Not just "*gnosis*" but "*praxis*", action not just thought: "poetry is the companion of camps" (373). Specifically, "Heroical" poetry is "the best and most accomplished kind," because it "teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth; who maketh magnanimity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness and foggy desires" (365). Presenting epic (in John Roe's words), "as *the* characteristic Renaissance literary mode" (Roe 2000, 290), Sidney articulates the idea of epic: "Only let Aeneas be worn in the tablet of your memory, how he governeth himself in the ruin of his country" (Sidney 1999, 365). Sidney's idea cannot express the exquisite detail of Virgil's epic, but it supplies the very net of *idea and work* that directs us to it.

In the 1640s, Milton wrote a series of remarks about genre, working from the principle that "sublime art … in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries … teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is" (Milton 1999b, 605). Reflecting on the freedom of poetic musing, Milton sees value in both the theory and the practice of "epic form": "whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judement, is no transgression but an enriching of art; and lastly, what king or knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero" (Milton 1999a, 593). Milton goes on to identify five functions for epic: (1) to breed the civic virtues of citizenship; (2) to moderate passions; (3) to praise God; (4) to celebrate Christian heroism; and (5) to combat political tyranny (594).

But it is later in 1650 that Thomas Hobbes does a *number* on genre. For he draws a correspondence between the "three regions" of "the universe"—"celestial, aerial, and terrestrial"—and "three sorts of poesy, heroic, scommatic [satiric], and pastoral" (Hobbes 1999, 608–609). Not simply does poetic form correspond to cosmic form, but heroic poetry corresponds to the celestial region, satire to the aerial, and pastoral to the terrestrial. Next, Hobbes extends the "post-classical" topos wedding "subjective fact" to "objective truth" via a third category, for there are "three regions of mankind: court, city, and country" (608). He then multiplies each of the three sets by two, "narrative" and "dramatic," to make "six sorts of poesy": (1) "heroic … narrative" (i.e., "epic"); (2) "heroic … drama" (i.e., "tragedy"); (3) "scommatic narrative" (i.e., 'satire"); (4) "scommatic … drama" (i.e., "comedy"); (5) "pastoral narrative" (i.e., "pastoral"); and (6) "pastoral drama" (i.e., "pastoral comedy"). Hobbes is introducing William Davenant's heroic poem, *Gondibert*, which performs work on England's behalf: "the subject of a poem is the manners of men" (609). In English Renaissance literary criticism, Hobbes's genre scheme, which allows us to connect dots between Plato and Frow, may be at once the most intense and the most bizarre; but it allows us to see how formally theory originates in practice, and practice in theory.

Renaissance Fictions of Genre

Poets author poems in distinct genres, and theorists theorize them, but sometimes poets insert fictions about genres inside their poems, and even put them into play with other genres, to represent the world and value of a genre-based idea of a literary career. In *Ovid's Elegies*, Marlowe goes one step further and captures the "Renaissance" project of Englishing a classical text for Elizabethan England. He tells how, one day, the poet walks in the woods to a "sacred spring" in order to discover inspiration, only to be greeted by Lady "Elegia," "with hairs perfumed sweet, / And one, I think, was longer of her feet; / A decent form, a thin robe, a lover's look, / By her foot's blemish greater grace she took" (Cheney and Striar 2006, 3.1. lines 3, 7–10). Here, the poet genders elegy female, and gives her a body, a dress, and a character: her disability represents the elegiac couplet, a hexameter line succeeded by a pentameter; her perfumed hair, the sweetness of elegy's erotic style; her "decent form," the supple decorum of elegy as a genre; her thin robe, its sexuality; and the "grace" emerging from her "foot's blemish," the elegance of elegy and its titillation. Suddenly, "violent Tragedy" arrives, "with huge steps": "stern was her front, her cloak on ground did lie; / Her left hand held abroad a regal sceptre, / The Lydian buskin in fit paces kept her" (lines 11–14). Tragedy's steps are huge because this genre proceeds through hexameters alone; she is violent and stern to evoke tragedy's dark contents; her cloak covers the ground to evoke the genre's anti-erotic sentiments; her "regal sceptre" identifies the political topic of kingship; and her buskin is the boot worn by the tragic actor.

Such details do not escape theorists such as Aristotle, Horace, or Sidney. Genres have a theory, and poets know it; that theory centers on decorum, coagulating an idea for literary form: elegy is an erotic genre organized around seduction; tragedy is a political genre organized around kingship. However, genres do not exist in isolation but are "mixed," "incorporated"; as *heteroglossia*, they are literally in dialogue; and they form a pattern in the poet's career. Hence, Marlowe's Ovidian drama unfolds for another 55 lines, as the two ladies compete for the poet's attention, scripting a fiction about his dilemma whether to write in the low erotic genre or the high political one. In the end, the poet asks Tragedy to grant him time to serve her authority, so that he can first serve Elegy: "She gave me leave, soft loves in time make haste, / Some greater work will urge me on at last" (lines 69–70). Putting one genre into play with another, the poet forms an "Ovidian" career pattern that begins with elegy and moves to tragedy (Cheney 1997). If we considered the work as a whole, we could extend the genre-patterning to epic, for the sequence opens,

> With Muse prepared I meant to sing of arms,
> Choosing a subject fit for fierce alarms.
> Both verses were alike till Love …
> … took one foot away. (1.1. lines 5–8)

The three genres—elegy, epic, and tragedy—form a counter-Virgilian genre pattern of considerable complexity, one that Ovid brought to the Romans, and Marlowe to the Elizabethans.

Printing Genre

We may conclude with two interrelated points. First, it is astonishing to discover how frequently printed books of the English Renaissance are structured generically. The world's most famous example is the 1623 First Folio of Shakespeare, which transposes a poetic triad, the Virgilian progression of pastoral, georgic, and epic, to a dramatic triad, lower to mid to higher: *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (Tudeau-Clayton 1998, 4). In 1616, Jonson divides his Folio *Works* into three kinds: plays, poems, and masques. Perhaps more remarkably, the 1635 edition of Donne's poetry is organized generically, from the lower to higher forms: from the *Songs and Sonnets* at the beginning to the *Anniversaries* and mock-Virgilian epic *Metempsychosis* in the middle to the *Divine Poems* at the end—helping to justify the structure of the 2010 *Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, whose second section is titled "Donne's Genres," and includes 19 essays, 12 poetic (Cheney 2017).

The second point is that books of the English Renaissance often *print* a symbiosis between generic practice and generic theory; they preface a work with such paratexts as a dedicatory epistle or commendatory verses, or both. Perhaps the most overt instance comes in John Fletcher's "To the Reader" prefacing his *Faithful Shepherdess* (*c.*1610), in which the author explains the historicity of his new double-hybrid genre of "pastoral tragicomedy" (Fletcher 1999, 502), a literary form that weds pastoral with drama, and comedy with tragedy; that is, poetry with theater:

> Understand therefore a pastoral to be a representation of shepherds and shepherdess, with their actions and passions, which must be such as may agree with their natures … They are not to be adorned with any art but such improper ones as nature is said to bestow, as singing and poetry … But you are ever to remember shepherds to be such as all the ancient poets and modern of understanding have received them: that is, the owners of flocks, and not hirelings.
>
> A tragicomedy is not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants deaths, which is enough to make it no tragedy; yet brings some near it, which is enough to make it no comedy, which must be a representation of familiar people, with such kind of trouble as no life be questioned. So that a god is as lawful in this as in a tragedy, and mean people as in a comedy.
>
> (Fletcher 1999, 503)

Genres stay alive, for joy and sorrow; they combat weakness and tyranny; they form the armor of identity: through a world and for a world. The pleasure genres give is militant; 400 years later, the idea and work of English Renaissance literary form equips, activates, sustains.

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Part II
Forms and Genres

EPIC AND EPYLLION

14
Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*

Gordon Teskey

The first mention of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* is an unfavorable one in a letter from the poet's Cambridge mentor and friend, Gabriel Harvey, written in April 1580. It is the last of the *Three Proper, and Wittie, familiar Letters: lately passed between two universitie men* (Spenser 1912, 628). Spenser had sent Harvey a number of works, which were presumably in the planning stages at the time. Among these were nine comedies (each named after one of the nine muses) and a portion of *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser had recently published *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), which, though it was officially anonymous, won him instant notice as England's "new poet," as "E. K.," the commentator on that work, called him. From Harvey's letter it appears Spenser was now trying to decide which direction his vaulting ambition should take. Should he write the nine comedies or press on with *The Faerie Queene*? If, on the one hand, Spenser wrote the comedies, he would be following the up-to-date, fashionable example of Italian humanism, notably Ludovico Ariosto's neo-classical comedies, worthy imitations of Plautus and Terence. If, on the other hand, Spenser pressed on with *The Faerie Queene*, he would be addressing homely, old-fashioned but patriotic English material: fairy lore, and the chivalric tales of Arthur and his knights. Should he manage, however, to elevate this material to the level of heroic epic, Spenser would still be completing an eminently classical design and indeed a higher one than that given by the example of ancient comedy and its modern imitations.

This higher design was established by none other than Virgil, who opened his career, as Spenser would do in imitation of him, with pastoral poems. Virgil then ascended to georgic poems about farming and finally to the heroic, sublime, and mythic-historical *Aeneid*. Such, approximately, was Spenser's ambition.[1] I say "approximately" because Spenser leaves out the intermediate stage represented by the *Georgics* (from the Greek word *georgos*, "plowman"). But it is interesting that in the first book of *The Faerie Queene*, "George" turns out to be the name of the Redcrosse Knight, so-called by a plowman who found him in a

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furrow (I.x.61 and 66). He becomes Saint George of merry England. Probably, Spenser thought of his poem on the moral virtues as the cultivation or georgics of the self.

Spenser proclaimed his epic intentions for *The Faerie Queene* in his opening lines:

> Lo I the man whose Muse whilome did maske,
> As time her taught, in lowly Shepheards weeds,
> Am now enforst a far unfitter taske,
> With trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds,
> And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds;
> Whose prayses having slept in silence long,
> Me, all too meane, the sacred Muse areeds
> To blazon broad emongst her learned throng.
> Fierce warres and faithful loves shall moralize my song.
> (*The Faerie Queene* I. proem 1)

By making the chivalric and medieval tales of knights and ladies at once heroic and allegorical ("*moralize* my song"), Spenser intended—as Harvey had reported of him—to "overgo" Ariosto. He would do so with respect to the poem for which Ariosto was most famous, the huge romance epic *Orlando Furioso*. As indicated on Spenser's title page in 1590 and in his "Letter to Raleigh," which was published at the same time, the great work would be an allegorical epic on the 12 moral virtues, thus enclosing Ariostan romance within a more elevated and capacious design, that of "a continued Allegory, or darke conceit." In aiming "to *fashion* a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline" ("Letter to Raleigh," emphasis added), Spenser intended not simply to make his readers better by example but to start up in their minds a process of interpretative moral reflection. They would not necessarily become more holy, temperate, or chaste; but they would think about what these virtues are in relation to the dangers that oppose them. Spenser fashions images of virtue, but he also fashions an intellectual habit, that of interpretative reflection. Such was Spenser's design as he laid it before Harvey, a decade before its first part came out into the world.

Harvey, however, strongly urged the former course, that of the comedies, deriding the project of *The Faerie Queene* as "Hobgoblin run away with the garland from Apollo." Hobgoblin is a very English figure, a mischievous, hairy elf, like Shakespeare's Puck. Harvey's point is that Spenser's English subject matter and his antiquated English diction (e.g., *whilome* and *areed*, above) are an affront to neoclassical standards. (Almost three decades later, another neoclassicist, Ben Jonson, in his conversations with the Scottish poet Drummond of Hawthornden, would charge Spenser with writing "no language.") Harvey praises the "elocution," that is, the elegant and decorous word choice, of Spenser's nine comedies. But he remains pointedly silent on the language of *The Faerie Queene* and concludes hoping that "God or some good angel" will put Spenser "in a better mind." His prayer went unanswered, and Spenser went ahead with *The Faerie Queene*. (It is very doubtful those nine comedies, of which no trace survives, amounted to more than a typically unworkable plan; see Gilbert 1958.)

The language of *The Faerie Queene* to which Jonson took exception combines antiquated English forms and orthography with inventive etymologizing for allegorical effect.

While not accurately or consistently Middle English, Spenser's language is a declaration of allegiance to Chaucer and the English tradition. This provided him with a means of evoking two valences of wonder that were most important to his poem's design: the "wonder of antiquity" (II.x.68) and the wonder of allegorical mystery. The antiquity is that of the ancient Britons, not only in the time of King Arthur but going back to the Trojan prince Brute, the founder of Britain and of the great city *Troynovant* "Troy Restored," the first name of London: "For noble *Britons* sprong from *Troians* bold / And *Troynovant* was built of old *Troyes* ashes cold" (III.ix.38; cf. II.x.46). In Spenser's House of Alma, Prince Arthur will read the *Briton Chronicle*, which traces the royal line forward to him, or rather toward him, for it breaks off suddenly with his father, Uther Pendragon, whom he does not know (II.x.68). The line of ancient Briton kings would also stretch forward from Arthur (or *Artegal*, "the equal of Arthur") to the Welsh Tudors and Queen Elizabeth's grandfather, Henry VII, who brought the Tudor line to the throne at Bosworth field in 1485 and was succeeded by his son, Henry VIII. This lineage is shadowed in the *Elfin Chronicle* perused by the fairy knight Guyon, who is with Arthur in the library of the House of Alma: *Elficleos* is Henry VII; *Oberon* is Henry VIII; and *Tanaquill* / *Glorian* is Queen Elizabeth (II.x.25–26). But the Tudor lineage is given more amply in the prophecy that Merlin pronounces before Britomart. After the near extirpation of the Britons, a "sparke of fire" will be raked from the ashes on the isle of *Mona* (Anglesey), the birthplace of Henry Tudor: "So shall the Briton bloude their crowne againe reclame" (III.iii.48). Spenser uses the ancient legends concerning Britain to reinforce the popular myth of Tudor legitimacy.

As for the mystery evoked by Spenser's language, the strangeness contributes to the poem's setting in Fairy Land, where the inhabitants speak in a more archaic and elevated way. (Compare J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*.) A further and still more important advantage to Spenser's archaic language—and here, the etymologizing element comes to the fore—is its contributing to the mystery of the allegory. As Martha Craig has shown, referring to the example of Plato's *Cratylus*, there seems to be a deeper meaning, a "secret wit," in the very words Spenser deploys to make his "darke conceit" (Craig 1972).

Chaucer's example was also important to Spenser for the stanza of *The Faerie Queene*, which adds two lines to the seven-line rhyme royal stanza of *Troilus and Criseyde*, the greatest long poem in English before Spenser. The "rhyme royal" stanza (so called because it was employed after Chaucer by James I of Scotland in a work called *The Kingis Quair*) was in Spenser's day commonly identified with heroic poetry, notably in Thomas Sackville's majestic "Induction" to the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1563). The stanza remained the model in English for an elevated and serious long poem. Rhyme royal was also used in a famous allegorical poem—it was still famous in Spenser's day, though it would not be for much longer—Stephen Hawes's *Passetyme of Pleasure* (1509). Moreover, in Sackville's "Induction" Spenser had a strong precedent for combining the genres of heroic epic and allegory in a complex stanza. By adding two lines to this stanza, and two syllables to its final line, Spenser made its internal architecture more suitable to his purposes, more harmonious, stately, and above all independent. The slow pace of the nine-line Spenserian stanza, its tendency to pause and turn back on itself instead of rushing forward (unlike another of its models, Ariosto's *ottava rima*), proved to be congenial to the reflective and paradigmatic kind of reading that an allegory demands. By *paradigmatic* reading—to use Roman Jakobson's terminology—I mean taking each episode, each moment, each character,

each stanza, and potentially each word out of time, as an occasion for eliciting lateral, interpretative associations athwart the *syntagmatic*, narrative through-line.

The elaborate *prooemia* of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* are the model for the "proems" before each book of *The Faerie Queene* (although Spenser does not use the word *proem*). But most important of all, *Troilus and Criseyde* provided Spenser with his initial justification (later ones would follow) for regarding chivalric eroticism as suitable to a heroic poem. Indeed, the dynamic interaction of love with heroism is the central *interpretative* tension in the allegory of *The Faerie Queene*—just as it is the central *dramatic* tension in the greatest work of Arthurian literature before Spenser, Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* (1485).

The poet first invokes the epic muse—"Helpe then, O holy Virgin chiefe of nine"—to assist him in telling the adventures of "that most noble Briton Prince," Arthur (I proem 2). These adventures were undergone by Arthur as he voyaged, like Odysseus, in search of "fairest *Tanaquill*," a dark figure for the Fairy Queen. But at the same time the poet invokes Cupid and his mother Venus, the goddess of love, asking them to bring Mars with them:

> … come to my ayde:
> Come both, and with you bring triumphant *Mart*,
> In loves and gentle jollities arrayd,
> After his murdrous spoiles and bloody rage allayd.
> (*The Faerie Queene* I proem 3)

Venus and her son come to the poet's aid accompanied by Mars, the god of war, with his armor off. He is being led by them, as their prisoner, and now marshals (the old, military sense of "to array") not armies but little cupids and *putti*—or rather, they marshal him. Spenser is referring to the mystery of Venus mastering Mars, love temporarily overcoming war, a theme from iconography and Italian painting, notably a famous work by Botticelli, now in the National Gallery, London, which was likely painted for a wedding in the Vespucci family (hence the wasp nest—Latin *vespa*, "wasp"—near Mars' ear). It shows Mars lying before Venus, naked, prostrate, and unconscious while diminutive, cupid-like satyrs play among the pieces of his armor and run off with his lance. The tale in various forms goes back to the *Odyssey* and was commonly allegorized, in antiquity as well as in the Renaissance, as the balance of opposite cosmic forces, attraction (*eros*) and repulsion (*eris* "hate") (see Wind 1968, 58; Buffière 1956, 168–172). In a poem sounding the trumpet of war, what can it mean to evoke Cupid mastering Mars?

In Virgil's *Aeneid*, as in the Roman world generally—and also in another of Spenser's models, the sixteenth-century Italian epic poet Torquato Tasso—eroticism is a perilous distraction from heroic achievement. Aeneas is nearly prevented from completing his mission to found Rome by his love for the Carthaginian queen, Dido. In Tasso's *Jerusalem Liberated* the crusade against pagan-held Jerusalem nearly fails because the Christian hero, Rinaldo, has been spirited away by the enchantress Armida to an island in the southern hemisphere, where he enjoys erotic bliss in her arms. Two knights are sent to extract Rinaldo from thence, and when they show him in a mirror how effeminate love has made him, he relinquishes Armida to fulfill the noble goal of conquest.

Spenser echoes and replays these themes in the first and second books of *The Faerie Queene*. In Book I, Duessa is a demonic caricature of Virgil's Dido, and even Una must be

left at the end for the higher goal of service to the Fairy Queen, though Redcrosse's love for Una is legitimate and ideal. In Book II, Phaedria—"immodest Mirth" (Canto vi heading)—is a lighter avatar of the murderous seductress and witch we meet in this book's final canto, Acrasia. Both these figures are derived from Tasso's Armida and both are situated on mysterious islands.

But Spenser revises this very general, Latin suspicion of women. In a more English and even puritan spirit, suspicion of the passions that women arouse is more narrowly focused on illicit desire, or titillation (Phaedria) and lust (Acrasia). Unlike Latin distrust of the feminine, illicit desire is the fault of both sexes, being indulged in by men and encouraged by women like Phaedria and Acrasia. But women have a potential—including a martial potential—that far exceeds their power to awaken desire. That is Spenser's forward-looking point about women.

In Book III, the Book of Chastity, the restriction of disapproval to lust leaves the field open to idealize love, love such as Britomart feels for Artegal, such as Timias feels for Belphoebe (and she, a little, for him), and such as Amoret and Scudamour, who represent marriage, feel for each other. Above all, the ideal love is what Arthur feels for the Fairy Queen. Even the love of beauty can be made innocent again, as in courtly love, by not seeking immediate or even deferred consummation. We see such desire when Prince Arthur, failing to catch up with the fleeting Florimell, is overtaken by night and lies down on the grass. But the image of Florimell continues to float before his eyes:

> Oft did he wish, that Lady faire mote bee
> His Faery Queene, for whom he did complaine:
> Or that his Faery Queene were such, as shee. (III.iv.54)

There is nothing improper in this, even though Florimell is not his love Gloriana, the Fairy Queen. (As it happens, Florimell is the symbol of Gloriana's beauty, and so the Fairy Queen is "such as shee.")

In the opening stanzas of cantos 2–6 of Book III the poet praises the martial deeds of women in the past. In Petrarchan fashion, he also praises desire for beauty as a manifestation of heavenly love. The important point is that love does not frustrate heroic martial deeds and bring them to nothing, as in the Latin tradition. Instead, as in the medieval, chivalric tradition, where a knight's valor is inspired by his lady, love is the ground of "noble deeds and never dying fame":

> Most sacred fire, that burnest mightily
> In living brests, ykindled first above,
> Emongst th'eternall spheres and lamping sky,
> And thence pourd into men, which men call Love;
> Not that same, which doth base affections move
> In brutish minds, and filthy lust inflame,
> But that sweet fit, that doth true beautie love,
> And choseth vertue for his dearest Dame,
> Whence spring all noble deeds and never dying fame.
> (*The Faerie Queene* III.iii.1)

In Book IV Spenser returns to this theme, defending his poem against the "rugged forehead," probably Lord Burghley, who condemns him for praising love:

> By which fraile youth is oft to follie led,
> Through false allurement of that pleasing baite,
> That better were in vertues disciple. (IV proem 1)

Such persons show they know nothing of love when they blame all "naturall affection" (by "affection" Spenser means, in the older sense of the word, sexual desire) because of the few "that have abusd the same." Far from being a distraction from virtue, the passion of love is what makes virtue possible: "For it [love] of honor and all vertue is / The roote, and brings forth glorious flowres of fame" (IV proem 2).

Because Spenser's poem is based on the love of Prince Arthur for Gloriana, and because the glue of Queen Elizabeth's court was her courtiers' pretended, passionate longing and love for her, Spenser must ennoble eroticism, making it not an obstacle to fame but a pathway. This is the path Arthur follows in his quest for the significantly named *Gloriana* in her court at the significantly named *Cleopolis* (κλέος + πόλις, "Glory + City").

Although Spenser left for Ireland around the time of Harvey's letter, and would live there for the rest of his life (making *The Faerie Queene* as much an Irish as an English poem), a manuscript was circulating in London in 1588. We know this because a stanza from *The Faerie Queene* is quoted in the poet Abraham Fraunce's rhetorical treatise, *Arcadian Rhetorike*; and because Christopher Marlowe adorned his Asiatic conqueror, Tamburlaine, with a helm inspired by Spenser's splendid comparison of the crest of Arthur's helmet to "an Almond tree ymounted hye / On top of greene *Selinus* all alone," its dainty blossoms trembling at every breath from heaven (I.vii.32; cf. *2 Tamburlaine* IV.iv.119–121).

The first installment of *The Faerie Queene* was entered in the Stationers' Register in December 1589 and published in quarto in 1590 by William Ponsonby, with the printer John Wolfe's apt device *ubique floret*, "it flowers, or flourishes, everywhere." When Ponsonby published the next installment, the device was Richard Field's, the printer of Shakespeare's two narrative poems: *anchora spei*, "the anchor of hope"—with perhaps an Italian pun on *ancora*, "again, still." The title page of this edition reads, "The Faerie Queene. Disposed into twelve books, fashioning XII. Morale vertues." Each book is to be divided into 12 cantos of varying length but planned to average around fifty stanzas.[2]

In the 1590 volume three virtues are treated: Holiness, Temperance, and Chastity, each with a knight as its "patron." These are the Redcrosse Knight (who turns out to be human, not a fairy), the fairy knight Guyon, and the Briton princess Britomart, who disguises herself as a knight and is equipped with a devastating magic spear, though she is fearsome with the sword as well. In addition to the principal adversary met with at the climax of each book—the great dragon, or original sin; the witch, Acrasia, or intemperance; and the enchanter, Busyrane, or perversion—the knights have to face wholly unexpected adversaries, among whom the most prominent are Orgoglio (pride); Mammon (riches); and Malecasta (unchastity). Against these adversaries they require help, which is given in the first two books by Prince Arthur as he travels in search of the Fairy Queen.

Book III breaks the pattern, however. Britomart must take over Scudamour's quest to defeat Busyrane; and in other respects she uncannily resembles Arthur. She is a royal infant

with a magic weapon; her destiny is guided by Merlin; she pursues a lover seen in a vision; and she is frequently drawn off course to aid others in distress. Even her first adventure, when Malecasta lies down at her side, appears to be a parody of the Fairy Queen's lying down at Arthur's side (III.i.61; cf. I.ix.13–15).

All this is part of a larger design, beginning in Book III, to displace the symbolic values associated with Arthur and Gloriana onto Britomart and Artegal (see Teskey 1990). The abstract design of *The Faerie Queene*, as described in the "Letter to Raleigh," does not provide for our seeing the central figure of the Fairy Queen *in propria persona* until the long-deferred end (indeed, we never do see the Fairy Queen), or for our seeing Gloriana and Arthur together, as founders of the royal line descending to Queen Elizabeth. By the time he was embarked on Book III, this problem had become apparent to Spenser. He therefore began to treat Britomart as an avatar of the Fairy Queen herself, one whom he may, so to speak, incarnate in the action of his poem.

On the verso of the title page of this first, 1590 installment is the dedication to Queen Elizabeth (it was expanded in 1596), who is allegorically represented in the poem as the Fairy Queen herself, "the argument [theme] of mine afflicted stile [unworthy pen]" (I proem 4). The volume is accompanied, at the end, by numerous dedicatory sonnets to the great and good. Putting these sonnets at the beginning would have detracted from the prominence of the dedication to Queen Elizabeth. Preceding these sonnets and following the end of Book III is a prose passage, Spenser's famous "Letter to Raleigh," "expounding," as it says in the headnote, his "whole intention in the course of this worke."

Before the displacement of the symbolic values of Arthur and Gloriana onto Britomart and Artegal, the Fairy Queen is the "glorious type" (I proem 4) of Elizabeth, anticipating the great queen to come in the future, who will subdue Ireland and extend the rod of her power over the Low Countries (present-day Belgium and Holland), thus rolling back Roman Catholic and Spanish aggression on both England's flanks. Spanish aggression includes, of course, the fearsome Spanish Armada, with its castle-like ships, sent against England in 1588 by Philip II of Spain, the king of Castile. His fall is foreseen in this prophecy by Merlin, in which the ancestor of Elizabeth is now not the Fairy Queen but Britomart:

> Then shall a roiall virgin raine, which shall
> Stretch her white rod over the *Belgick* shore,
> And the great Castle smite so sore with all,
> That it shall make him shake, and shortly learne to fall.
> (*The Faerie Queene* III.iii.49; cf. V.vii.21–23)

In his "Letter to Raleigh" Spenser promises to declare openly "the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned." The reason Spenser's intention needs explaining in a letter—one Spenser says he was "commanded" by Ralegh to write—is because the poem is officially, which is to say generically obscure, "a continued Allegory, or darke conceit." Even so, as we have seen, some of this obscurity is dispelled by the title page of the volume, where it says the poem will be an allegory representing 12 moral virtues in as many books, one virtue per book. Prince Arthur is to be "perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised." Any resemblance to

Aristotle's three treatises on ethics is approximate. As Rosemond Tuve observed, Spenser's idea of "Aristotle" in this matter is as likely to derive from commonplaces on Aristotle dating from the Middle Ages (see Tuve 1966; Horton 1990). In fact, all the virtues Spenser considers, even chastity, harmonize with Aristotle's system, which Spenser had internalized at Cambridge. The important thing is that these virtues be personal and preparatory to public service. The private virtues lead on, therefore, to the public or, as Spenser calls them, the "polliticke" virtues. Although Spenser probably takes these public virtues also to be 12 in number, for symmetry's sake, he does not in fact specify their number. To continue with the passage just quoted: "… the which is the purpose of these first twelve books: which if I find to be well accepted, I may perhaps be encouraged, to frame the other part of polliticke vertues in his [Arthur's] person, after that hee came to be king."

The second installment of *The Faerie Queene*, Books IV to VI, was published in 1596, again by William Ponsonby. The first three books were reissued at this time, without the "Letter to Raleigh," but with a new ending to Book III, allowing the story of Scudamour and Amoret to be spun out longer in separate adventures. Now, instead of being reunited with Amoret at the end of Book III, as recounted in the beautiful stanzas Spenser originally wrote, Scudamour leaves the scene with Britomart's nurse (disguised as her squire), hoping to find further aid, both of them believing Britomart perished in the flames before the gate to Busyrane's house. It looks as if Spenser intended to reunite the couple toward the end of Book IV, when Amoret is under Arthur's protection and Scudamour tells Arthur and others the tale of his wooing. However, Spenser drops this thread (see IV.ix.38 and n.). Instead, we have the beautiful and long-expected reunion of Florimell and Marinell, when Marinell is still gravely ill, "Which to another place I leave to be perfected" (IV.xii.35). In that other place we hear not of their marriage but of the eventful tournament that followed, at which, among other surprises (e.g., Guyon's recovery of his stolen horse), the False Florimell, a robotic beauty contrived by a witch and inhabited by a wicked sprite, is placed beside the true Florimell, "like the true saint beside the image set." The False Florimell immediately melts like snow, leaving Florimell's lost magic girdle behind:

> Her snowy substance melted as with heat,
> Ne of that goodly hew remayned ought,
> But th'emptie girdle, which about her wast was wrought. (IV.iii.24)

Other ladies try to wear the girdle, the talisman of chastity, but it slides off them all—"Such power it had, that to no womans wast / By any skill or labour it would sit"—until Florimell herself puts it on (IV.ii.27–28).

The virtues treated in these new books are Friendship, Justice, and Courtesy. The books of Justice and Courtesy are comparatively straightforward, for Spenser. Their structure resembles that of the first two books of the poem, Holiness and Temperance. Like Redcrosse and Guyon, their respective knights, Artegal (whose name, with French for "equal" in it, evokes Justice's scales) and Calidore ("golden gift"), are in or near the forefront of the action most the time. Book IV, on Friendship, sitting alongside Book III at the center of *The Faerie Queene*, is very unusual, only in part because it continues and elaborates the already unusual themes and stories begun in Book III, where, as mentioned, Britomart and Artegal have displaced onto them the symbolic values of Gloriana and Arthur. The two

knights who are supposed to exemplify friendship in Book IV, Cambell and Triamond (or Telamond), disappear after the third canto. Their chief action in canto iii is the bloodiest fight in the poem. They are magically reconciled at last when Cambina arrives in a chariot drawn by lions, strikes them senseless with the caduceus of Mercury, and gives them to drink from a cup containing Nepenthe, the nectar of the gods, instilling forgetfulness. At this they kiss each other and swear "for ever friends to be" (IV.iii.49). It seems an odd idea about friendship, as magical departure from sustained, underlying, murderous hostility; but it looks forward to Hobbes. It is quite out of the way of the considerable thinking on friendship by earlier, Elizabethan authors, from Sir Thomas Elyot to John Lyly, not to mention Aristotle.

If Spenser is dubious about what friendship is, and stays not to inquire, he at least knows what it isn't: dissention, or discord, symbolized in the first canto of the book by the Homeric figure of *Ate* "mother of debate," pronounced *AHH-tay*. (Homer's *Eris*, or hate urging on battle, seems closer to what Spenser means. In the *Iliad*, the goddess *Atê* is the madness or hubris that causes disaster. In Hesiod, *Atê* is the daughter of *Eris*, although the relationship might be more logical the other way round.) Spenser's *Ate* is a malicious hag whose feet go in different directions, whose hands do contrary things, whose tongue is divided, and so on. She sows discord and hate wherever she goes. The description of her is the longest of any character in *The Faerie Queene* (IV.i.19–30), closely followed by that of Belphoebe (II.iii.21–31). The rest of Book IV is taken up with completing stories spilling over from Book III, with surprising extras, such as Spenser's making his knights of friendship part of a continuation of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* (IV.ii–iii).

One marked contrast between, on the one hand, Books I and II, and on the other hand, Books V and VI, is that these later books both end on an inconclusive note of failure, or of temporary but grave setback, and also of disillusionment with regard to the court—Queen Elizabeth's court, not the Fairy Queen's. When Artegal, the knight of Justice, is attacked by Envy and Detraction, urged on by the Blatant Beast, or Slander, the poet is recalling the treatment of Lord Grey, the general whom Spenser served on his first going into Ireland (V.xii.28–43). Artegal's robotic companion, Talus, who represents automatic justice, prepares to chastise Detraction with his iron flail. But he is restrained by Artegal, whose only recourse is to keep a stiff upper lip under such abuse as he returns to Fairy Court:

> So much the more at him still did she scold,
> And stones did cast, yet he for nought would swerve
> From his right course, but still his way did hold. (V.xii.43)

As for the Book of Courtesy, it ends with a bitter and, however true, somewhat discourteous condemnation of courtiers and courts. The Blatant Beast, or Slander, breaks the iron chain in which the knight of Courtesy, Calidore, has restrained it, and travels through the world "Barking and biting" all worthy persons, "Ne spareth he the gentle Poets rime" (VI. xii.40). Indeed, as we are told in the final stanza of Book VI, the Blatant Beast has brought Spenser's own poem "into a mighty Peres displeasure," the peer in question being, again, almost certainly Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burghley. Spenser therefore exhorts his own verse not to speak the truth, as in the past, but merely to flatter the great, as wiser

poets do: "Therefore do you my rimes keep better measure, / And seeke to please, that now is counted wisemens threasure" (VI.xii.41). Because such bitterness has been a ground-note of Spenser's poetry from the start, we should not be greatly surprised at these unhappy lines. Yet they remain a startling way for the most idealistic poem in English to end: or rather, for the Book of Courtesy to end. These are last lines of *The Faerie Queene* the poet published in his lifetime. He died in January 1599, probably in his forty-fifth year (see Hadfield 2012, 18–19, 393).

However, a decade after Spenser's death, in 1609, a new publisher, Matthew Lownes, brought out a large, folio volume containing the entire *Faerie Queene*, based on the edition of 1596. (Instead of the stately pages of the quartos, the folio prints the stanzas in smaller print and in two columns per page.) But something new was added to follow those bitter lines ending Book VI: "Two Cantos of Mutabilitie: which both for Forme and Matter, appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of the *Faerie Queene*, under the legend of *Constancie*. Never before imprinted." The speculative tone of this heading indicates it does not originate with the poet but with an editor or publisher, unless we are to suppose a deliberate ruse on Spenser's part, making his poem an example of the ruins of time. The possibility is alluring, but doubtful.

The Mutabilitie Cantos differ from the rest of *The Faerie Queene* because their theme is not ethical but metaphysical. Spenser addresses what was at the time the deepest of metaphysical issues, made more urgent by recent observations of apparent disorder in the heavens, which since the ancients were regarded as the home of metaphysical permanence and order, as in Aristotle's *De Caelo*, "On the Heavens." Although all things on earth are subject to change and decay, the bodies that we see in the heavens, though they move, continually return to their original positions. They never change into anything else, and they never decay. This is the Ptolemaic system of planetary spheres enclosed by an outer sphere of fixed stars, on which the constellations move in a stately progress around the night sky, each constellation distinct and equidistant from that to each side. Even before the invention of the telescope, this view of perfect heavenly recurrence and harmony was known to be untenable. In the proem to Book V, Spenser describes the constellations running into one another, as in a traffic pileup: the Ram has shouldered the Bull which has butted the twins, Gemini, which have crushed the Crab and shoved him into the constellation of Leo: "So now all range, and doe at random rove / Out of their proper places farre away." Small wonder that all things in this our lower world are tending the more rapidly to "ruinous decay" (V proem 6).

In Book V, however, Spenser focuses the problem of cosmic disorder on the moral problem of justice, personified by the constellation Astraea, the goddess who once reigned on earth but after the golden age fled to heaven. The issue is ethical, not metaphysical. In the *Mutabilitie Cantos* the question becomes whether the decay that we see in the sublunary world is, as was long supposed, an exception to the underlying self-identity of things and the order among them, visible in the self-identity of the heavenly bodies and their orderly motions. Or are even these highest manifestations of self-identity and order, as the Titaness Mutabilitie argues, merely temporary aberrations from the true state of their being, which is decay and dissolution? Which principle is the foundation of being: order or disorder? The matter is discussed in a court case before the judge, Dame Nature, with the chief of

the Olympian gods, Jove, arguing on one side for permanence and order and with Mutabilitie arguing on the other side for universal change and disorder. Nature will at the end pronounce in Jove's favor. But we cannot help feeling—nor can the poet help feeling it, either—that Mutabilitie makes the better case. She does so by introducing genealogy into metaphysics (see Teskey 1996, 170–174, 179–182).

We do not know for certain that the numbering of the two cantos, six and seven, is authorial, although it is more likely than not that it is. The point may be significant because six and seven are followed by an eighth canto amounting to only two stanzas. The number eight may signify the eighth day Sabbath, which is eternity, the "Sabaoths sight" described in the poem's final words. The two stanzas fall under the heading, "Canto, unperfite," or incomplete. As is Spenser's manner throughout *The Faerie Queene* at the beginning of new cantos, both these stanzas are retrospective and reflective. That they are also concerned with thinking, in keeping with the self-interpreting manner of *The Faerie Queene*, is suggested by the repetition in them of the word *think*.

The poet thinks, or thoughtfully recalls, the Titaness Mutabilitie's speech ("When I bethinke me on that speech whyleare …"), in which she claims that all things, even the heavens, are subject to change and decay. So far as the heavens are concerned, the poet does not agree, or at least he does not think Mutabilitie is "worthy" to rule over the heavens, which is not quite the same as saying she does not do so. In any event, when the poet thinks of Mutabilitie's dominion or "sway" in "all things else," his gorge rises at the thought, filling him with loathing of our human state of life, in all its "flowring pride." We have another sad conclusion shaping up.

In the final stanza of *The Faerie Queene* as we have it, the poet reflects on Nature's reply to Mutabilitie ("Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd …"). Nature has affirmed that "all things … doe their states maintaine" (VII.vii.58), a metaphysical assertion without theological content. It is an entirely suitable thing for a pagan goddess to say, even with the dark prophecy that follows: "But time shall come that all shall changed bee, / And from thenceforth none no more change shall see" (VII.vii.59). Nature's understanding may rise as far as that, without the illumination of the Bible, which is utterly foreign to her. But in his final stanza the poet reads a little more into what she says: all things will be "firmely stayd / Upon the pillours of Eternity." He goes on, and the preposition *for* suggests he is no longer recalling what Nature said but following its theological consequence. That further thought raises the final prayer, addressed to the God of Hosts ("Sabbaoth": armies of angels, from Hebrew *tzebhaoth*, "armies"):

> Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd,
> Of that same time when no more *Change* shall be,
> But stedfast rest of all things firmely stayd
> Upon the pillours of Eternity,
> That is contrayr to *Mutabilitie*:
> For, all that moveth, doth in *Change* delight:
> But thence-forth all shall rest eternally
> With Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:
> O that great Sabbaoth God, graunt me that Sabaoths sight.
> (*The Faerie Queene* VII.viii.2)

On the status of the *Mutabilitie Cantos* with respect to the main body of *The Faerie Queene* critical opinion has varied and probably always will. Even our difficulty knowing whether to refer to them in the singular or the plural is an indication of their unsettled status. Their form indicates they belong to the continuing project *The Faerie Queene*, as the poet himself declares at one point (VII.vi.37). Even so, there are remarkable differences. The main action, unprecedentedly, takes place in the heavens, among the Olympian gods. And if it constitutes the "allegorical core," to use C. S. Lewis's term, of a future Book of Constancy, it is far longer and grander than others of its kind, as if Spenser were in no hurry to get on (Lewis 1936, 334). What is more, the digression elaborates beautifully on the local, Irish landscape, personifying its streams and even the mountain, Galtymore—old father Mole—overlooking Spenser's home. With their high philosophical theme, there is a certain grandeur and even sternness to these cantos that sets them apart. Yet they manage to be comical, too, as if their grandeur called for the lightest touch.

Notes

1 For how Spenser modified the Virgilian model, see Cheney (1993).

2 The average is 55 stanzas for Books I–III (1590) and 48 stanzas for Books IV–VI (1596). The average between the two installments is 51.5. The two cantos of Book VII are a little higher than the average, with 55 and 59 stanzas.

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15
Paradise Lost: Experimental and Unorthodox Sacred Epic

David Loewenstein

In *Paradise Lost* Milton combined epic form and sacred themes to create a highly original poem reimagining the most universal of biblical subjects: the fall of humankind and "all our woe" that followed from it (Lewalski 2007, *Paradise Lost* 1.3). Milton's epic poem rivals and transforms its classical and Renaissance precursors, while it develops the Bible's tersely related story of the Fall in probing ways. Its vast narrative of more than 10,000 lines relates both the story of the fall of humankind and the titanic struggle between the forces of Satan and God with great freshness, expansiveness, and psychological nuance. Its scope, befitting an ambitious epic poem, is cosmic—Heaven, Hell, and Earth—as well as domestic, thereby transforming the epic by focusing on the first human couple, Adam and Eve, and their tragic disobedience. The radical visionary poet of *Paradise Lost* takes the well-established and encyclopedic genre of epic, that master of all poetic forms in the early modern period, and alters it in bold and distinctive ways.

Milton published his most ambitious poem in two editions (1667, 1674) during the least auspicious time in his career: Restoration England, when the Stuart monarchy and Church of England—both of which he vehemently opposed in controversial prose writings—were restored (starting in 1660). This was a period in which Milton, a radical Protestant poet with republican political leanings and a strong commitment to liberty of conscience, anxiously felt himself "fall'n on evil dayes" (7.25), writing in "an age too late" and a hostile or "cold" political "Climat" (9.44–45) without the aid of an earthly patron. This was consequently an uncertain moment for Milton to publish such a daring epic poem, despite its universal subject. In this essay, I stress notable ways in which *Paradise Lost* is experimental as an epic and unorthodox as a sacred poem, making it one of the outstanding achievements of the early modern period and of English literature. At the same time, I consider how Milton's Protestant epic, which emphasizes spiritual interiority

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during the Restoration, may be seen as a polemical poem concerned with political tyranny and religious liberty. Other dimensions of *Paradise Lost*—for example, its representation of gender and sexual relations, its engagement in controversial theological issues, or its depiction of a material cosmos—also highlight its striking originality.

Choosing a Subject

Milton most likely composed his sacred epic between 1658 and 1663, a transitional and politically uncertain period in Milton's life in which he was concluding his career as a controversial pamphleteer during the decades of the English Revolution (i.e., from 1640 to 1660) and then living and writing as a Dissenter who rejected the authority and rituals of the Church of England during the Restoration. By the time Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, he was a blind man in his fifties (having gone totally blind in 1652), disappointed with church and national reformation, and yet aspiring to write a new kind of epic poem focusing on sacred truths and attempting, after the collapse of the English Revolution, to "assert Eternal Providence, / And justifie the wayes of God to men" (1.25–26). "Long choosing, and beginning late" when it came to his "Subject for Heroic Song" (9.25–26), Milton considered numerous biblical subjects and sketched during the early 1640s four drafts of a projected drama on the fall of man, two of them entitled "Paradise Lost" and "Adam unparadiz'd." Significantly, Milton first conceived of the subject of the Fall in dramatic and tragic terms, but even by the early 1640s he had not decided firmly on the form or subject of the serious heroic poem he wished to compose.[1] Milton recorded other possibilities for subjects from British and Scottish history in the Trinity College, Cambridge Manuscript (*c.*1639–1642). In *The Reason of Church-Government* (1642), one of his anti-prelatical tracts, Milton articulated his poetic and prophetic vocations; he considered three forms for his poetic project "doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation" (Wolfe 1953–1982, *Complete Prose Works* I: 815; hereafter *Prose Works*): the long epic modeled on the poems of Homer, Virgil, and Tasso; the brief epic modeled on the Book of Job; and Greek tragedy, with Sophocles and Euripides as his chief models. The latter two models would eventually form the basis of his 1671 volume of poems, which included *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. Yet however revealing about his national literary ambitions, Milton's tract did not settle on a subject for his major prophetic work, whatever form it might finally take.

In early poems, including *Mansus* and *Epitaphium Damonis* (both 1639), Milton had in mind for his subject the heroic King Arthur and his Round Table, as well as legendary British history from the time of the Trojan settlement under Brutus (great-grandson of Aeneas) and legendary founder of Britain. However, some time after 1639 and before he began writing *Paradise Lost*, Milton rejected the idea of writing an Arthuriad. There were good reasons for Milton turning away from this national myth, including increasing skepticism in his age about the old fables of legendary British history and a preference instead for the truths and authority of sacred history. The story of King Arthur, moreover, had been associated with royal propaganda from Tudor to Stuart times whose monarchs claimed to be derived from him. Increasingly disenchanted with national politics and feeling conflicted about England as a chosen nation, Milton settled instead on a more

universal theme based upon the Bible: the story of our first parents and the fall of humankind would allow him to transcend contemporary and topical political controversies, while nevertheless enabling him to explore, in imaginative ways, major political and religious issues, including political tyranny and religious liberty. His biblical subject was not only historically sound, but international in interest. The Bible, after all, was the key text in the lives of Protestants, and Milton chose to base his sacred poem about cosmic and human beginnings on the first chapters of its first book, whose terse and cryptic details *Paradise Lost* brilliantly expands. Rather than choosing a real or legendary national hero or an earthly monarch to place at the center of his epic, Milton chose instead Adam and Eve, mythic yet very human figures not bound to any one national history or heritage.

Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, told John Aubrey (another early biographer) that Milton "began [*Paradise Lost*] about 2 yeares before the King came in, and finished about 3 yeares" after the King's Restoration (Darbishire 1932, 13). Phillips noted that several years before the poem was begun (Aubrey suggests 15 or 16 years before), his uncle showed him lines from Satan's soliloquy on Mount Niphates (4.32–41), then considered "the very beginning" of the tragedy (Darbishire 1932, 72). Milton composed and dictated as many as 40 lines of the epic during the winter nights and mornings—he refers to the Muse's "nightly visitation" in his poem (9.22; cf. 7.28–30)—which he would then cut down to half that number; Phillips would come to visit on occasion to look over the manuscript and correct spelling and punctuation. Thomas Ellwood, one of Milton's Quaker friends and former students, claims to have seen the complete poem in 1665. Delayed by the Great Plague in 1665 and the Great Fire of London in 1666, the publication of *Paradise Lost* finally occurred in 1667. The 1667 quarto edition contained no front matter, no dedicatory or commendatory poems, no epistles from the author or publisher: Milton was avoiding the apparatus of courtly publication. *Paradise Lost* was first published in 10 books, a structure resembling Lucan's republican epic, *Pharsalia*, about the tragic defeat of the Roman republic (see Norbrook 1999, 433–491). It was reissued in 1668 and 1669 with the addition of prose Arguments for each Book and a politically defiant note on the verse explaining why the poem does not rhyme (a "modern bondage") and conform to Restoration cultural expectations. It was then published in 1674 in 12 books, a modified design more closely following Virgil's epic, even as Milton's poem diverges from Virgil's dynastic concerns, including the painful struggles and losses involved in founding a great empire. Modeling his poem upon Virgil's reminds us that Milton could shrewdly follow the ancient epic poet by writing about a more mythic past (in Virgil's case the fall of Troy and the pious Aeneas's founding of a new homeland in Italy; in Milton's case, the fall of our first parents), while also evoking more obliquely present history and provoking attentive readers to think about political liberty and servility, as well as religious freedom. Like Virgil, Milton had lived through a period of bitter civil war and yet chose not to write directly about it. The poem could consequently appeal to a more general readership—after all, what could have more universal appeal than retelling humankind's first fall?—while also speaking to dissident readers who felt they too had "fall'n on evil dayes" and who were looking for a different kind of Restoration than the one offered by the restored Stuart king and Church of England.

Visionary Epic

Renaissance poets and critics regarded the epic or "the Heroical" as the highest form of literature—"the best and most accomplished kind of poetry," as Philip Sidney put it in his *Defence of Poetry* (published in 1595), since it encourages the emulation of warrior-princes and leaders of nations (like Aeneas). Milton is acutely self-conscious of himself writing in this ambitious and comprehensive literary form and attempting to do something entirely new with it. Already by the age of Virgil (70–19 BCE) the epic as genre had been well established with such features as the beginning in "the midst of things" (as Milton's Argument to Book 1 puts it), the invocation of a muse, the emphasis on aristocratic and martial themes, the legendary heroes and exploits, the epic journey, the use of long similes and epic catalogues, and the intermixing of the deeds of gods and men. Milton incorporates these generic features into his poem (see Lewalski 1986) as he challenges and reworks many of the emphases of classical epic, including its concern with the heroic and martial pursuit of glory. *Paradise Lost* includes warfare, but its battle for God's territory enables the visionary poet to contrast the Homeric martial values of Satan (albeit with some early modern modifications: notably his use of cannons) with the apocalyptic Son of God's as he expresses celestial indignation and triumphs over the rebel angels with his fiery "Chariot of Paternal Deitie" (6.750): that sublime chariot, inspired by the Bible (see Ezekiel 1 and 10), supersedes the warlike chariots of ancient epic. Moreover, Milton diverges from both classical and Renaissance models—Virgil, Spenser, and the sixteenth-century Portuguese poet Camoens, and others—by choosing not to write an epic with a more traditional national and imperialistic focus, and instead giving his work both a biblical subject with widespread interest and a greater interior emphasis befitting a radical Protestant poem. The character in *Paradise Lost* who embodies the old-style martial virtues and heroic ideology of the epic tradition—as he manifests the rage and impulse for revenge of Homer's Achilles and the skill and cunning of Odysseus—is Satan in his unwavering pursuit of personal glory, as well as imperial conquest that evokes the more dynastic epic going back to the *Aeneid*.

The sacred subject matter of Milton's inspired poem is "Not less but more Heroic" (9.14) than that of his classical precursors whose heroic values his poem continually challenges, subverts, and transcends. Milton's focus is startlingly new: he writes an epic about a great sacred theme and the sweep of his poem moves typologically from the Old Testament to the New, from the first Adam to the second (Christ, that "one greater Man" [1.4], rather than Virgil's Augustus prefigured by Aeneas). *Paradise Lost* is a sublime, prophetic Protestant epic that moves, like the Bible itself, from the Creation to the Apocalypse. With the help of his Heavenly Muse, Milton attempts "to soar" above the classical Mount Helicon ("th' *Aonian* Mount," 1.14–15), sacred to the Muses, all the way to the realm of God. As he promises to sing of "Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime" (1.16), so Milton seeks to raise the name of epic to a new height as he ironically echoes a similar claim to novelty made by Ariosto in 1516 in his great romance epic *Orlando Furioso* ("Cosa non detta in prosa mai, né in rima," Canto 1.2). Unlike Ariosto, whose poem combines chivalric and epic materials, the visionary Protestant poet soars beyond his classical and Christian epic precursors and even beyond the Mosaic text itself.

Paradise Lost is also a self-consciously early modern epic incorporating debates in the history of science. The one contemporary it explicitly refers to, besides Milton himself, is Galileo (1.288–291, 3.588–590, 5.261–263), whom Milton claims to have met when he was "a prisoner to the Inquisition" (*Prose Works* II: 538). The cosmological education Adam receives (Book 8) suggests that Milton is keenly aware of contemporary astronomical debates of the sort that Galileo addressed in his *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems: Ptolemaic and Copernican* (1632). The poem engages in cosmological inquiry,[2] while its bold depiction of infinite space registers new discoveries made possible by such astronomers as Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo with their "Optic Tube[s]" (3.590). The poem also suggests, however, that such inquiry should be removed from the realm of divine revelation and the ways of God (see, e.g., 8.66–75) and that being "lowlie wise" (173) is preferable to random speculation.

Yet the drama of this poem's ambitious action is not only the entire cosmos, including Heaven and Hell, but the mind and heart of the Protestant individual. Milton's radical Protestant epic takes a notable turn inward, not only by rejecting the traditional martial and imperial values of its pagan and Renaissance epic models ("To overcome in Battle, and subdue / Nations … to be styl'd great Conquerours" [11.691–695]), but by rejecting all external and human religious authorities, as the blind prophetic poet or *vates* seeks, with the aid of "Celestial light" to "see and tell / Of things invisible to mortal sight" (3.51, 54–55). As *Paradise Lost* swerves away from the older heroic values of outward trials and warfare, it transforms the epic into a much more interior mode of spiritual trial and visionary poetry. The sublime Protestant epic of its age, *Paradise Lost* fully rivals and supersedes its classical and European precursors: a poem written by a blind, visionary poet inwardly illuminated by the light of God.

Unorthodox Theological Epic

Paradise Lost is unusual among epics in dramatizing major theological issues—including predestination, foreknowledge, free will, and providence—central to the religious controversies of the European Reformation, as well as to the religious conflicts of the English Revolution when Protestantism was fragmenting and new radical sects and churches were emerging. *Paradise Lost* is a daring poetic theodicy, as the poet attempts to "justifie the wayes of God" (1.26) to humankind rather than attempting (as readers might expect) to justify the ways of humankind to God. Theological debate is therefore central to Milton's poem in a way that it is not in any other Renaissance epic. In his major work of literary criticism, *Discourses on the Heroic Poem* (1594), Torquato Tasso had suggested that a poet is not to show himself ambitious in theological questions, leaving such matters to schools of theologians. Milton, however, does not follow such advice in *Paradise Lost*: writing as both poet and theologian, his radical Protestant poem revitalizes controversial doctrinal themes, treating them in his biblical epic with unusual power and drama.

The council in Heaven in Book 3, an imaginative revision of the celestial council found in classical epics, enables Milton to present, as he puts it in his theological treatise *Christian Doctrine*, "that play-acting of the persons of the godhead" (*Prose Works* VI: 213). In *Paradise Lost* both Father and Son appear as dramatic characters as they address, in their dialogue,

such central theological issues as divine justice, free will, sufficient grace, determinism, and providential foreknowledge. There is a tension at the heart of Milton's theology, and powerfully dramatized in his poem: the Protestant poet attempts imaginatively to highlight the freedom of human agency, though without ever abandoning a belief in God's omnipotence. Milton's God can speak defensively as he justifies his ways to his Son (3.96–99). He can speak like an angry, irritable, and passionate parent concerned about his "youngest Son" (3.151); while God intends to show mankind "Mercy" (3.132–134, 202), from which none is excluded, he also feels compelled to show justice. The God of *Paradise Lost* is a deity of emotions—expressing wrath and indignation as well as "pitie" (3.405)—who struggles with his own decrees and with the poem's central theological doctrines. Consequently, the poem's reader is prompted to struggle with its theology.

Milton's belief in the exercise of free will in order to achieve salvation is a radical form of Arminianism (named after the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius who challenged Calvinist tenets) and a rejection of the stark Calvinist determinism that prevailed in seventeenth-century orthodox Protestant theology and that was common among Calvinist Puritans. Fiercely independent-minded, Milton himself never joined any of the numerous sects during the religious upheavals of the English Revolution; nonetheless, some of his radical religious convictions were closer to those of various sects (e.g., General Baptists or Quakers) who broke away from the mainstream Puritan establishment, especially when it came to free-will theology. Milton's God may have foreknowledge, but he has in no sense predetermined the fall of humankind (see 3.111–119); man falls freely and possesses the means to resist temptation. The issue of freedom thus enables Milton's theodicy to exonerate God from responsibility for humankind's fall. God reiterates this point after the Fall, when he reminds the angels and the Son of God that "no Decree of mine" was "Concurring to necessitate his Fall, / Or touch with lightest moment of impulse / His free Will" (10.43–46). Moreover, Milton imagines a dynamic prelapsarian world in which human beings "by degrees of merit rais'd" may work their way up to Heaven (7.157–161) since they, as God observes, are "Authors to themselves" in "what they judge and what they choose" (3.122–123). The freedom of choice in determining one's spiritual destiny is central to Milton's poetics of temptation in *Paradise Lost*: by stressing that "Man … shall find grace" (3.131) after falling (unlike the rebel angels), God further underscores the poem's radical free-will theology, which sets *Paradise Lost* apart from the more orthodox Calvinist determinism of Milton's age. While Milton's God is all-powerful and all-seeing (unlike the poem's anti-Trinitarian Son), he is not simply a God of arbitrary will, but, significantly, a God of "permissive will" (3.685): God hinders "not *Satan* to attempt the minde / Of Man" (10.8–9), thus allowing Satan and humans to exercise their freedom of unconstrained choice. Milton has therefore given his radical Protestant poem a notable and daring theological dimension, which he develops dramatically and poetically rather than presenting as pure, untested doctrine.

Material Cosmos

The originality of *Paradise Lost* is likewise highlighted in its complex vision of heretical monism since Milton's poem emphasizes creation *ex materia* rather than creation *ex nihilo* (the orthodox Christian view). Creation is not from a void but from primal matter which

God infuses with his vitality (see, e.g., 7.232–237). Milton's materialism is essential to the imaginative world of *Paradise Lost*, where orthodox dualisms are continually challenged and where Milton instead envisions a tangible universe interconnected by "various degrees / Of substance" (5.473–474). Lucretius' ancient poem *De Rerum Natura* ("On the Nature of Things" [*c.*55 BCE]) was also concerned with the material nature of the universe and the elements of matter. Milton's vital materialism, however, highlights his poem's heterodoxy in relation to traditional Christianity. Critics have debated the degree to which we should see Milton as a monist-materialist (see, e.g., Fallon 1991; Sugimura 2009). Nonetheless, there is plenty of evidence to support the view that Milton's poem breaks down the orthodox Christian divisions between matter and spirit, soul and body, angels and human beings, and that this dimension is crucial to its originality as epic and sacred poem. Indeed, the poem imaginatively explores interconnections between these traditional dualisms.

Book 5 offers a striking illustration of Milton's material cosmos. The philosophical discourse between the sociable angel Raphael and Adam in the garden underscores the dynamism of Milton's Paradise by exploring the relation of spirit to matter, earth to heaven, and the phenomenal world to the world of ideas. In Milton's cosmos angels eat "with keen dispatch / Of real hunger" (5.436–437), digest their food, and even excrete what they cannot use; man and angel thus share substance between them. Milton recognizes that this representation of corporeal angelic behavior diverges from Christian orthodoxy and will not conform to "the common gloss / Of Theologians" (5.435–436). "One first matter all" (5.469 ff.) proceeding from God is the essential lesson regarding vital materialism in Milton's heterodox universe. "By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms" (5.573), Milton's inspired poetry in *Paradise Lost* creates an astonishingly original and heterodox universe, one that imaginatively disputes traditional Christian dualisms and enables the reader to envision similarities between Heaven and earth, spirit and matter, body and soul, angel and humans—"Differing but in degree, of kind the same" (5.490). The poem even provocatively highlights angelic sex, as well as the unusual flexibility of their bodies (see 1.423–431); as Adam learns at the conclusion of Raphael's discourse, angelic sex is more refined than its human counterpart since "Total they mix, Union of Pure with Pure / Desiring" (8.627–628). This imaginative and provocative depiction of angelic sex is another way *Paradise Lost* subverts Christian orthodoxy and proclaims its originality.

Human Sexuality and Gender Relations

Paradise Lost's treatment of human sexuality and gender relations is both bold and full of tensions. The poem valorizes the life of the senses, human eroticism, and passion: all are essential to Milton's paradisal ideal. Yet the poem's representation of sexual hierarchy has sometimes troubled modern readers: is its depiction of the sexes patriarchal or egalitarian? A response to this question requires nuance since the poem is by no means stable with regard to the issue of patriarchalism versus egalitarianism between the sexes. Readers can certainly find passages in the poem which are patriarchal in emphasis, recalling the Pauline notion that man is the head of the woman and that the wife should submit herself to the husband (as in 1 Corinthians 11:3 and Ephesians 5:22): "Hee for God only, shee for God in him" (4.299). Nevertheless, this intensely passionate and sensuous poem cannot be

categorized so easily, for it vacillates between patriarchal and egalitarian models of sexual relations and treats in a complex and nuanced way issues of gender (see, e.g., Turner 1987; Martin 2005). Eve herself is a highly accomplished love poet whose creativity and lyrical voice is linked with Milton's (see 4.641–656). She has her own areas of expertise: household matters, preparing meals, tending to the flowers. Nor is Milton's intelligent Eve unable to comprehend abstruse intellectual matters: as Milton suggests in Book 8, Eve is interested in Raphael's educational discourse, but prefers to hear about it from Adam, who makes intellectual conversation a more pleasurable, erotic experience by "solv[ing] high dispute / With conjugal Caresses" (55–56). The relation between Adam and Eve is often characterized by the desire to be joined in "conjugall fellowship" with "a fit conversing soul" (*Prose Works* II: 251), one of the qualities Milton imagined as essential to marriage in his divorce tracts (written in 1643–1645). Moreover, when Adam asks God for a helpmeet (a striking revision of Genesis 2:18) and fervently expresses his basic ontological need, he desires nothing less than an equal partner (see 8.383–392). The spirited colloquy in Book 8 concludes with God promising to give Adam the equal consort he so passionately desires (449–451).

Offering a rich exploration of human sexuality and passion, then, *Paradise Lost* is too complex to conform to a predictable or unified model of gender relations. Moreover, as a treatment of paradisal marriage, the poem goes well beyond Genesis 2:24 with its emphasis on "one flesh"; in *Paradise Lost*, the intimate relation between Adam and Eve is crucially redefined and enriched so that it is "one Flesh, one Heart, one Soule" (8.499). During the 1640s Milton had generated controversy by writing tracts defending divorce and redefining marriage itself as based upon compatibility, including emotional and spiritual intimacy (rather than only "one Flesh"). *Paradise Lost* imagines freshly marital relations as depicted in the divorce tracts; however, the poem is not always consistent in its depiction of gender hierarchy (the divorce tracts tend to reflect a male point of view), and it is more generous in its imaginative depiction of human sexual relations, especially in the prelapsarian world.

Paradise Lost also explores the intense mutuality of Adam and Eve's prelapsarian sexual relations. The poet describes the intimate act of lovemaking which takes place in the "inmost" bower of Adam and Eve at night (see 4.736–775). Only "Hypocrites" (4.744), the poet insists, would deny the purity, innocence, and fulfillment of Edenic sexual love which the poem treats as holy and worthy of "mysterious reverence" (8.599) and which its polemical poet distinguishes from "Court Amours" (4.767). The one figure who would bid them "abstain" (4.748) from conjugal love—the tormented, sneering Satan—is himself sexually frustrated and feels "pain of longing pines" (4.511) as he jealously observes the sweet nuptial embraces and kissing between Adam and Eve. In *Paradise Lost* Milton often writes as the unabashed poet of paradisal eroticism. Yet one of the greatest challenges expressed by the fallen poet is how to write about such intimate lovemaking and mutuality: "Farr be it, that I should write thee sin or blame, / Or think thee unbefitting holiest place" (4.758–759). Later in the poem, fallen sexuality takes on an almost libertine and pornographic quality, which parodies the richness, ardor, and intense mutuality of prelapsarian sexuality and passion. Adam and Eve fall not only into burning lust, but into the destructive emotions which characterize their tormented postlapsarian relationship and which the poem's closing books attempt to heal.

Domestic Relations and Tragedy

Central to the vast narrative of *Paradise Lost* is the domestic human tragedy, as Milton attempts to retell freshly the original story of the Fall. This is another way Milton diverges from the more traditional martial focus of the epic tradition: he places domestic life and tensions at the very center of his poem as the poet relates a familial story about "domestick *Adam*" (9.318) and Eve. From the terse, elliptical, cryptic account in Genesis, Milton elaborates in Books 9 and 10 a tragic drama of separation, temptation, and falling, followed by the terrible psychological and emotional torment suffered by Adam and Eve. The modulation to tragedy in *Paradise Lost* signals a firm break in the poem's design as the poet changes his "Notes to Tragic" (9.6), now that the philosophical, intellectual, and social discourses between man and angel are finished (the subject of Books 5–8). Milton treats the Fall with great pathos and feeling, though his poem repeatedly reminds us that there is no doubt that Adam and Eve were wrong—the sole prohibition was "easily obeyd" as Adam observes to Eve and the poet himself confirms (4.433, 7.47–48). The fruit itself—a thing neither good nor evil—was symbolic of their obedience freely observed. Yet the tragic fall of our primal mother and father does differ from the terrible and titanic fall of Satan: their disobedience and rebellion is not prompted by meditated revenge, willful maliciousness, or hatred; unlike the rebel angels, their fall is not brought on "by thir own suggestion" as if they were "Self-tempted, self-deprav'd" (3.129–130).

In elaborating the domestic drama between Adam and Eve, *Paradise Lost* delicately registers emotional tensions which exist even in the unfallen state. In Book 9 Milton invents a marital debate which revolves at first around economic efficiency, but which also allows Milton to explore the complex emotional relations between Adam and Eve, as well as their vulnerabilities. The domestic drama enables the poet to explain why Eve was alone when the serpent tempted her (Genesis is ambiguous on this point). Moreover, the poet suggests Eve's attractiveness and vulnerability when he describes her in pastoral and elegiac terms at the moment that Satan discovers her alone (see 9.423–433).

Milton also elaborates upon the temptation by having the guileful Satan tempt Eve with the language of Renaissance love poetry and courtly flattery (much different from the martial oratory which characterizes his rhetoric in the poem's early books). Satan's extravagant language—such as when he addresses her with the daring oxymoron "Goddess humane" (9.732)—are meant to provoke the vulnerable Eve (who tends toward vanity, while Adam tends toward uxoriousness) to aspire beyond her human condition. The most brilliant feature of Satan's temptation is his autobiographical narrative (9.571–612), the last autobiography in the poem (Eve has hers in Book 4 and Adam his in Book 8) and an imaginative addition to the biblical story. Satan essentially tells Eve a fictional story of self-creation—how he rose a notch in the chain of being by eating the alluring fruit. Milton dramatizes a complex process of temptation: Eve's reason continues to operate, but she is gradually taken in by Satan's seductive rhetoric. The poet, however, takes only two lines (9.780–781) to narrate the key action whose tragic consequences for humankind are so immense. Milton invests his story with considerable pathos as he presents the fallen Eve idolizing the fair tree, giving it her maternal care, showing a new concern for role-playing, and expressing a new sense of female inadequacy and a fear of displacement.

Unlike Eve, Milton's Adam is not deceived at all (here Milton follows 1 Timothy 2:14); yet in his fall, he reveals that he too is emotionally vulnerable. Milton's uxorious Adam cannot imagine life without Eve (9.896 ff.) and certainly never considers divorcing her. His emotional response is heroic and chivalric, but the marriage of our original mother and father is also being crucially redefined so that spiritual companionship is lost; the union of their fallen marriage now entails "one Guilt, one Crime" (971). The postlapsarian lovemaking of Adam and Eve is perfunctory, and Milton, diverging again from the Bible, emphasizes their psychological nakedness and unrest (9.1054 ff.) by focusing on their faces rather than their genitals (9.1077–1078). Book 9 ends tersely and on a note of unresolved bitterness. Only after much painful struggle and inward torment do Adam and Eve make peace with each other in the fallen world. Crucially it is Eve who is the first repentant human being and who plays a major restorative role by leading Adam out of his terrible, mazelike psychological state. Her redeeming softness (see 10.865) triumphs over his fierce bitterness and misogynistic accusations and establishes a new kind of heroism in the fallen world, bringing the fruitless battle between our original mother and father to an end. The tragedy of the Fall, *Paradise Lost* suggests, will also have significant implications in postlapsarian history as Milton explores the long-range impact of Adam and Eve's disobedience on human life, including the realms of politics and religion.

Politics, Tyranny, and Dissent

Milton may have rejected the idea of writing a nationalistic poem in *Paradise Lost*, but there is much to suggest that the polemicist who spent 20 years writing controversial tracts did not simply turn away from politics in his great epic. Nonetheless, the precise relation of *Paradise Lost* to the politics of the English Revolution and the Restoration remain the subject of scholarly debate.[3] How closely does the political rebellion and civil war of Satan recall the Great Rebellion of the Civil War and Interregnum years? Do the kingly politics of Milton's Heaven evoke the politics and tyranny of Stuart kingship, especially Charles I, whose display of power Milton opposed in his republican tracts? Does Milton express his disillusionment with Oliver Cromwell by suggesting parallels between Satan and the Puritan leader? To what degree can this epic about humankind's fall be considered a godly republican epic? Answering these questions involves interpretive tact and attentive reading.

The first two books of *Paradise Lost* are full of political language as Satan, at points, seems to echo the language of Milton's own revolutionary tracts: the fallen rebel angel decries "the Tyranny of Heav'n," refuses "to submit or yield," and scorns the idea of assuming the idolatrous posture of a sycophantic courtier who must "bow and sue for grace / With suppliant knee" and "deifie" a king's power (1.124, 108, 111–112). On the eve of the Restoration, Milton too had written about the humiliation that attends political servility and had spurned "the base necessitie of court flatteries and prostrations" and "the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people … deifying and adoring" a new Stuart king (*Prose Works* VII: 428, 426). The "great consult" (1.798) of fallen angels in

Book 2 may suggest that the politics of Hell are closer to those of revolutionary England, where liberty of political debate often flourished. As he provokes rebellion in Heaven, Satan also employs the language of revolution as he urges his fellow rebel angels "to cast off" the "Yoke" imposed by God as he elevates the Son of God (5.772–802). Satan, however, is protean (see 3.604) and a Machiavellian politician (see Kahn 1994, 209–235) who manipulates political language to pursue his ends. Full of impressive political rhetoric, the debate in Hell turns out to be rigged and Satan will allow no further dissent (see 2.466–467) once he accepts his heroic role as emissary to earth. During the rebellion in Heaven, the poet observes that Satan speaks "with calumnious Art / Of counterfeted truth" (5.770–771): his stirring language of revolution is slippery and full of contradictions as he also makes his case (as a royalist might) by appealing to the authority of "those Imperial Titles" which manifest the right of his legions "to govern, not to serve" (5.801–802). Political language in *Paradise Lost* needs to be read especially carefully; even revolutionary language can be manipulated and so the poem's attentive reader, as Milton's early biographer Jonathan Richardson acutely observed, "must be Always upon Duty" (Darbishire 1932, 315). The poem's reader also needs to be wary of making simple equations between Satan and Puritan revolutionaries of Milton's England, including Oliver Cromwell. Rather, as John Toland suggested in his life of Milton, "the chief design" of *Paradise Lost* is "to display the different Effects of Liberty and Tyranny" (Darbishire 1932, 182): Milton's politically engaged poem dramatizes how malicious and tyrannical designs manifest themselves through artifice, as well as through subtle forms of verbal and political equivocation.

Nor do we need to see the politics of Milton's Heaven and "the Courts of God" (5.650), despite elaborate ritual there, as tyrannical. In *Milton's God* William Empson famously went so far as to assert that "the picture of God in the poem … is astonishingly like Uncle Joe Stalin" (Empson 1965, 146). Yet how well does the poem support Empson's provocative claim? The Son is elevated by "Merit more then Birthright" (3.309)—an act in Heaven that confirms Milton's vision of a meritocracy of virtue and that diverges crucially from Stuart divine right theory extensively developed in the political works of James I, Charles I's father. Furthermore, the lone fiery angel (Abdiel) who confronts Satan during the rebellion in Heaven challenges Satan's account of repressive heavenly politics and offers a model of dissent, arguing not from a theoretical point of view, but on the basis of "experience" (see 5.826–829). In Satan's first soliloquy—crucial here because this dramatic speech is not addressed to fellow rebel angels—Satan himself admits that God's mild monarchy was no state of tyranny and arbitrary power: "all his good prov'd ill in me," Satan observes, "nor was his service hard" (4.48, 45). Abdiel's vehement response to Satan's public assault on God's apparent tyranny prompts the poem's discerning readers to discriminate: unlike any kind of earthly kingship, God's does not resemble a Stuart monarchy.

Nevertheless, the tragedy of the Fall, Milton's poem reveals, has disturbing long-range consequences for human politics and religion. The final two books, in which the solemn archangel Michael presents dispiriting visions and narratives of postlapsarian history, evoke, at points, the turbulent world of Milton's revolutionary England, as well as the religious tensions of the Restoration when Dissenters faced persecution for defiantly

refusing to conform to the Church of England. The final books depict a handful of faithful individuals—for example, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and Moses—who emerge in the midst of dark periods of dissolute riot, lawless tyranny, violence, and heavy religious persecution "in a World perverse" (11.701), where "works of Faith / Rarely be found" (12.536–537). As Adam struggles to interpret the history lessons presented to him (without having read any of Milton's anti-monarchical tracts), his vehement response, especially to the aggressive tyranny of Nimrod, is nonetheless instinctively republican (see 12.64–71); he recognizes—as John Locke would in his *Two Treatises of Government* (published in 1690)—that God's donation in Genesis 1:28 did not give man monarchical power over those of his own species: "Man over men / He made not Lord" (12.69–70). Milton, not the Bible, has dared to imagine our first father's response to such matters as absolute power and sovereignty, political servility, natural freedom, and republicanism.

The final books of the poem address a sad consequence of the Fall in human history: earthly tyranny, accompanied by the loss of inward and outward liberty. Nevertheless, after the painful lessons of postlapsarian history, Adam can speak of a subversive weakness that would have had pointed resonance for the suffering godly of the 1660s and 1670s: "by things deemd weak / Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise / By simply meek" (12.567–569). *Paradise Lost*, moreover, offers at the end the consolation of the "paradise within" (12.587): a replacement for the lost earthly Paradise ("happier farr" [12.587] than the ruins of fallen Eden our exiled first parents leave behind) and a reminder that the only true church—like God's "living Temples, built by Faith to stand" (12.527)—lies within the self. The "paradise within" underscores the radical spiritual dimension of Milton's poem. Despite the universal appeal of *Paradise Lost*, as it freshly retells the story of the fall of humankind, its emphasis on the "paradise within" the individual believer also speaks movingly to a generation of Dissenters who had challenged forms of external and institutionalized religion as they sought—like Milton himself—guidance instead from the "Spirit within" (12.488).

Yet *Paradise Lost*, though audacious and unorthodox as a sacred epic, did not only appeal to a "fit audience … though few" (7.31), including besieged Dissenters who would appreciate the poem's more radical treatment of spiritual interiority or its polemical rejection of Adam as the first earthly king who legitimizes absolute power. In 1688 the epic was published in an elegant folio edition with illustrations, an engraved portrait of the poet, and commendatory prefatory verses by John Dryden that proclaimed that the English Milton united the strengths of Homer and Virgil: "The force of Nature cou'd no farther goe: / To make a Third, she joyned the former two." This fourth edition also included an impressive list of subscribers, many of whom, including royalist poets, would not have shared Milton's radical convictions: "The Names of the Nobility and Gentry That Encourag'd, by Subscription, The Printing this Edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*" (Zz2).[4] *Paradise Lost* was being presented as a great English classic in the epic tradition. This daring sacred epic of early modern England had achieved something remarkable in its capacity to speak to divergent audiences: it could speak to dissident readers who felt themselves "fall'n on evil dayes" and yet, given its universal treatment of the human condition and our first parents, it could also win the admiration of readers whose religious, political, and cultural values differed from those of the radical Protestant Milton.

Notes

1 His early poems, for example *Elegy 6* (1629–1630), already convey his aspiration to become a bard "who tells of heaven under adult Jove, / of wars, of pious heroes, godlike leaders, / and at one time sings of the gods' sacred plans, and at another / infernal kingdoms" (Revard 2009, lines 55–58).

2 For a good discussion of this issue, see Danielson (2014).

3 Loewenstein (2016) and Dzelzainis (2010) assess the poem's politics and relevant scholarship.

4 One surprising subscriber was Sir Roger L'Estrange, an enemy of Milton, a censor of the press, and a persecutor of dissident writers during the Restoration.

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16
Forms of Creativity in Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder*

Shannon Miller

Among Renaissance women poets who have been rediscovered over the last 15 years, no woman's artistic and scholarly identity has been more fully transformed than that of Lucy Hutchinson. Introduced by the 1806 publication of the *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, Hutchinson became known for her "wifely affection and trust," a chronicler-saint whose modesty underscored her devotion. *Fifty famous Women; their virtues and failings, and the lessons of their lives*, a 1864 volume that records and amplifies these views of Hutchinson (Anon. 1864, 119), unknowingly predicted this twenty-first century transformation of Hutchinson into one of the most prolific humanist women of the late seventeenth century, writing across the genres of history, biblical commentary, religious tract, lyric elegy, translation, and epic. In the opening paragraph about Hutchinson, the volume will ironically express how "Many a 'mute inglorious Milton,' who would doubtless have enriched the world with deathless song had knowledge ever unrolled her ample page before his eyes, has died, powerless to give utterance to the mighty thoughts within him" (118). With David Norbrook's attribution of *Order and Disorder* to Hutchinson (Norbrook 2000), literary history has now transformed her from a "mute inglorious Milton" to a poet who "gave utterance to the mighty thoughts" in her biblical epic. The unfinished 20-canto poem, based on the first 31 chapters of Genesis, recounts God's creation of the world, Adam and Eve's fall, the Flood, and the story of biblical patriarchs, and matriarchs, up to and including Jacob. In a poem recounting the biblical narrative of creation, Hutchinson reflects upon forms of appropriate creativity, first poetic and then biological, often drawing upon her earlier translation of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. Hutchinson's translation of that poem, which describes the bases of making the world as well as the forces that dissolve it, provided her with rich accounts of female generativity that she reconfigures in *Order and Disorder* to explore creativity, its relationship to God's plan, and women's active participation in that plan through the maternal figure.

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In the context of Milton's audacious claim that his biblical epic "with no middle flight intends to soar" (Milton 1984, 1.15), Hutchinson's anonymously published 1674 poem (the first five cantos appeared in print) appears to announce itself in a much more restrained fashion. Its opening two lines, "My ravished soul a pious ardour fires / To sing those mystic wonders it admires," declares both her piety and passion to "To sing" the wonders of God's creation, a task she insists must observe appropriate limits: "It were presumptuous folly to inquire" what occurred before the beginning of time, and thus before God's creation (Hutchinson 2001, 1:1–2, 41). Yet despite requesting her muse, God, to "Let not my thoughts beyond their bounds aspire," her versification of mankind's creation story and major biblical events is a story of poetic creation that resists the very boundaries she attempts to establish (1:42). Hutchinson's account of the "confusions" that face her in undertaking this project simultaneously cast her "mind" like "the worlds first Chaos." In aligning her mind with the raw materials God deploys in creating the world, her imagery simultaneously describes what she draws upon to order and compose this poem. As her soul's "rude conceptions into forms dispose, / And words impart which may those forms disclose," the "Power" that created the world becomes analogous to her "impart[ing]" and "disclos[ing]" of these forms through the "words" of her poem (1:29–30). Operating like Genius in Spenser's Garden of Adonis, Hutchinson's poetry models the Neoplatonic process of clothing the soul's ideal forms through language. This process aligns Hutchinson as poet/creator with God's creative power. This creation narrative and God's act of creation share the same raw materials, the "rude congestion without form or grace, / A confused mass of undistinguished seed" given order by God and placed into the formal structure of Hutchinson's rhyming couplets (1:302–303).

This seemingly Platonic shaping of the undefined material of "Chaos" through divine poetry appears rejected by her explicit citation of the Platonic idea:

> … let's waive Platonic dreams
> Of worlds made in Idea, fitter themes
> For poets' fancies than the reverent view
> Of contemplation, fixed on what is true
> And only certain, kept upon record
> In the Creator's own revealèd Word,
> Which, when it taught us how our world was made,
> Wrapped up th'invisible in mystic shade. (1:173–180)

Yet the "poets' fancies" that she rejects for the "revealèd Word" describe an alternative process by which the "mystic shade" reveals the "invisible." This models the fallen, but simultaneously spiritually directed generation of biblical poetry which is Hutchinson's goal: "To sing those mystic wonders" (1:2). In reappropriating the language of the "shadow" or "shade" that structures Neoplatonic thought, she models a form of creativity corresponding to that of God's creativity, fusing subject and method.[1] In doing so, Hutchinson's language of poetic creation seems to dispute David Loewenstein's claim that her "gender may not result in extensive self-conscious reflections about a woman daring to write in an unusually ambitious genre like epic" (Loewenstein 2010, 165). The poem's maternally inflected imagery of creation suggests a gender-bound approach to epic that makes her creative actions possible.

The fusion of poetic and biblical creation extends in the poem to biological creation, a slide effected through the embodied imagery of Canto 1. As we see Hutchinson poetically giving order to this "undistinguished seed" of the account of Creation, she echoes the very language of her *De Rerum Natura* translation, where "seeds of heate" and "fiery seed" abound (Hutchinson 2011, 6:294, 298). This matter imported from her translations into the imagery of *Order and Disorder* becomes "form" through God's spirit, a process that links us to God's generative possibility in a direct echo of Milton: Hutchinson's God is "Brooding the creatures under wings of love, / As tender birds hatched by a turtle-dove" (1:307–308).[2] Hutchinson's bird generation imagery simultaneously registers how moments of physical creation are coupled with artistic creativity. In Canto 1, the narrator is the "dull earth" whom God will "Quicken … with celestial fire" (34). The process of poetic inspiration described in the use of "Quicken," to invigorate, operates simultaneously as an image of impregnation: in requesting the "eternal spring of glory" to "Quicken" her, the narrator will be "quickened" with this poem (31; 34). While Hutchinson describes the narrator as matter formed and directed by God, doubling the image explicitly aligns poetic and biological creation. These acts of "Quicken[ing]" allow her to "Give utterance and music to my voice, / Singing the words by which thou art revealed" (1:36–37). Hutchinson is translated into a poet through God's inseminating acts, a process paralleling God's "Brooding" act of creation.

Much as the verb "Quicken" aligns poetic and biological images of creation in the context of biblical creation, these two forms of creativity fuse at numerous points in Hutchinson's poem. In the Canto 2 description of the making of the firmament, Hutchinson describes the "dark womb" of "thicker clouds" from which "flame [lightning] and thunder come" (2:9–10). This maternal motif is alluded to in Job 38, the marginal Bible reference at line 9; Job includes the phrase "as if it had issued out of the womb" (38:8).[3] But literary creativity is also invoked to parallel material creativity. The richer and closer source for this imagery is Hutchinson's Book 6 translation of *De Rerum Natura*: "Now when this fervent wind doth passage force / Through the black clowds, with suddaine violence / The seeds of fire disperse themselues, & thence / Come those bright flashing lightnings" (6:193–196). Hutchinson embeds imagery from her previous translation into Canto 2 to stress physical acts of creation. In *Order and Disorder*, her clouds create and serve as the receptacle of the firmament on the second day. Further, their generativity, the making of the clouds from or of this "dark womb," invokes maternal creation while transforming it into an imaginative act: these clouds, a component of the firmament, "Like hosts of various-formèd creatures march, and change the scenes in our admiring eyes" (2:12–13). The clouds' variation becomes opportunities for visual interpretation, ones that compete with poetic imagination: we "sometimes see them like vast mountains rise, / Sometimes like pleasant seas with clear waves slide, / Sometimes like ships on foaming billows ride … Here monsters walking, castles rising there" (2:12–16; 20). The clouds offer imaginative creativity, which "nobler scenes present / Than your poetic courtiers can invent," gesturing to the project Hutchinson has undertaken. Not a "poetic courtier," but rather a biblical poet inspired, even quickened, by God, she offers poetic substance through these "nobler scenes." This poetic utterance, capable of revealing "mystic wonders" (1:12), has been made possible through the "dark womb" itself in Canto 2 and resonates with the biological imagery of creation in the "Brooding" of Canto 1. This process of creation, which draws upon imagery from the Lucretius translation, underscores the physical and poetic generativity of this passage as Hutchinson fuses method—acts of creation—and subject.

These biologically generative images dominate descriptions of the firmament and the separation of the ocean from the land. The earlier fashioning of the narrator as "dull earth" extends into the female gendering of the land throughout the canto. God's "liberal hand" "clothes her bosom with descending snow" (35, 37). A second reference to clouds repeats the pregnancy imagery, as they "*big* with horror, ready stand / To pour *their burdens* forth at his command" (2:45–46; emphasis added). In the description of the third day, we hear the source of all water described "As in the vast ocean's bosom bred," a feminine physicalizing of ocean and land that repeats at line 65: "So ages from th'eternal bosom creep" (61, 65). This imagery of physical, and thus feminized, generation does not derive from any of the biblical citations listed alongside the margins in the 1679 published cantos. Instead, this imagery pattern links poet and the generative land described throughout the creation scenes, as God "commands the teeming earth to bring / Forth great and lesser beasts, each reptile thing / That on her bosom creeps" (2:327–328). The biological generativity associated with the poet again fuses literary and physical creation.

This female generation is controlled by God through the opening cantos, but in the lines preceding and then directly following the creation of Eve, the womb imagery associated with God becomes transferred to our first mother. Hutchinson's deployment of a "come / womb" rhyme introduces a growing site of celebration for the female womb. In its initial introduction, 60 lines before the creation of Eve, the rhyme could be read as ambivalent. But as Eve becomes the figure making our salvation possible, the couplet's power and the relationship between generation and humankind's future grows. In introducing the justification for a mate in Canto 3, "For without help to propagate mankind / God's glory had been to one breast confined" (325–326), we are told that:

> Man's nature had not been the sacred shrine,
> Partner and bride of that which is divine;
> The Church, fruit of this union, had not come
> to light, but perished, stifled in the womb. (3:329–332)

Without the "womb," the Christian church could not have evolved. We are presented with an alternative, even negated, future, shown what would not have "come" without the womb.[4]

Humankind's futurity depends on women, then, but since the "womb" remains ungendered in the rhyme's first emergence this occurs only after Eve's creation. It is Eve's womb that will make our future possible:

> The next command is, mothers should maintain
> Posterity, not frighted with the pain,
> Which, though it made us mourn under the sense
> Of the first mother's disobedience,
> Yet hath a promise that thereby she shall
> Recover all the hurt of her first fall
> When, in mysterious manner, from her womb
> Her father, brother, husband, son shall come.
> Subjection to the husband's rule enjoined
> In the next place. (5:221–230)

The necessity of "mothers" to maintain "Posterity" shows the central role that the female body, specifically the womb, now plays. Reversing the first "come/womb" rhyme, all "shall" come from the womb as human history depends on Eve and all mothers.

While critics largely agree on reproduction's necessity for mankind's forward movement in the poem, and thus the detailing of mothers in terms of a certain form of power, they differ on whether maternity is treated as celebratory or as "threatening" and a "source of disruption and grief" (Murphy 2001, 63).[5] Erin Murphy rightly notes that richly detailed accounts of maternal pain and suffering dominate Canto 5: "How painfully the fruit within them grows, / What tortures do their ripened births disclose" (5:149–150). The poem viscerally details "the maternal body … under siege," either from unthankful child "vipers" or the emotional pain associated with childrearing, as here in yet another inversion of the "come/womb" rhyme:

> What sad abortions, what cross births ensue:
> What monsters, what unnatural vipers come
> Eating their passage through their parent's womb. (5:164–166)

Lauren Shook has combined my more optimistic reading of maternal power with Murphy's focus on "disruption and grief" to provide a reading of "matriarchal typology" in the poem. This argument explores the rich remapping of Canto 5's lament about motherhood in rewritten typological figures of Sarah and, especially, Rebecca (Shook 2014). At the center of both of our readings is the significance of the "come/womb" rhyme. In its third appearance in Canto 5, the generative promise of the earlier rhyme seems reversed, or at least revised. As the Canto 5 passage details the pain children can cause, the reversal of the "come/womb" rhyme clearly marks the consequences of the Fall; maternal generativity will be accompanied by the consequences of pain in both childbirth but also childrearing. What Murphy reads as ambivalence about maternity, Shook reads as a pattern upon which maternal typology will be built. As Shook says of these two appearances of the rhyme, "In the former 'come/womb,' the curse overtakes the womb, but the redemptive 'womb/come,' which reappears at significant moments in the poem, allows the womb to issue forth redemptive patriarchs" (2014, 186–87).

The recurrence of this rhyme, as well as other rhyming words such as "tomb" and "doom," allow us to plot a sine wave pattern that oscillates between the procreative power of God and mothers throughout the poem. The consequence is a sustained engagement with the issue of female agency and ability to re-envision the Bible to make additional space for both the mother and the female author. The movement into Canto 6 is one of these moments where we discern the transferring of power, again registered through this constellation of rhyming words. As the association with the womb moves from God's acts of creativity to Eve's body, general reflections on all women's experience of childbirth in Canto 5 transition to Cain's birth. Here, the poem recasts the womb as redemptive, "the sweet mitigation of that doom, / Promising life to enter through her womb" (21–22). While Canto 5's account of the consequences of the Fall seem to present the future made possible by procreation in very negative terms, Canto 6 offers the birth of both Cain and then Abel through much more positive imagery. Eve's "teeming womb with new fruit swelled again" (27). God's power is never negated as he "made the woman man's first fruit conceive" (17), yet biological forms of creativity recall the artistic process of creating

poetry. The imagery of Eve's "teeming womb" invokes the womb of the earth, but also the vessel of the poet, "Quickened" by God who was "Brooding" over the material that will become this poem of creation.

As maternal activities are celebrated, maternal power begins to flourish. The birth of Cain and Abel, and later Sarah's and Rebecca's actions, highlight the authority offered to the mother. Significantly expanded beyond the footprint of authority granted in other biblical poems or even political authority that detailed the role of father—but not the mother—in the late seventeenth century, Eve acquires an uncommon sense of power. We previously saw a greater distribution of authority to Eve through the language of her joint dominion with Adam over the world given to them in Canto 3: God "give[s] you right to all her fruits and plants / Dominion over her inhabitants … Are all made subject under your command" (3:421–422, 426). This political authority seems explicitly recorded through her body's generative ability. At Adam and Eve's marriage,

> We, late of one made two, again in one
> Shall reunite, and with the frequent birth
> Of our joint issue, people the vast earth. (3:406–408)

The rhyme "birth/earth" recalls the womb-like generativity that marked biblical creation, the womb's promise redirecting elements of God's creative power to Eve. That authority is confirmed at her sons' birth. The dominion granted her because of her centrality in moving forward the human race through the "womb/come" rhyme results in her ability to name her sons: "and Cain she called his son"; "Abel she called the next" (6:25, 29). Eve's act of naming marks a form of authority that underscores maternal power, one that will resonate through the poem's re-envisioning of Genesis.[6]

This development of a matriarchal line, one accomplished through Eve's naming of her son and the portrait of a marital contract, will resurface in the final 10 cantos of the poem, but the consequences of Cain's murder cause the poem to descend into a space of female and male debauchery. The effect will be God's destruction of the world through the Flood. But the redemption of the world appears predicated on the redemption of the womb itself. The "polluted births" that derive from the "mixed marriages" of "Cain's lovely daughters" (6:534, 541) require this generative imagery and its adjacent power be fully returned to God. In a process repeating the womb imagery in the Creation narrative, birthing imagery is fully returned to God to effect his plan. We observe a pattern of see-sawing authority over the womb. Controlled by God during the initial Creation, the authority is partially distributed to Eve as she is created. Pulled back at the Fall in Canto 5, it is largely restored to Eve in Canto 6 after humans' future becomes dependent on our first mother. Throughout this process, rhyming couplets mark the transition of that generative power from God to the first couple. In Canto 3, God is in control of generation as we "wait upon that noble creature's birth / For whom he had designated both heaven and earth" (3:7–8). But when we hear this rhyme later in Canto 3 at line 408, the "birth" of the earth's inhabitants now lies with Adam and Eve. And as the poem proceeds to the Fall and its consequences, the redemptive nature of Eve's womb is underscored by the "womb/come" rhyme at line 227. This promise, destroyed or at least derailed by the sins of Adam and Eve's descendants, forces a replotting of this rhyme's meaning.

In Canto 7, as we prepare for the world's destruction, we hear this rhyme again. But now the womb that propelled humanity's future will produce its doom: "Happy when mercies

lie in Judgement's womb, / But sad when mercies in a Judgement come" (157–158). The redemption of Eve's womb has been transformed into the "com"ing of Judgment. What had been a redemptive womb following the explanation of the *felix culpa* to Adam and Eve must be regenerated just as mankind must be purged. Those "polluted" "marriages" are exposed as non-redemptive in another of Hutchinson's couplets in Canto 7. As the men and women who will be destroyed by the Flood "Ate, drunk, built piles, got children and new wives, / As if no danger threatened their lewd lives," the promise of the womb is (temporarily) undone.

As a consequence, "womb" and birthing imagery must return to God, and a providential plan will emerge from this rewritten imagery. Nowhere is this clearer than in the imagery of the Ark, described as a vessel of death, a "coffin" (7:391, 395) and a "sepulchre" within Canto 7 (291, 400). At first the deluge is signaled by the death it will bring, but as the imagery shifts it illustrates the generative future of humanity that the Flood makes possible. God can transform death into life, underscored by the Ark's rechristening into a "vast womb" and the consequent typological echoes to Christ rising from the dead: "Then God the coffin closed, as a vast womb / Whence he intended the next world could come" (7:391–392). God takes back control over the "womb/come" rhyme as he directs the making of the coffin/womb, restoring control over our futurity to him as he makes possible our survival and mankind's rebirth.

This transformation of death into life prompts the reader to supplement the "womb/come" rhyme with a third rhyme, "tomb," further enhancing the typological link to Christ's rebirth. Canto 6 has already prepared us for this. In describing God's larger plan, we are told:

> The holy seed still with advantage dies
> That it in new and glorious form might rise.
> So still th'Almighty draws life from the tomb:
> Thus did the first light out of darkness come. (6:431–432)

Just as the generativity of Eve's womb can turn to the destruction of the "tomb," so can God reverse destruction through (re)creation, a transformation he accomplishes in the Canto 7 "womb/come" rhyme. While alternating power over generativity is signaled by this specific rhyme, birth imagery dominating Hutchinson's account of the Flood reinforces the process. The storm is described as "that whirling, *cloud-engendering* fire / That does even in its *dreadful birth* expire" (7:407–408; emphasis added). Amidst terrifying verse describing the storm and flooding, the "vast womb" delivers the future of humanity:

> But Noah's ark above the waves did float,
> They that *bore* all else down *kept up the boat*.
> Its trembling sailors heard sick Nature's *groans*
> Which shattered into atoms the firm stones. (7:439–442; emphasis added)

While the water "bore all else down" to drown those not in the Ark, that same water allows the boat to float. An image of destruction and preservation, the "vast womb" of the ark simultaneously "bore" them to life. The birthing process of the storm is conveyed through "Nature's groans"; these sounds of childbirth fuse with the "vast womb" of the Ark to (re) birth humanity through Noah's family.

As in Cantos 1 and 2, the poem continues to interweave God's procreative power, his "Brooding" and "quicken[ing]," with Hutchinson's own artistic powers throughout Canto 7. As the imagery of biological creation is restored to God through the Flood sequence, Hutchinson highlights her poetic creativity though an imaginative portrayal of the Flood and her deployment of Lucretian imagery from the earlier poetic project. The effects of this deployment simultaneously allow Hutchinson to gesture toward her artistic accomplishment while reconfiguring imagery from *De Rerum Natura* to represent God's providential plan. Though less remarked upon by critics, the account of the Flood is astonishingly original, disturbing, and visceral. While *Order and Disorder*'s subtitle, "Meditations upon the Creation and the Fall; As it is recorded in the beginning of Genesis," implies that it will provide a more faithful biblical poem than *Paradise Lost*, Hutchinson's account of the Flood defies this expectation.

The sanitized biblical account of most of humanity's death in Genesis 7:21–23 brings this into focus. Though we are told that "all flesh died that moved upon the earth … and every man" (7:21) in the Flood, "All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land" (7:22), Genesis provides very few details. Compare this to Hutchinson's account of mankind's demise during the Flood. Detailed and terrifying, her verse unpacks the many ways, and many torments, that cause "all flesh" to die. "[C]onducted corpses" make "fierce approaches to the living … rushing with fury" toward those still alive (7:449–451). While dead bodies menace the not yet dead, we hear of those on ill-fated vessels who "starving died." Death becomes "The most tormenting plague" as a "slow" death allows "That terror [which] might by the protraction grow" (456–458). To the restrained account of mankind's destruction in Genesis, Hutchinson adds the psychology of terrorizing anticipation, specific details of how people died, and grisly accounts of the material reality of the death of "all flesh".

This complements Hutchinson's imaginative portrayal of the earth's destruction. In Genesis, "fountains of the great deep" and the "windows of heaven" (7:11) open up to deluge the earth. In Hutchinson's account, "[F]lames break thorough all the sky" as the cascade of rain accompanied by lightning buffets earth with both water and fire. The effect, which combines the destruction to be wrought by the Last Testament with 40 days and nights of rain, creates a swirling chaos:

> yet could not they
> The fervour of that burning wrath allay,
> Which made the seas like boiling cauldrons roar. (7:427–429)

This return to "Chaos" tears "the firmament … unjoining the whole frame" (7:414–416). The scene is simultaneously an unmaking of the world while predicting the hell-like futures of antediluvian sinners.

In its imagery of fire and water, the ruptures to the world effected by "Prodigious thunders," and the birthing imagery associated with creation, *Order and Disorder*'s Flood sequence closely recalls the imagery in Hutchinson's translation of *De Rerum Natura*. In describing the "pregnant wombs" of "clowds" that "with stormes of haile repleate / lusting each other, & to peices rent," Hutchinson describes how these "Cause dreadfull

fragors in the firmament" (6:166–169). In *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson again links "fragors," or crashes, to the tearing of the firmament: "Nor with less fury tore the *firmament*. / These *fragors* thus unjoining the whole frame" (7:414–415; emphasis added). Not only does Hutchinson reuse the Latin "fragor" in her biblical poem, but she explicitly links it to the breaking of firmament as she had in her translation. Individual words and word associations are just the beginning of a rich repurposing of rhyme and imagery from *De Rerum Natura* into *Order and Disorder*. The "come/womb" rhyme Hutchinson first introduced in her translation of Lucretius' poem exemplifies this violent, but also highly generative, imagery characteristic of Lucretius' atomistic universe:

> Thus from aboue doth the maine tempest come,
> With showers & lightinings in its pregnant wombe,
> Which wind and fire, wherewith it was repleate
> At first, did in the vpper ayre begett. (6:276–279)

The integration of fire and water that we see dominate her account of the Flood in *Order and Disorder* is "begot" by the translation of Lucretius. Further, Hutchinson's description of the anticipation of death from the flood as a "tormenting plague" unifies the sixth and final section of *De Rerum Natura*'s account of Athens' plague with her Canto 7 poetic exploration of Genesis's flood.

Hutchinson's poetic creations—both previous and current—again intersect with accounts of God's creative abilities. She draws upon her own previous poetic achievements to underscore the providential nature of God's actions. The atheistic universe of Lucretius imagines forces warring with each other throughout Book 6, since no guiding monotheistic principle governs the universe in Epicurean thought. When Hutchinson engages the destruction of the world, she does so through her earlier poem, recuperating her previous artistic accomplishment by, once more, redeploying creative power. If womb and birth imagery is associated with the lightning's and storms' destructive force, in *Order and Disorder* that imagery is now returned entirely to God: He can now transform "tomb" back to "womb," from which the human race will now "come." The seemingly senseless Epicurean world that makes and unmakes itself in Lucretius' poem is now rewritten through the earlier translation's imagery. Consequently, the personal spiritual redemption Hutchinson undertakes in versifying the Bible is accomplished by invoking her earlier artistic project. While Hutchinson will remove—temporarily—that creative force from Eve and her descendants, bestowing them on God through the birthing imagery in the Flood sequence, she simultaneously invokes her earlier translation's creative power. Serving as a temporary compensation for the biological creativity removed from Eve's descendants at this point of *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson's earlier poetic achievements are explicitly integrated into her later work.

The fusion of biological and narrative creativity occurs as well in the books that follow the story of Noah. Female generative power will return in the begetting books of Genesis, as the stories of mothers such as Sarah, Hagar, and Rebecca occupy the energies of Hutchinson's narrative. The consequence of her expansion and contraction of these stories is a subtle but consistent highlighting of maternity, while downplaying the patriarchally

derived family units within Genesis. The most overt "begetting" chapters in Genesis—10, 11, 25, and 26—are significantly compressed within Hutchinson's poem, parts entirely dropped. Her narrative sensibility prompts her choice to replace these lists of patriarchal production with expanded narrative accounts of Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel. The effect is to put stress upon and elaborate upon their roles as wives and mothers.

While Hutchinson's Genesis poem is framed by the events within the biblical narrative, she consistently changes biblical language in her poem that describes the production of children. While biblical language asserts that women produce children for men, Hutchinson modified this in her treatment of Sarah:

> To comfort their disgrace, now Sarah's womb
> Grew pregnant with that promised fruit in whom
> A blessing was designed for the whole earth,
> And the ninth moon disclosed the joyful birth. (14:253–256)

As the "earth/birth" rhyme is reapplied to the generation of God's chosen, Sarah and Abraham share in Isaac's joyful birth that recalls the marriage sequence of Adam and Eve and the language of their production of children. Collectively, "*they* call their son" Isaac since his "name implies / *Their* gladness" (14:257–258; emphasis added). In a further link to the earlier language about Eve's naming of her sons, God states that

> I will thy Sarah bless
> And *her son* shall the promised land possess
> And mighty nations out of her shall grow.
> Upon *her nephews* I will thrones bestow,
> My covenant establish with *her seed*. (12:179–183; emphasis added)

God then reiterates that "Sarah's [sons] shall my covenant retain" (12:188). In modifying biblical language, Hutchinson again suggests that mothers maintain a possession of and over their children, one that they share with their husbands.

Lauren Shook's reading of Rebecca as a figure of maternal authority underscores this focus on maternal productivity and its importance for the future of God's chosen people. The return of the "come/womb" rhyme in Canto 17 highlights what Shook defines as maternal typology. As Rebecca experiences the Book 5 description of maternal suffering, she becomes "a successor of Eve and Sarah in [humanity's] redemption narrative" (Shook 2014, 196). This will include Rebecca's actions to gain her (and God's) preferred son, Jacob, her husband's blessing, and thus allow him to fulfill his covenant with God. Rebecca's agency joins Hutchinson's emphasis on Rebecca's maternally affiliated family line. When Jacob is directed by Isaac "to thy mother's native country go" in *Order and Disorder*, the family line is derived through Rebecca (18:230). In Genesis, that familial line was established through her father, just as Rebecca's heritage is defined through male relatives. In Genesis 28:2, Jacob is directed "go to Padam Aram, to the house of Bethuel your mother's father, and take yourself a wife from there of the daughters of Laban your mother's brother," while in Genesis 28:9 Esau is directed to get a wife identified with male lineage: "So Esau went to Ishmael and took Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael, Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth" (28:9). In fact, Mahalath is here by three male relationships: father, grandfather, and brother.

Hutchinson will reintroduce the missing mother into her account. Esau "brings from thence / Bashemath whom Nebajoth's mother bore, / Ishmael's fair daughter" (18:338–340). Paternal identity does not disappear—she is still identified as Ishmael's daughter—but Hutchinson has reintroduced the mother, who was entirely erased in accounts of male association. And as Lauren Shook has argued, Rebecca's providential role in promoting Jacob's covenant with God highlights her maternal agency by emphasizing Rebecca's family line: Hutchinson "instates an ordained maternal authority at the conclusion of the blessing narrative in which Rebecca's kin takes precedence over Isaac's because Rebecca is more closely linked to Abraham and his covenant with God" (Shook 2014, 200). Shook's unpacking of Rebecca's "pious fraud" highlights Rebecca's typological importance to the story as she exerts a significant level of control over both sons, illustrating the power of the female line and maternal action.

Biological creativity, here stressed through the power of the maternal figure, works hand in hand with narrative creativity. Rebecca's innovation in gaining Isaac's blessing for Jacob rather than Esau resonates with the narrative invention that we see Hutchinson deploy in *Order and Disorder*. We have seen this alignment of biological and poetic creativity from the opening of the poem, as God impregnates the poet, thus enabling her biblical epic. As the poem expands the power of the maternal figure following the Flood, the association between narrator and figures of maternal power strengthens. Hutchinson's focus on mothers such as Sarah and Rebecca provides her most creative retelling of the Bible stories, showing her most actively shaping her biblical poem. As Shook notes, "Hutchinson invents narratives about Rebecca's pregnancy that position her as an intermediary between Eve and Mary," thus "supplementing Genesis" (195). Shook will even position Rebecca as "a correlative type for the mother-author figure" (202) that Hutchinson employs in her theological treatise, *On the Principles of Christian Religion* (1817). Yet the intersection between biblical inspiration and literary creativity has been the site of the maternal from the beginning of *Order and Disorder*. The generative imagery in God's hands comes to impregnate both the female earth and the narrator herself, a process that is then distributed to Eve specifically, and mothers more generally, after the Fall. The need for a new creation made possible by the Flood results in that generative power briefly returning to God in Canto 7, but with it comes the creative activities of Hutchinson's rendering of the Flood. The poem thus ends by fusing these practices as Hutchinson's creating the narrative of human generation walks hand in hand with a celebration of maternal power.

Notes

1 See Norbrook (1997) on Hutchinson's use of Platonic imagery in her elegies.

2 See *Paradise Lost* 1.21.

3 Hutchinson uses extensive marginal references to biblical passages in the first five published cantos, which occur much less extensively in the 15 manuscript cantos.

4 Also see Shook (2014) on the "come/womb" rhyme.

5 See Murphy (2001) on contextualizing reproductive instability in the poem amidst the Exclusion Crisis.

6 See Miller (2008) and Polydorou (2001) on the possibilities that Genesis offered to women to re-envision political and marital hierarchies. Dowd and Festa (2012) also illustrate the extent to which women writers return to and revise the story of the Fall in the period.

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17
The Epyllion

Jim Ellis

The epyllion, or minor epic, flourished for a little more than a decade at the end of the sixteenth century. The first poem in the genre, Thomas Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, was published in 1588, and the last major example, Francis Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, appeared in 1602. The poems typically take a story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, often little more than 20 lines in the original, and spin it out into 900 lines of ostentatiously rhetorical verse. The stories most often involve the transformation of youths: Adonis, Narcissus, and Hermaphroditus are some of the genre's favorite subjects. The poems feature debates about desire, pairing stories of sexuality or sexual maturation with stories of rhetoric. Given the centrality of rhetoric in the humanist ethos and educational system, the poems can thus be read as stories of the acquisition or loss of cultural power. In their continual demonstration that gender is neither natural nor stable, and is moreover bound up with language, the poems can also be seen as insistently queer.

The poems are also queer in the way that they consistently position themselves either as tangential to or in opposition to genres that for the Elizabethans were characterized by a high moral seriousness. As the alternative names for the genre indicate, such as "mock epic" or "erotic mini epic," the genre's embrace of triviality and ornament serves to define it against the gravitas of epic; as many have observed, while the Elizabethans admired Virgil, they loved Ovid, and these poems clearly demonstrate this allegiance. The stories of some of the poems, most notably Thomas Heywood's *Oenone and Paris*, take place alongside epic narratives, while others, such as Beaumont's *Metamorphosis of Tobacco* (Beaumont 1971), reflect the concerns of Elizabethan empire, but none of them take epic seriously.

The second genre against which the epyllion is defined is evident in its tone. The voice in these poems is modeled on Ovid's sophisticated and worldly-wise narrator, situated serenely above the comedy of desire, offering witty truisms and etiological digressions.

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The genre is an explicit rejection of the moralizing tradition of the medieval *Ovide moralisé*, represented most recently in Arthur Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses* (Golding 1961), which itself can be seen as a transitional work: moralizing Ovid while translating him into an English context. The genre can thus be seen as a renaissance of Ovid, a return to the amused chronicler of Cupid's power.

Finally, the epyllion frequently positions this *Ovide immoralisé* against Petrarchan verse, the third key literary genre with which the minor epic engages. Petrarchan poetry is the genre's favorite satirical target, suggesting that Petrarchan lovers are naive or narcissistic youths in love with the idea of love, whereas mature Ovidian lovers are interested in sex. The narrator of Marston's *Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image* concludes his tale with the characteristic observation, that "Therefore Ladies, think that they neer love you / Who do not unto more than kissing move you" (20.5–6). The satire of Petrarchisms reflects the relative youth of these poets, reacting against the official literary discourse of the Elizabethan court and an older generation of poets, but it is also the result, I will suggest, of the poems' association with the cultural world of London, rather than the world of the court.

While the epyllion may have been a short-lived genre, it had many admirers, and a brief survey of some of the initial responses to the poems may help to clarify some of the cultural concerns at the epyllion's heart. Gabriel Harvey famously remarked on the vogue for reading these poems, observing that "The younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeares Venus, & Adonis" (quoted in Duncan-Jones 1993, 490). We see this enthusiasm reflected not just in other poems, but significantly enough in the theater in the many references to the poems in plays, particularly those set in the mercantile world of contemporary London. This is perhaps unsurprising given that a number of the writers of the poems also wrote for the stage. What is notable is that the references show up in plays that display a high degree of literary sophistication, especially those plays that feature meta-theatrical elements. This meta-theatricality echoes the self-consciously literary nature of the poems.

In her discussion of the first readers of *Venus and Adonis*, Katherine Duncan-Jones points to possible references in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Shakespeare 1994) to two of the earliest epyllia: Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* and Thomas Edwards's *Cephalus and Procris* (which was itself an enthusiastic response to Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*). Bottom as Pyramus assures Thisbe, "like Limander am I trusty still" (5.1.195) and that "Not Shaflus to Procrus was so true" (V.i.197). In Francis Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (Beaumont 2002), Nell the Grocer's Wife asks her husband "what story is that painted on the cloth? The confutation of St. Paul?" (2.565–566). Her husband, echoing the play's placement of the grocer's apprentice in unlikely contexts, replies, "No, lamb; that's Rafe and Lucrece" (2.566), an irreverent but highly witty gesture toward the genre, given its repeated use of the rhetorical figure of ecphrasis. In Thomas Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters* (Middleton 1978), Mistress Harebrain refers to Shakespeare and Marlowe's poems as "two luscious mary-bone pies" (2.1.51), which highlights the genre's reputation for licentious content. In Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor* (1598), likely the first city comedy, Master Matthew, described in the dramatis personae as "the town gull," woos his mistress with lines of verse. Edward Knowell spots a theft: "This is in *Hero and Leander*" (4.1).

A far more extended theft of Marlowe's poem occurs in the puppet show in Act Five of Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (Jonson 2007). The puppet master Leatherhead asserts that theater audiences prefer topical subject matter: "Your home-born projects prove ever the best,

they are so easy, and familiar. They put too much learning i' their things nowadays" (5.1.12–15). Accordingly, the play he presents is "the ancient modern history of Hero and Leander" (5.3.7), which transports the story of Marlowe's poem to contemporary London: "As for the Hellespont, I imagine our Thames here; and then Leander I make a dyers' son, about Puddle Wharf; and Hero a wench o' the Bankside, who going over one morning to Old Fish Street, Leander spies her land at Trig Stairs, and falls in love with her" (5.3.103–107). The puppet show is a famously profane affair. "Mistress Hero's a whore," says Puppet Damon, and Leander's a "whoremaster," which might have been suggested by Marlowe's own description of Hero as "Venus Nun," a slang term for prostitute (Braden 1978, 124). When the Puritan Busy raises moral objections to the gender confusion of the puppet plays, "where the male among you putteth on the apparel of the female, and the female of the male" (5.5.84–85), the puppets confound him by showing that they have nothing under their garments. Gender is by no means as stable as Busy imagines, and he finally gives up.

We can note a few things about the epyllion from these references. The first stems from the plays' irreverent handling of the poems, which verges on a cheerful perversity. Given the perversity of the genre itself with respect to its own Ovidian sources, it can be said that by not taking the poems seriously they are in fact taking the poems seriously. And of course perversity, or at least an interest in salacious subject matter, is itself is a key feature of this queer genre. The history of commentary on the poems has shown critics first struggling with this perversity and then later, particularly with the advent of gender studies and queer theory, delighting in it (Stanivukovic 2000). Second, the plays are interested in translating the poems to England, making them "ancient modern histor[ies]" in puppet master Leatherhead's terms, an impulse which we can also see in many of the poems. Aaron Kitch argues that we can see this relocating impulse even in the metaphors used: "Economic language becomes a trademark of the genre, helping English authors to situate the minor epic within early modern narratives of national belonging" (Kitch 2009, 51). Finally, given that the plays assume that their audience will get the joke when they mention these works, the audience for the stage must have been largely the same audience that read and enjoyed the epyllia, likely the gentry and lawyers that appreciated the more sophisticated satiric comedies associated with Blackfriars and Paul's (Gurr 2004) and who were also often the dedicatees of the poems.

Some of the affinity between plays and poems might be linked to the centrality of rhetoric in the genre; in one of the most influential readings of the epyllion, Lynn Enterline has pointed to the centrality of Ovid in the Elizabethan educational system, and the way that young men were trained in rhetoric by ventriloquizing characters from the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides* (Enterline 2000, 2012). William P. Weaver has recently expanded on this discussion specifically in relation to the epyllion (Weaver 2012). This education was an excellent training for writing for the stage, but also for the epyllion; many of the poems feature lengthy speeches that attempt to persuade an unresponsive lover. Indeed, one of the key narratives of the poem involves a youth gradually developing rhetorical prowess, which is usually mapped onto a narrative of gender protocols. Like the puppet show, this narrative often demonstrates that gender is not an unproblematic affair. While the Elizabethan educational training explains much about the genre's obsessions, the most important site for the poems is not the schoolroom but London.

The poems' London milieu is evident in the situation of the writers, in their mercantile metaphors and legal language, and in the way the poems address their audience. In their discussion of the places of vice in London, Amanda Bailey and Roze Hentschell observe that London was at this time a city of young men:

> The centralization of England's political life in London, an unprecedented surge in population, and economic crises in the provinces led to the mass migration of so-called superfluous young men, second and third sons, who, because they were not heirs apparent, flooded into the city seeking places at Court, in elite households, within guilds, and at the universities and Inns of Court. (Bailey and Hentschell 2010, 6)

The queerness of the genre, particularly in its self-positioning with respect to "major" genres like Virgilian epic and Petrarchan verse, may well be related to the anxiety of occupying this marginal and precarious social position.

The first poem of the genre, Thomas Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, was dedicated "To his especiall good friend Master Rafe Crane, and the rest of his most entire well wishers, the gentlemen of the Inns of Court and Chancerie." In his pioneering study of the genre, William Keach observes that "Almost all the authors of the Elizabethan epyllia except Shakespeare were at one time or another formally connected either with one of the Universities or with the Inns of Court, or both" (Keach 1977, 32). Although Shakespeare did not reside at the Inns, he was certainly connected to them: *Venus and Adonis* was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, who was associated with that milieu. In *Sexuality and Citizenship*, I explore the genre specifically in relation to the cultural setting of the Inns of Court (Ellis 2003). Of course the appeal of these poems (and the plays that burlesqued them) went beyond the Inns, but the genre as a whole reflects this cultural world, particularly in its interest in stories of the transformation of young men. The Inns at this point were a regular part of a young gentleman's education; while the residents were ostensibly there to learn the common law, the Inns offered a convenient place to explore to the pleasures of London. The Inns were surrounded by schools of fencing, dancing, languages, and other skills, and the youthful residents of the Inns gained a reputation for their interests in fashion, theater, literature, drinking, and licentiousness.

Lodge's poem reflects this youthful homosocial milieu. The narrator, a slightly ridiculous figure, is a studious and melancholy young man who, when the poem opens, is wandering and weeping by the river Isis. He is surprised by the appearance of the sea-god Glaucus, who is himself weeping over his treatment at the hands of the cruel Scilla. The two men sit together, the sea-god's head in the poet's lap, as Glaucus tells his tale of woe. The two figures are "consorted in [their] gronings" (18.5), forming a narcissistic dyad on the banks of the river, each reflecting the other's woe. Glaucus is figured as a Petrarchan youth, trying to win his beloved by presenting her with overwrought poetry and by a bookish adherence to "Eache office of a lover" (62.2). The poem identifies Scilla as a scornful and aloof Petrarchan mistress ("Scilla a saint in look, no saint in scorning"; 31.5), whose cheeks are the familiar red and white ("ruddie rose bespred on whitest milk"; 49.6), and whose lovely features are the subject of a six-stanza-long blazon (48–53). The tale features some of the favorite elements of the poems that will follow: references to other youths like Cephalus (27.5) and Adonis (that "sweet Arcadian boy"; 21.1), and instances of sententiae

("Oh fancies fond that naught but sorrowes savour"; 36.4), and ecphrasis (Venus's robe features depictions of "the yong Adonis wrack" and "Ledaes rape by Swan"; 86.3, 4). Much of the poem's comedy lies in disproportion of one kind or another: either in the rhetorical excess of the sea-god's anguished Petrarchan rhetoric, or in the incongruous spectacle of a monstrous, shaggy-headed sea god adopting the pose of a melancholic youth.

The key metamorphosis in the poem is not, as in Ovid, Glaucus's initial transformation into a sea-god, or Scilla's final transformation into a rock. Instead, it is Glaucus's transformation from an immature, bookish Petrarchan lover who is enslaved by his own desire, to a mature Ovidian lover, who imitates the frank sexuality of the natural world, and spurns and humiliates the Petrarchan Scilla. As in other poems, this gendered power dynamic is made clear by the scenes of Ovidian violence in the ecphrasis. This transformation is paralleled with the metamorphosis of Glaucus's rhetoric, from overwrought Petrarchan clichés to snappy Ovidian rhetoric. He offers lessons on appropriate gender behavior to the narrator, who in turns relays a warning to "ladies" in the envoy, "That Nimphs must yeeld, when faithful lovers straie not" (131.3). A final metamorphosis that the envoy reflects is the relocation of the poem from the classical Mediterranean world to England: the action is situated on the river Isis, and the ladies he addresses are clearly those who he believes might take the fashionable Petrarchisms of the Elizabethan court too far.

Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* similarly features the metamorphosis of a young man at its core. Marlowe's poem is based on Musaeus's poem rather than Ovid, although as Gordon Braden points out, the poem borrows extensively from Ovid's *Heroides* and *Amores* (Braden 1978, 125). Certainly the narrator's voice in this poem is modeled on the narrator of the *Metamorphoses*, particularly in its detached perspective which views all desire as inherently comic. Like many of the other epyllia, the poem is unfaithful to its source, changing key elements (there is no lantern, Leander does not swim at night), adding narrative digressions, and ending the tale before it reaches its conclusion, which has the effect of turning the tragedy of the original into comedy (see Bush 1963; and Braden 1978). Marlowe offers us a series of sententiae ("Love deeply grounded hardly is dissembled"; 184, and most famously: "Who ever lov'd, that loved not at first sight?"; 176), and etiological myths ("Since Heroes time, hath halfe the world beene blacke"; 50; "and to this day is everie scholler poore"; 471). The poem establishes the genre's convention of the extended comic digression, which is modeled on the nested structure of Ovid's tales. Once again, we have an ecphrasis that shows the cruelties of Ovidian desire, in an extended tableau of "heddie riots, incests, rapes" in the glass in Venus's temple. Hero, like Venus in Lodge's poem, has mythological scenes embroidered on her garments, most notably Venus trying seduce Adonis.

As with Lodge's poem, much of the comedy here is at the expense of its youthful protagonists. Hero starts out as a parody of the Petrarchan mistress, whose garments are stained "with the blood of wretched Lovers slaine" (I. 16). As critics observe, the blazon of Hero focuses mainly on the wonders of her outfit and its high-mimetic effects, which literalize clichés about the Petrarchan mistress. She wears a myrtle wreath and a veil that reaches to the ground, "of artificial flowers and leaves, / Whose workmanship both man and beast deceaves" (I. 19–20). Her veil, combined with buskins decorated to look like branches on which artificial birds perch, turn her into a walking tree, as if she is already post-metamorphosis. Hero begins the poem as a statue, rather than a person, and one of the

key metamorphoses will be to change her from this wondrous automaton to a woman of flesh and blood, in a process similar to that which occurs in Marston's *Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image*.

Leander, like Hero, starts the poem as the object of universal desire, but especially that of adult men: "The barbarous Thratian soldier moov'd with nought, / Was moov'd with him, and for his favour sought" (I. 81–82). His blazon by the narrator is one of the most homoerotic passages in early modern literature and later, as he swims the Hellespont, Neptune mistakes him for Ganymede and attempts to seduce him. Leander is thus the figure of the beautiful Ovidian youth like Ganymede, Hermaphroditus, or Narcissus; to avoid the kind of metamorphoses that they undergo, he must transform from a naive youth into an adult Ovidian lover. This transformation is partly pictured through his increasingly sophisticated use of rhetoric: the narrator calls him a "bold sharp Sophister" (I. 197), which was a term at the time for a law student, and Hero asks him, "Who taught thee Rhethoricke to deceive a maid?" (I. 338).

Leander's transformation, Marlowe shows, is connected to power. The adult male Ovidian lover, like the gods of the *Metamorphoses*, is deaf to the cruelties of desire: "Love is not ful of pittie (as men say) / But deaffe and cruell, where he meanes to pray" (II. 287–288). The purposely confusing metaphor that follows, of a struggling bird whose neck is being wrung, demonstrates an urge to naturalize this particular view of desire, which we see in Lodge's poem as well, where what is seen as a more frank sexuality is located in the natural world. As Braden observes, Marlowe's poem ends not with Hero falling from her tower, but with the descent of another metaphorical female (Braden 1978, 150). Day mocks an allegorized "ougly night," who, "o'recome with anguish, shame, and rage, / Dang'd downe to hell her loathsome carriage" (II. 332, 333–334). Hero's fall into adult female sexuality is thus paralleled by the humiliation of a woman, which echoes Scilla's end, mocked by the allegorical figures of "Furie and Rage, Wanhope, Dispaire, and Woe" (*Scillaes Metamorphosis* 120.1). While on one hand, the fleshliness of the final portrait, half-naked and blushing, makes her seem more fully human than the opening blazon of the walking tree, on the other hand she is left perilously close to the status of object, at least in Leander's view. Looking at her "naked to his sight displayd … his admiring eyes more pleasure took, / Than Dis, on heapes of gold fixing his look" (II. 324–326). Leander's metamorphosis takes him from being an object of desire to being a desiring subject, one who objectifies others.

Marston's *Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image*, which features a different cast of characters, follows a similar trajectory. The poem, the most satiric of the major works, retells the familiar story of the misogynist sculptor, "whose chast mind all the beauties in Cyprus could not ensnare," who falls in love with his own creation: "Love at length forc'd him to know his fate / And love the shade, whose substance he did hate" (1.5–6). The statue in the poem is figured as the Petrarchan mistress, and some of the comedy of the poem comes from the way it literalizes Petrarchan metaphors, taking the characterization of Hero as wondrous automaton one step further: "O Ovid he would cry, / Did ere Corinna show such Ivorie / When she appear'd in Venus livorie?" (12.2–4). Her breasts "like polisht Ivory appear" (8.1) because they are polished ivory; she acts like "relentlesse stone" (21.6) because she is relentless stone. Pygmalion is portrayed as an immature Petrarchan poet, in love with a fantasy image of his own creation: an attenuated version of Narcissus.

Paralleling the metamorphosis of the statue into woman is the metamorphosis of Pygmalion from immature Petrarchan lover of an idea to mature Ovidian lover of a flesh-and-blood woman. On one level, it is difficult to see any significant change in the statue or in Pygmalion's relation to her: Pygmalion took the statue to bed before the transformation, and afterwards, she stills seems to be an unspeaking object that is acted upon, a living doll. The narrator generalizes and naturalizes Pygmalion's response by inviting us to imagine the actions performed by any lover in such a situation: "What he would doe, the self same action, / Was not neglected by Pigmalion" (36.5–6). The narrator's various invitations to the reader's prurience translate the scenario to London: while there are references to a hypocritical "subtile Citty-dame" (10.1) who has sinful thoughts in church and to "peevish Papists" who crouch in front of idols (14.1), the truly contemporary gestures are the poem's satire of Petrarchan poetry and its conscious evocation of an audience of young men who value literary sophistication and licentious humor.

The poems of Lodge, Marlowe, and Marston all feature successful transformations of young men. These transformations hinge upon rejecting one story of desire, which the poems associate with Petrarchan poetry, in favor of another story of desire, which they associate with Ovid, a narrative that is characterized as both more natural and more violent. Part of this transformation from youth to adult, as we see with Leander, means rejecting or resisting being the object of desire.

Other poems in the genre, including Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (Shakespeare 1989), Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, and Thomas Edwards's *Narcissus*, show us the other side of the equation: what happens when the youth fails successfully to metamorphose into an adult male. In these poems, we see frustrated female suitors attempting to educate youths in gender protocol: "Would thou wert as I am, and I a man," says an exasperated Venus to Adonis (369). Aurora complains to Cephalus, "if I were a man, / These cheeks for love should never look so wan" (389–390). Salmacis says to Hermaphroditus, "Wert thou a mayd, and I a man, Ile show thee, / With what a manly boldnesse I could woo thee" (715–716). Although the opposition here seems to be between man and maid, it is clear that the problem is that the addressees of these complaints are youths rather than men, and they have not yet adopted the appropriate behaviors that would mark them out as adult masculine subjects.

These examples of failed masculinity point to an anxiety about the precarious position of the youth. Will Fisher has argued that boys "were quite literally a different gender from men during the early modern period" (Fisher 2001, 175), and this understanding seems to be at the heart of the epyllion. As Stephen Orgel notes, there is a parallel between women and boys in the period, in that both are portrayed as acceptable objects of desire for adult men (Orgel 1989). The key divide then, is not between men and women but men and not-men, and within the division of "not-men" there is the special category of youths, or those who might become men. This is ultimately the metamorphosis that the epyllion is most interested in exploring, one that speaks to the precarious cultural position of the poems' initial addressees. While they themselves would have been older than the classic Ovidian youth, many of the young men of the Inns were the "superfluous young men" who populated London at this point, anxiously seeking a metamorphosis of their fortunes.

Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* is, like Marlowe's poem, relatively unfaithful to its source. Adonis appears more immature than in most other versions of the story, and he does not have sex with Venus. In moralizing accounts of the story, his death at the tusks of

the boar is read as a punishment for succumbing to lust, which makes Shakespeare's chaste ending difficult to moralize. This may well be the point, which would go along with the genre's rejection or even satirizing of earnest moralizing and, more generally, the genre's embrace of lust as a key characteristic of adult masculinity. The changed ending may also be read, as Madhavi Menon argues, as a rejection more generally of teleological thinking: a rejection we also see in Marlowe's decision not to take his story to the proper end (Menon 2005).

Shakespeare's version opens with Adonis implicitly being compared to Aurora, with the "rose-cheeked Adonis" (3) positioned as the Petrarchan mistress to the "bold-faced suitor" Venus (6). Venus sees this reverse in gender roles as well: "Stain to all nymphs, more lovely than a man / More white and red than doves or roses are" (9–10), she coos to him. Venus's rhetoric is largely aimed at coaxing Adonis out of his Petrarchan priggishness, and at times she begins to sound like Pygmalion:

> "Fie, lifeless picture, cold and senseless stone,
> Well painted idol, image dull and dead,
> Statue contenting but the eye alone,
> Thing like a man, but of no woman bred!
> Thou art no man, though of a man's complexion,
> For men will kiss even by their own direction." (211–216)

As in other poems, Ovidian masculinity is positioned as natural; Venus points to the example of Adonis's lusty horse, who charges off after a breeding jennet that flirtatiously presents herself to view: "learn of him, I heartily beseech thee" (404), she coaches. These references to nature which evoke a specifically English countryside are among the most highly praised elements of the poem.

Adonis's most measured response to Venus draws attention to the malleability of gender but makes this argument with the language of commodities and consumption (which recalls Leander's pleasure in staring at the naked Hero):

> "Fair queen," quoth he, "if any love you owe me,
> Measure my strangeness with my unripe years;
> Before I know myself, seek not to know me,
> No fisher but the ungrown fry forbears;
> The mellow plum doeth fall, the green sticks fast,
> Or being early pluck'd is sour to taste." (523–528)

Adonis argues that his metamorphosis into manhood has not yet happened, and moreover, if Venus tries to taste this plum too soon, it will be sour. He suggests that she should wait until he matures, although Adonis's rhetoric is a little disingenuous, given that this particular ungrown fry will develop not into a fish but into a fisher (if all goes well). Adonis's objections suggest an anxiety about a youth allowing himself to be the object of desire of another, whether this desiring other is Neptune in Marlowe's poem or the nymph Salmacis in Beaumont's. The anxiety is that if the youth allows himself to be the object of desire, the metamorphosis to adult male will be impossible, and will be replaced by another, less desirable one: Leander is drowned, Adonis is gored, and Hermaphroditus is the victim of an unwanted merger.

Marlowe's narrator would likely laugh at Adonis's objections to being an object of desire, as would the barbarous Thracians and any number of the gods: according to Ovid, youths were ripe for the picking. The boar itself would seem to be of Marlowe's camp: Venus sees it as a romantic rival, and she casts Adonis's death in a distinctly erotic way. The boar, like Neptune, is a dangerous suitor, who, Venus says,

> by a kiss thought to persuade him there;
> And nuzzling in his flank, the loving swine
> Sheathed unaware the tusk in his soft groin.
>
> Had I been toothed like him, I must confess,
> With kissing him I should have killed him first. (1114–1118)

Venus imagines herself as another version of the boar, and thus as masculine, continuing the play with gender in the poem, and reflecting the sense of the fluidity of gender in the period. Just before she plucks the flower that grows up from Adonis's blood, Venus declares that his death will be the beginning of a new era of desire, when "Sorrow on love hereafter shall attend" (1136). The various characteristics of love that she outlines —"it shall be fickle, false and full of fraud" (1141); "It shall be sparing, and too full of riot" (1147); "It shall be cause of war and dire events" (1159)—all align this with the Ovidian characterization of love in the *Metamorphoses*.

What is unique about *Venus and Adonis* and the epyllion more generally is the way they tie the story of a new narrative of sexuality (the rejection of the eroticization of the youth) to a change in literary taste—the rejection of Petrarchan poetry, in which the lover is subjugated, in favor of the more violent erotics of Ovidian poetry—which is in turn connected to a cultural shift: the rejection of the literary taste of the previous generation, but also the aesthetics of the court. Most importantly perhaps, this story of sexual maturation is associated with a story of the mastery of rhetoric, a key source and signifier of cultural power in the early modern period generally, but especially at the Inns of Court. Following Golding's Englishing of Ovid, here the stories of beautiful youths are translated to England and the stories now fully reflect the concerns of an English generation at the end of Elizabeth's reign: the anxious young men of the city of London, inhabiting a world of change.

I started this discussion by looking at how the early modern stage, and particularly comedies set in contemporary London, made reference to the epyllion. The last poem I will discuss is not an epyllion, but a poem that certainly shows the genre's influence, within an entirely contemporary context. William Fennor's *Cornu-copiae, Pasquils night-cap: or Antidot for the Head-ache* (often attributed to Nicholas Breton) was first printed in 1612, after the vogue for the epyllion had passed. It is most obviously related to Breton's series of satiric Pasquil poems and the central story is in line with the comic fabliaux of Italian prose fiction and Chaucer, the latter of whom the poem signals at various points. The poem is written in ironic praise of cuckolds and cuckoldry, and its principal targets are the citizens who were the usual butts of city comedy. The central story involves an innkeeper of Gravesend, his adulterous wife Joan, and their lusty daughter Kate, who is made pregnant by either a sea captain, Captain Horner, or by one of the many members of his crew with whom she had sex. Her parents decide that the best plan of action is to marry her to a

London citizen: "Crackt maids, grosse widdowes, and such broken Truls, / Are good enough to marrie Cittie-Guls" (32). After going through a list of the various tradesmen they know, they settle on Maister Hercules, the Ironmonger, who is worth two thousand pounds, and they concoct a plan that eventually succeeds: "Behold yee Citizens what is concluded / Whereby your simplenesse might be deluded" (36).

While the tale itself is not based on Ovid, the narrator does make reference to the gods of the *Metamorphoses* and more directly to "Fond wantonizing Ouid" (96) a number of times, the latter of whom provides the worldly-wise tone. A note in the margins suggests that the poem is directed at least in part to the same audience that read the epyllion: "Note this my yong gallants" (84). The main narrative, while never directly acknowledging Marlowe, does interestingly echo the action of his poem at key moments. Young Hercules must travel not from Abydos to Sestos, but rather from London to Gravesend, and the way to get there is to cross the Thames by boat. As Roy Booth notes, this is a common feature of seventeenth-century retellings of Marlowe's story, which mapped the narrative "onto their own urban geography" (Booth 2007, paragraph 7). The night before his voyage Hercules cannot wait, and so he ships out from Billingsgate in the darkness: "For loue did make him bold and valiant, / Fearelesse of Neptune and his Trident Mace" (38). His boat is struck by a bark coming from Greenwich, and Hercules is pitched into the water, where, like Leander, he sinks to the bottom and almost drowns. Luckily, he manages to grab an oar that is floating by, and he is rescued by the boat that struck him. At this point, the main narrative is interrupted by a long comic digression telling how the rebels of Kent lost their tails by building a monument to Fortune at Cuckold's Haven. It is at Cuckold's Haven that the watermen deposit Hercules, before he goes to off to be deceived by Kate and her parents.

With Fennor's *Cornu-copiae*, we can see certain tendencies in the epyllion reaching their conclusion, or at least their next stage of evolution. The Ovidian story is now fully translated to England, with no originary narrative from the *Metamorphoses* at all. In fact, the poem seems to take as its inspiration those city comedies that earlier invoked or burlesqued the epyllia. The setting is now the mercantile world of London, and the wit, while similar to Lodge's, is coarser and more cynical. What is now gone is the gender trouble that the epyllion so persistently explored: the anxiety around the beautiful youth, or the dangers of being an object of desire, or the instability of gender and the borders of the self. Hercules, while a dupe, is never in danger of transformation, and lusty Kate is as far from being a Petrarchan mistress as possible. To adapt Leatherhead's terms from *Bartholomew Fair*, this is a fully modern ancient tale, and one which perhaps signals that the cultural moment of the epyllion was over.

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LYRIC

18

Petrarchism and Its Counterdiscourses: The Sonnet Tradition from Wyatt to Milton

Gordon Braden

In 1558, John Knox, seeing England and Scotland under the disastrous rule of female monarchs, with the English succession shortly to pass to yet another, published *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* to warn Europe against their kind. There may be exceptions to the rule, but they require God's direct intervention; the all but insuperable problem is the inherent character of women as a sex: "Nature … doth paynt them furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble, and foolishe; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruell, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment" (Knox 1966, 4: 374). Knox would not have had to spend much thought choosing his words: they draw both on a generalized tribal misogyny and on traditions of intellectualized gender theory going back to Aristotle ("monstrous" has a technical biological reference). Knox is particularly drawn to the hypothesis of women's essential inconstancy and chaotic variability, consequences of their unmanly weakness and irrationality. His catalogue rises to a crescendo that repeats Mercury's warning to Aeneas to get out of Carthage before dawn: *uarium et mutabile semper / femina* ("always a variable and changeable thing, woman") (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.569–570). But one term in Knox's list stands out: not exactly inconsistent with the others, but with a different vector. A woman should not rule not just because she would be a disorganized mess, but also because there is one quality in which you can count on her to be consistent: she would be "cruell."

In that word, Renaissance love poetry intersects the agenda of political polemic. The tradition Knox would not stop to think about here is Petrarchan sonneteering, inspired by the fourteenth-century lyric sequence which wedded a particular poetic form, the sonnet (not Petrarch's invention, but never before so prominent), to a particular subject matter: his all-consuming love for a beautiful but coldly distant woman called Laura. Petrarch dies in 1374, working at his sequence almost until the end. Its influence on vernacular poetry takes about a century to get traction, but when it does it is astonishing in its scope, running well

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into the seventeenth century, leaving its mark on every literary language in western and southern Europe. Its distinctive union of form and content can be used informally to track the migration of the Renaissance across the European cultural landscape. Such successful export of a specific poetic form into so many languages is an unparalleled phenomenon. Local variants spring up—the 17-line *sonetto caudato* in Italian (most famous from Pietro Aretino's obscene *sonetti lussuriosi*), the 15-line sonnet in English (Shakespeare writes one, Barnabe Barnes over two dozen)—but the 14-line version which "sonnet" now exclusively designates is standard from the start, in the earliest examples from thirteenth-century Italy and in the first prescriptive definition by George Gascoigne in 1575. The form of course works for all manner of subjects, but even today it keeps the trace of its Petrarchan imprint as the classic form for love poetry, and until the early seventeenth century the love of which it treated repeatedly resembles the love of which Petrarch wrote: hopeless love for an unresponsive object. Petrarch's Laura heads her own monstrous regiment, of "those whose beauties proudly make them cruell" (Shakespeare 1986, Sonnet 131, line 2). Generalized to all womankind, that is the presumption that finds its way into Knox's pamphlet.

One of the major reasons for the popularity of Petrarchism is literary: the reputation that sonneteering acquires as the portal to a career in poetry. The economical rigor of the form itself is part of it: the 14-line grid with its internal divisions inspires remarkable feats of self-referentiality:

> *Pedís, Reyna, un Soneto, y ya le hago;*
> *ya el primer verso y el segundo es hecho;*
> *si el tercero me sale de provecho,*
> *con otro verso el un quarteto os pago…*
> (Diego Hurtado de Mendoza;
> Russell 1898: 3)

> You ask for a sonnet, queen, and here I have it: here the first verse and the second are done.
> If I have luck with the third, I will pay off the quatrain with another …

Russell provides further examples up through the nineteenth century. Billy Collins is still at it at the end of the twentieth: "All we need is fourteen lines, well, thirteen now, / and after this one just a dozen …" (Collins 2002, 146.) The conspicuously poetic language of Petrarch's sequence (a contrast with Dante) and its way with the *concetto*, the complexly elaborated metaphor, also beckon as "training in poetic diction" (Forster 1969, 61–83): callisthenics for both individual talent and the new vernacular literary languages working out their identities. The titles for some sequences—*The Teares of Fancie*, *Wittes Pilgrimage*—indeed hint that the author's real concern is less with his success or failure as a lover than with his development as a poet. But behind the practical needs of learning how to put a memorable short poem together and give it "this *aliquid salis* … some good and fine devise, shewing the quicke capacitie of a writer" (Gascoigne 1969, 1: 465) lies something else, encoded into Petrarch's love poetry in a complex and haunting way. The name of his beloved differs by one letter from *lauro*, the laurel, the classical crown for poetic achievement. The story of the poet's love entwines with that of Daphne, who escaped the god of poetry by being transformed into that plant: frustrated desire recuperated as poetic glory.

Supposedly private experience is here linked to the most public and influential event of Petrarch's life, receiving a literal laurel crown in Rome in 1341. His speech that day is humanism's first public manifesto, the symbolic beginning of the Renaissance as a self-conscious cultural movement. The importance of the moment, Petrarch says, is not the honor bestowed on him, but the restoration, after a thousand years, of a noble tradition of classical civilization, bestowing on literary achievement the same public recognition accorded victorious generals and princes; let it be a spur to others to seek their own glory in the same arena.

Petrarch got details wrong, but as cultural propaganda the event had the desired effect. The ceremony became widespread, usually underwritten by universities; it is still performed in some academic venues. And if the ceremony itself became too commonplace, its crown too promiscuously granted (something like an MFA) to be that much of a prize, that does not compromise the memory of Petrarch's laureation. The laurel in a generalized, metaphorical sense—as a public honor hard-won through literary ambition, even if it has to be self-bestowed (*Self-Crowned Laureates* is the title of one study; Helgerson 1983)—is firmly set as a major factor in literary life. Three centuries after Petrarch the young Milton, receiving his own humanist education at Cambridge, summarizes without embarrassment the heady prospects: "to be the oracle of many nations, to find one's home regarded as a kind of temple, to be a man whom kings and states invite to come to them, whom men from near and far flock to visit, while to others it is a matter of pride if they have but set eyes on him once" (Milton 1953–1982, 1: 297). We can hardly imagine Renaissance (or modern) culture without that ambition. In his public oration Petrarch never mentions Laura or his vernacular poetry, but that implicit disavowal (consistent with the dismissiveness with which Petrarch writes of his Italian poems elsewhere) was of no consequence; the poetry that became so famous glows with the enduring memory of its author's crowning. Imitating that poetry holds out a giddy promise of prestige unlike any other.

Such imitation appears at key moments in English literary history. Chaucer translates *Canzoniere* 132 in *Troilus and Criseyde*, though not into sonnet form. An embedded sonnet can be found in a fifteenth-century Middle English romance (Metham 1999, 43–44), but the earliest free-standing sonnets in English come from the early sixteenth century as part of something more programmatic. Petrarchan sonneteering was approaching the height of its popularity on the Continent when Thomas Wyatt composed at least three dozen surviving sonnets, mostly translations or imitations of particular sonnets of Petrarch's; he also Englished some non-sonnet entries in the *Canzoniere* without attempting to imitate their form. Wyatt's sonnets preserve the standard Italian rhyme scheme for the octave, but configure the sestet so as to end the poem with a couplet (allowable but unusual in Italian). We also have a dozen sonnets, translations and original poems, by the Earl of Surrey, probably following Wyatt's lead. Surrey offers our earliest example of the form—three independent quatrains and a couplet—that comes to be thought of as the standard for an English sonnet. For the first half of the century this material circulated in manuscript, but a decade after Surrey's death the enterprising publisher Richard Tottel secured some of these manuscripts, together with those of other poets, and mined them for an anthology called *Songes and Sonettes* that history remembers as Tottel's Miscellany. Surrey and Wyatt (in that order) come first, their poems of Petrarchan love up front. Tottel boasts of offering his readers "those workes which the ungentle horders up of such treasure have heretofore envied thee," a gift not just to the learned but also to the unlearned, who from reading them may "learne to be more skilfull, and to purge that swinelike grossenesse, that maketh

the swete majerome not to smell to their delight" (Tottel 1966, 1: 2). On this hinge, a world of privileged enjoyment and enlightenment is said to open to anyone who can read, or learn to read. What comes to be called the Elizabethan age begins 17 months later.

With revisions, the anthology is reprinted 10 times by the end of the century. It sets a precedent for lyric miscellanies with more colorful titles (*A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, *The Phoenix Nest*) that become a feature of the Elizabethan literary scene. None of the Petrarchan translations and imitations in Tottel is identified, but Petrarch is named in two anonymous sonnets affirming the supremacy both of his own talent—"Petrarke hed and prince of poets all"—and of the love he had to celebrate: "ther was never Laura more than one, / And her had petrarke for his paragone" (Tottel 1966, 1: 169–170). Petrarch's name and reputation accompany the influence of his poetry, repeatedly invoked to authorize the fame of English poets being held up as models for the present: *Regia Petrarchae carmina Roma probet. / His non inferior patrio sermone Viatus …* ("let Rome approve the kingly poems of Petrarch; Wyatt is not inferior to these in his native language") (Leland 1542, A3^{v}). George Puttenham identifies Wyatt and Surrey as "the two chief lanternes of light to all others that have since employed their pennes upon English Poesie"; they became so by "in all imitating very naturally and studiously their Maister *Francis Petrarcha*" (Puttenham 1936, 62). Poetic ambition has a way of appealing to a lineage reaching back to Petrarch, even when the aspirant isn't sure of being up to it: "Howe shuld I hit in *Chausers* vayn / Or toutche the typ, of *Surries* brayn / Or dip my pen, in *Petrarkes* stiell / Sens conning lak I all the whiell" (Churchyard 1575, 82). Beset by such doubts, Thomas Churchyard versifies and publishes them, and in so doing responds, knowingly or not, to Petrarch's own call to the future in his laureate address.

Simultaneously, Petrarch's name is kept before the reading public by part of his career now largely forgotten: his denunciations of the Avignon papacy. Petrarch's polemics against it in the letters of his *Liber sine Nomine* and four sonnets in the *Canzoniere* (114, 136–138) were generalizable during the Reformation to an attack on the papacy itself. The Roman church did what it could to suppress the offending works; the Avignon sonnets were removed from some printed editions. But in Protestant venues—including Basel, where the 1554 folio of Petrarch's *Omnia Opera* was printed—the story was the reverse. The sonnets and the letters were included in a popular anthology of Reformers *avant la lettre*, and Petrarch was praised in England in the company of Wycliffe, Savonorola, Luther. *Canzoniere* 138 is the most frequently translated of Petrarch's poems there; two translators even turn passages from the prose *Liber sine Nomine* into English verse. To garnish this reputation, a bizarre story gains currency about how Benedict XII tried to seduce Petrarch's otherwise unattested sister. If Petrarch's fame needed any inoculation in the sixteenth century against his Italianate Catholicism, it was at hand.

For a while Petrarch's Protestant reputation if anything outdoes his influence as a love poet. The first sonnet sequence in English is devotional poetry from the Protestant activist Anne Vaughan Lock, a 26-sonnet paraphrase of Psalm 51 accompanying her translation of several sermons of Calvin's (Lock 1560). The secular pay-off to the *Canzoniere* takes longer, though when it comes it is spectacular. Gascoigne, the most ambitious and unaccountable English poet from Elizabeth's earlier years, forthrightly proclaims himself "*Chaucers* boye, and *Petrarks* jorneyman" (Gascoigne 1969, 2: 517); in 1573 he publishes a *corona* of "seven Sonets in sequence" (1: 66) telling a slightly eroticized narrative of his cautionary experience at court. In 1582 Thomas Watson publishes his *Hekatompathia*, a full-dress

Petrarchan sequence, not in sonnets but in an 18-line form, effectively three sestets. One poem translates *Canzoniere* 132, another 134 (with some added lines), and Watson includes samples from what he says is a complete Latin translation of Petrarch's sequence. Notes in the style of annotated editions of the *Canzoniere* draw attention to passages taken from Petrarch and other Renaissance sonneteers (who are themselves often imitating Petrarch). A commendatory sonnet assures the author, "The starr's, which did at *Petrarch's* byrthday raigne, / Were fixt againe at thy nativity" (Watson 1582, ☙3). English literature seems to be working to give birth to something for which it has the ambition but not yet the talent or even a clear concept (there is really no theory for the sonnet sequence—Neely 1978 comes about as close as it is possible to come—just the enigmatic example of the *Canzoniere*). In 1584 John Southern publishes *Pandora*, 13 sonnets interspersed with odes and elegies; it is in places almost illiterate (one theory is that his primary language was French), its laureate overreach an unintended joke:

> Think'st thou it is nothing, to have
> The penne of *Soothern* for thy trumpet.
> Yes, yes, to whome *Soothern* is *Poëte*,
> The honour goes not to the grave.
> (Southern 1584, C3)

Yet even as Southern takes his public pratfall, the real thing has happened in aristocratic privacy.

Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* is composed 1582–1583 for the kind of circulation in manuscript for which Wyatt and Surrey wrote. Sidney was not yet 30, but it is a work of remarkable poetic maturity. It has been hailed as the place where the English iambic pentameter comes into its own, as a secure grid against which the poem's phrasing can confidently push to appropriate effect: "The technical details of the relation of language to the metrical pattern are settled in the form they were for centuries to keep … in poem after poem so fluent that the achievement seems effortless" (Thompson 1961, 139). Sidney is similarly confident with the sonnet form, no longer just trying to figure out how to make it work, but welcoming and exploiting its complexities. He ignores Surrey's modification in the rhyme scheme, which tends to work better in the comparatively rhyme-poor environment of English. Sidney generally keeps the Italian octave and experiments with the sestet, ending most of the time, like Wyatt, with a couplet, but not always. Often the sestet is a couplet followed by a quatrain; other configurations turn up as well. Whether the sonnet ends in a couplet or not, Sidney shows almost unprecedented control of the poem's dramatic arc; you learn to read toward the ending as a place where something will happen: not just a summing up but a clincher, a punchline, a dramatic change of direction. Nothing in *Astrophil and Stella* is a translation or close imitation of any particular poem or passage in Petrarch's sequence or in the body of continental sonneteering that by the 1580s would have been as prominent as Petrarch on Sidney's reading list. Astrophil mentions Petrarch by name in dismissing the crowd of poetasters trying to mimic him: "You that poore *Petrarch's* long deceased woes, / With new-borne sighes and denisend wit do sing" (15.7–8). But the very assurance of Sidney's own poems wins him, with no particular sense of paradox, the title of "our English *Petrarke* … the *Petrarke* of our time" (quoted in Boswell and Braden 2012, 130).

Sidney adopts features of Petrarchism in which his English predecessors had shown little interest, such as the metaphorical blazon of parts of the woman's body: "Queene *Vertue's* court, which some call *Stella's* face, / Prepar'd by Nature's chiefest furniture, / Hath his front built of Alablaster pure …" (9.1–3). But he also manifests Wyatt's discomfort with the emotional weather of Petrarch's sequence, its "drugged or tranced melancholy" (Lewis 1954, 229), the lover's dazed, aestheticized acceptance of his frustration. Sidney is capable of a lyric dreaminess that provides some famous touches—"With how sad steps, ô Moone, thou climb'st the skies …" (31.1)—but within a welter of very different currents: impatience, anger, predatory cunning, something close to derangement. Driving this agitation is an increasingly unguarded sexual desire that Petrarch and many of his followers manifest only in flashes: "What Sidney had done was show the formalized, neatly melancholy, well-banked river of the Continental sonnet-sequence tradition to contain one huge and hungry crocodile" (Kuin 1998, 89). The impatience of the individual poems is gathered up in the impatience of a would-be seducer becoming more reckless and intent as he feels himself nearer his goal; the fourth song is a scene of here-and-now sexual propositioning whose outcome is not made entirely clear. No other sonnet sequence has so strong a narrative line. (It is likely no coincidence that the sequence also has clear ties to real life; Stella is with unusual lack of ambiguity Penelope Devereux, by 1582 the unhappily married Lady Rich.) The outcome is nevertheless a conclusive return to the literary genre from which the story seemingly sought to break out. At the curtain, the lover's frustration has become permanent, his emotional state a now insoluble Petrarchan oxymoron: "in my woes for thee thou art my joy, / And in my joyes for thee my only annoy" (108.13–14).

Sidney's death in 1586 made him a national hero, creating a presumptive interest in anything he had written. His sister the Countess of Pembroke and his lifelong friend Fulke Greville published the three books of his revised *Arcadia* in 1590; possibly uneasy about the crocodile in the river, they did nothing about *Astrophil and Stella*. In 1591 a corrupt text, incongruously introduced by the comic satirist Thomas Nashe, appeared in print, with "sundry other rare Sonnets of divers Noble men and Gentlemen." A somewhat better text, without Nashe and the other poets, was published within the year. A text close to what we now read had to wait until 1598, when it appeared in a collected edition of Sidney's works; but the texts of 1591 were enough to ignite a literary explosion. For the second time in the century an accomplished body of elite poetry became accessible to a general readership, with the extra sonnets in the first quarto a kind of invitation for others to try their hand. Two new sequences were printed in 1592, four in 1593; by 1597 16 had been printed, while others waited in manuscript (for a list, see Spiller 1992, 198–199). The phenomenon was torrential enough to make the genre a popular target of mockery, but new examples continue into the next century; with the accession of James there is a wave of sequences by Scots. The episode rounds off in 1621 with *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* by Sidney's niece Mary Wroth (the first Englishwoman to compose a Petrarchan sonnet sequence, though there are continental precedents). Most of these poets are novices, mindful of the reward written into sonneteering by Petrarch and validated by his own enduring reputation; even a rare anonymous aspirant seeks the company of "Ye moderne Lawreats famousd for your writ," including "*Tuskan Petrarch*" and "high mus'd *Astrophil*" (*Zepheria* 1594, B2–B2^{v}). Sometimes the professional initiation even works. After Samuel Daniel's *Delia* appeared in 1592 (some of it had been in the first quarto of *Astrophil and Stella*) and

Michael Drayton (who claims to have told his childhood tutor, "Make me a Poet, doe it, if you can;" Drayton 1961, 3:226) published *Ideas Mirrour* in 1594, both poets went on to success in other genres and published collected works going through several editions (Wall 1993, 74–93), but also kept their sonnet sequences as works in progress (Drayton's retitled *Idea*), successively revised into the next century. Drayton's most famous poem, now one of the best known Elizabethan sonnets ("Since ther's no helpe, Come let us kisse and part;" Drayton 1961, 2:341), is actually Jacobean: it debuted in the last revision in 1619.

A presumption also seems to develop that even well-established poets should have their sonnet sequence. Spenser is already known for the first three books of his *Faerie Queene* when he publishes his *Amoretti* in 1595. Shakespeare is just shy of retirement when his *Sonnets* mysteriously finds its way into print in 1609. Milton, the age's most self-conscious shaper of his poetic career, includes in his 1645 *Poems* a numbered set of 10 sonnets, five of them, together with a 15-line *canzone*, Petrarchist exercises in Petrarch's own language. In Milton's 1673 *Poems*, issued the year before his death, this becomes the start of a 19-sonnet collection; the care taken about its contents and order is attested by manuscript evidence. He also seems to have seriously thought about the sonnet form itself, not simply continuing established English custom but studying Italian practice with new care (Spiller 1992, 189–193). It is not clear that this care resulted in what could actually be called a sonnet sequence. The opening poem in English, addressing the nightingale, seems to introduce the story of the poet's *education sentimentale*: "Whether the Muse, or Love call thee his mate, / Both them I serve, and of their train am I" (Milton 1966, 3). But after sonnet 6 the sense of unity dissipates in a diversity of subject matter, much of it current events; the topic of love almost disappears. Modern editions of Milton often disperse his sonnets chronologically through his other work. Some have become very well-known poems, but they are generally read and discussed individually. The topical ones do of course have precedent in the *Canzoniere*, notably the Avignon sonnets: Milton partly translates *Canzoniere* 138 in the first of his anti-prelatical tracts (*Of Reformation*, 1641), and in general the Petrarch who interests him is the proto-Protestant polemicist (Serjeantson 2014). Yet there are hints that Petrarchan love poetry may have a shaping influence on his sonnet sequence as well. The sonnet where that sequence takes its turn away from love—"How soon hath Time the suttle theef of youth, / Stoln on his wing my three and twentith yeer" (Milton 1966, 10)—specifies his age as the iconic age at which Petrarch fell in love with Laura. And the sequence does return to love in its last poem, "Methought I saw my late espoused Saint." It is married love—the destination of the *Amoretti* and of William Alexander's *Aurora* (1604)—though married love as loss and estrangement. The explicit comparison is with Alcestis, the implicit allusion to Aeneas' attempt to embrace his vanished wife: "O as to embrace me she enclin'd / I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night" (Milton 1966, 26). But as a sonnet the poem re-enacts one of the familiar moves of Petrarchan love, the rare moment of happiness that turns out to be an insubstantial vision or dream:

> I start, looke, hearke, but what in closde up sence
> Was held, in opend sense it flies away,
> Leaving me nought but wailing eloquence.
> (*Astrophil and Stella* 38.9–11)

Think of this as "probably the last sonnet of the British Renaissance" (Spiller 1992, 196), and the sonnet sequence that Milton placed in his collected works is a knowing farewell to its own tradition.

Every major Western European literature has its episode of Petrarchan sonneteering; England's, slow to start, is extreme in two directions. One of these has to do with the circumstance that so distressed Knox. Other jurisdictions in Renaissance Europe had been ruled by women, but no other country duplicated on such a scale the premise of the Petrarchan sequence: abject subservience to an all-powerful woman. Knox did not even know in 1558 that England's next female monarch would rule for almost 50 years. Her success was aided by the public image she promulgated or inspired; that image naturally drew on the resources of Petrarchist praise, the readiest idiom for praising an impressive woman (Forster 1969, 122–147). But there was more to it than just that. The dynamics of the Renaissance court, whereby the ruler's control of the nation was mediated through never entirely secure favorites, all but ensured that the high-end quest for power in England in the last half of the sixteenth century would mimic Petrarchan courtship: ambitious male courtiers maneuvering for the favor of an, as it happened, resolutely celibate queen. The language in which they did so was often strikingly erotic; and, though we do not know as much about this as we would like to, that language was often deployed in the poetry, addressing the Queen, other women, or each other, that courtiers themselves wrote and deployed as part of the game: a kind of "utilitarian poetics" (May 1991, 103–139). Within this context it has made sense to some critics to see Sidney's own frustrated dealings with Elizabeth as at least the subtext of *Astrophil and Stella*, possibly more. Elizabeth herself—"of any that I know in our time, the most excellent Poet" (Puttenham 1936, 4)—was a player in this game; we have one unambiguous, pointed exchange of matched poems between herself and Ralegh, the best poet in her inner circles, and a haunting personal lyric apparently related to her possible marriage to the French duc d'Alençon: "I am and not; I freese, and yet am burn'd; / Since from myself, my other self I turn'd" (Nichols 1823, 2:346).

At the same time, England was making first moves toward what would eventually be the British Empire, outclassing even Spain's as Spain's was said to outclass that of Rome. That this development coincided with the self-styled enactment at the center of power of the age's signature tradition of love poetry can make us think that we are somehow close here to the inner secret of that age. This is not just a retrospective fancy; among Ralegh's literary remains are glimpses of what might have become the defining epic poem of the Renaissance, a 12- or, depending on how you read the evidence, 22-book lyrical epic on the emotional career of one of the boldest of his Petrarchan lady's imperial agents:

> Shee gave, shee tooke, shee wounded, she appeased.
> The honor of her love, love still devisinge
> woundinge my mind with contrarye consayte
> transferde it sealf sumetyme to her aspiringe
> sumetyme the trumpett of her thoughts retrayt
> To seeke new worlds, for golde, for prayse, for glory,
> to try desire, to try love severed farr
> when I was gonn shee sent her memory
> more stronge then weare tenthowsand shipps of war.
> (Ralegh 1999, 50–51)

He called his poem *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*, and enough survives to suggest its ruling conceit: Ralegh, whom his friend and neighbor Spenser called "the shepherd of the ocean," whose first name was pronounced almost like "water," is here the ocean, the path to England's imperial glory, the tides of whose passion are governed at a distance by the virgin goddess of the moon.

It might have been quite a poem; what we have are manuscript fragments from two books and a strong suspicion that books 1–10 (or 1–20) were never written. Something of its aspirations, though, are shared by Spenser, whose *Faerie Queene* occupies with daunting complexity the berth that was in some sense waiting for a summary epic of Elizabethan civilization. Spenser himself was never a courtier, but he moved on that world's periphery and responded to its mystery; his own sonnet sequence notes that his mother and the woman he is to marry share the same name as his queen. His Faeryland is the Elizabethan court in its Petrarchan fiction: a dozen paladins whose actions are given meaning by their service to a woman we never meet. Even the greater knight whose experiences are said to subsume all the others has seen her just in a dream, her reality attested only by the pressed grass next to him when he awoke. And the endlessly ramifying narrative through which they move is populated at every level by characters driven toward elusive objects perpetually out of reach or out of sight; the very diversity of the huge poem is describable with surprising thoroughness as Petrarchan lyric desire inflecting epic narrative (e.g., Bates 2013, 237–324). That transaction between genres repeats itself more than half a century later, when Milton comes to the writing of his own epic. Elizabeth and her court are by then a memory from another age, but the literature of that age is in the bloodstream. The sonnet form rematerializes in an uncanny way within the blank verse of *Paradise Lost*; the last speech before leaving Eden, from Eve to Adam, is a message of chastened hope taking exactly 14 lines (12.610–613; see Johnson 1973). The epic itself, after some initial indirection, turns out to be a poem about love, specifically married love (as in his sonnet sequence), though before it is done it risks becoming a poem about divorce. In articulating the dynamics of that, it draws in subtle and obvious ways on the legacy of love poetry that Milton inherits from the Elizabethans and their own predecessors; the story of our first parents—courtship, happiness, desecration of that happiness, reconstituted faith—can be read as both a critique of Petrarchan love and a reimagining of its possibilities, to ultimately positive effect (Kerrigan and Braden 1989, 191–218). The Renaissance love lyric in England becomes epic in its scope.

Yet even in this expansiveness, English Petrarchism is extreme in a contrary direction. Some of the manifestations of this have already been touched on, and they all have precedents in continental Petrarchism; it has been commonplace to speak of "anti-Petrarchism" in this connection, though Dubrow argues for plural "counterdiscourses" (Dubrow 1995, 8). Grievances against the woman (or women), disgust with one's own desires, annoyance with fashion and the pretensions of rivals, all are readily generated by the kind of frustration Petrarch writes about, and in varying measures give the works of his inheritors their individual character. Some of them, though, find their way to harsher territory, a bleakness beyond mockery. They are anticipated by Petrarch himself, who at a key turn in his sequence gives voice to "altro lagrimar ch' i' non soleva" ("a weeping different from my accustomed one") (Durling 1976, *Canzoniere* 264.4), prompted not by despair at failing to win Laura's love but by a cold fear ("'l cor via più freddo / de la paura che gelata

neve"; 127–128) that his entire project of love and poetry, Laura and *lauro*, is a horrifying addiction that puts his soul in mortal peril even as he is unable to stop: "veggio 'l meglio et al peggior m'appiglio" ("I see the better but I lay hold on the worse") (264.136). If we believe the poetry, he recovers in the last poems in the sequence, where he writes of his love firmly in the past tense and turns to the Virgin Mary. Readers are often unconvinced by that ending, and have a way of not even remembering it, but the fear behind it has a searing power beyond that of the love poems. Its like turns up rarely in the tradition, but we may remember it when we encounter the extraordinary devastation to which some English poets come. *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia* in fact gestures only briefly toward the grandiose ambitions which might have been the subject of its missing books; the 544 lines now before us are an unrelenting enactment of the systematic abjection of its speaker, undone amid the ruined landscape of his poetry:

> my loves wounds, my fancy in the hearse,
> the Idea but restinge, of a wasted minde,
> the blossumes fallen, the sapp gon from the tree.
> the broken monuments of my great desires,
> from thes so lost what may th'affections bee,
> what heat in Cynders of extinguisht fiers?
> (Ralegh 1999, 49;
> see Bates 2007, 136–173)

This is where those ambitions end.

And what is now the period's best known sonnet sequence, for all its confusing diversity, accumulates as it goes a narrative of imaginative overreach which builds slowly but whose end is swift and harrowing. Shakespeare's linked ideals of enduring love and poetry are lofty and confidently voiced: "love is not love / Which alters when it alteration findes" (116.2–3); "Not marble, nor the guilded monuments, / Of Princes shall out-live this powrefull rime" (55.1–2). But as we read it becomes more and more evident that making good on these ideals requires making excuses for a beloved who repeatedly betrays expectations. For that excusing the resources of poetry are the best there is—"Roses have thornes, and silver fountaines mud" (35.2)—though the more the poet employs them, the more he has to acknowledge the mendacity of what he is doing: "All men make faults, and even I in this, / Authorizing thy trespas with compare" (35.5). For a hundred or so sonnets, apparently about love for a young man, this more or less works, though it gets harder. But in the last two dozen, we are suddenly dealing with a woman. She occasions the period's most famous disavowal of Petrarchism—"My Mistres eyes are nothing like the Sunne" (130.1)—but it is comparatively light-hearted, and affectionate toward the woman herself in her unglamorous earthiness. In the next poem, though, the tone has fatally changed—"In nothing art thou blacke save in thy deeds" (131.13)—and the rest of the sequence is an escalatingly panicky attempt to save appearances—"Let me excuse thee …" (139.9)—as the poet is shaken by a sense of self-destructiveness run out of control: "My love is as a feaver longing still, / For that which longer nurseth the disease …" (147.1–2). The conclusion is that the love that has so possessed him is a self-willed lie; in the starkest moment of reflexivity even his loathing of the woman who

still arouses him wavers in the glare of his self-reproach: "But love hate on for now I know thy minde, / Those that can see thou lov'st, and I am blind" (149.13–14). She at least has the self-respect not to love a lie, a self-respect of which he divested himself long ago. She is right not to love someone like that.

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Note on Further Reading

For overviews of Petrarchism, see Forster (1969) and Braden (1999b). For overviews of English Renaissance sonneteering, see Lever (1974), Neely (1978), and Spiller (1992). Wall (1993, 23–109), Dubrow (1995) and Kuin (1998) provide sophisticated specialized attention. On laureate ambition generally in England, see Helgerson (1983). Printed documentation of Petrarch's fame is collected in Boswell and Braden (2012). On Petrarchism in Wyatt and Shakespeare, see Braden (1999a, 2004). May (1991) gathers information on the poets in Elizabeth's court, plus texts of the less accessible poems. Marotti (1982) and Jones and Stallybrass (1984) are especially influential studies of the possible political content of this poetry. The representation of Elizabeth, Petrarchist and otherwise, has received extensive attention. Forster's chapter remains basic; much of subsequent discussion is assimilated in Montrose (2006).

19
Wyatt and Surrey: Songs and Sonnets

Chris Stamatakis

Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Henrician courtiers writing in the 1530s and 1540s, have been hailed as key poetic voices in early Tudor literary culture. Restored to critical prominence in the second half of the twentieth century, they achieved almost immediate acclaim at the hands of their earliest commentators as lyric innovators. George Puttenham, at the vanguard of sixteenth-century vernacular criticism, celebrated their primacy. As the defining members of a "new company of courtly makers" that emerged toward the end of Henry VIII's reign, Wyatt and Surrey are laureated as the "two chieftaines, who hauing trauailed into Italie, and [...] greatly pollished our rude & homely maner of vulgar Poesie [...] may iustly be sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile"—the two chief models for aftercoming poets—for, he claims in uncompromising terms, "all others that haue since employed their pennes vpon English Poesie" (Puttenham 1589, 48–50). Ben Jonson, not notably a generous literary critic, praised Wyatt and Surrey in his commonplace book, *Discoveries* (*c.*1623–1633), as poets "for their times admirable: and the more, because they began Eloquence with us," again positioning them at the starting point of early modern English literary history (Jonson 1947, 591). And Michael Drayton cemented their mastery of the paired poetic forms with which they have become synonymous, "songs and sonnets," as if they single-handedly initiated that vernacular lyric tradition in early modern England: with Sir Francis Bryan, Wyatt and Surrey are accounted "That times best makers, and the authors ... / Of those small Poems, which the title beare, / Of songs and sonnets" (Drayton 1631, 291).

Yet recent scholarship on the early modern lyric has usefully complicated this narrative. Among other things, it has argued for the need to historicize verse form more precisely (Scott-Baumann and Burton 2014); demonstrated the importance of tracing continuities with, rather than a decisive break from, medieval literary traditions (Cummings and Simpson 2010); and urged renewed attention to the role played by the material conditions

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of transmission in constructing a poem's meanings across its manuscript and print embodiments (Marotti 1995; Powell 2009). These recent critical developments have recast sixteenth-century lyric poetry as a body of literature whose very definition is fluid and evolving; as writing that looks backwards as much as it does forwards or sideways; as verse subject to unexpected influences, native and anterior no less than continental and contemporary; and as written artifacts whose meanings are shaped by the material forms those poems take on the page. This essay, paying attention to lyric poetry's appearance on the page and its intertextual embedment, hopes to build on these recent critical departures in order to suggest that the lyric verse of Wyatt and Surrey is inherently oriented toward the recollection of a literary past.

Little Sounds and Little Rooms

Wyatt and Surrey are readily credited with a flurry of poetic innovations. Wyatt imports the sonnet, the *strambotto* (an ottava rima epigram rhyming *abababcc*), and terza rima; and Surrey stabilizes iambic pentameter, refines the sonnet's rhyme scheme, and invents blank verse. Writing *avant la lettre*, they composed their verse in a poetic culture that preceded the formal literary criticism and vernacular poetics that would emerge only 30 or so years later from the likes of George Puttenham, George Gascoigne, and Sir Philip Sidney. The term "lyric," though used retrospectively to describe Wyatt's and Surrey's poetry, postdates their writing. Sidney, whose *Defence of Poesie* is among the first works of formal literary criticism in English (*c.*1580), finds "in the Earle of *Surreis Lirickes,* manie thinges tasting of a Noble birth" (Sidney 1595, H3v); and William Scott, Wyatt's great-grandson, fondly recalls the example of "Sir Tho. Wyat in his Lyricks" (Scott 1599, 16). Even the nomenclature "sonnet," foregrounded in the title of Richard Tottel's epoch-defining print miscellany of early Tudor and mid-century lyric verse, *Songes and sonettes* (1557), was still very much a vogue term in English, perhaps only a decade old. Henry Parker's *Tryumphes* (a translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*) seems to offer the first instance of "sonnet" in print (Parker 1555). A lost manuscript of this work backdates this usage to some time during the final years of the reign of Henry VIII (1491–1547), to whom the original translation was given, and so the tag "sonnet" was perhaps only coming into circulation in the late 1540s. Even after it became more established, "sonnet" was used loosely and indiscriminately, not just for the traditional 14-line form divided into quatrains and tercets: George Gascoigne grumpily remarked that "some thinke that all Poemes (being short) may be called Sonets" (Gascoigne 1575, 298).

While the terms "lyric" and "sonnet" seem to have been largely unavailable to them, early Tudor poets and readers deployed instead a number of terms—ditty, ballade (or balet), song—which look backwards to pre-existing classifications from late medieval literary culture and which also assert something of the musicality and orality implicit in that later category, "lyric." Wyatt's speakers typically refer to their utterances as "songs," perhaps to be accompanied by lute, as invitingly suggested by his refrain-song beginning "My lute awake." Another of Wyatt's stanzaic poems bluntly opens, "Marvaill no more all tho / the songes I syng do mone," just as Surrey's terza rima poem "The sonne hath twyse" identifies itself as "this carefull song" (line 50). When Wyatt's and Surrey's lyrics are first

printed en masse (posthumously) in 1557, Richard Tottel and the compilers of this foundational anthology gathered their poems under the banner of *Songes and sonettes*, a title announcing in that avant-garde term "sonnet" this form's oral leanings (from the Italian *sonetto*, a diminutive of *suono*, a "little sound"). Even in its print incarnation, their poetry insists on its orality and musicality, and at times acknowledges its insubstantial airiness. In one of Wyatt's ballades, the speaker invites his audience not only to hear but also to collaborate: "Resownde my voyce ye woodes, that heare me plaine: / Both hilles and vales causyng reflexion" (lines 1–2). Similarly, the female speaker of Surrey's stanzaic poem "O Happy dames" pleads with her listeners to fortify her song lest it disappear into thin air: "Good Ladies, help to fill my moorning voyce" (line 7).

Yet while aspiring to the condition of music or allying itself with air and sound, this poetry also insists on articulating itself in physical forms and seems just as aware of its written materiality. In Tottel's *Songes and sonettes*, the address to the reader prefacing the collection celebrates Wyatt and Surrey for having "wel written in verse, yea & in small parcelles," the term "parcel" here placing emphasis on the lyric poem as a self-contained, tightly-bound artifact defined by its material casing (Howard and Wyatt 1557, A1v). As a "parcel," lyric form renders the otherwise intangible tangible by containing and framing it: making the word flesh, or at least giving airy words poetic form. Another term used to describe lyric poems as fashioned things is "device." This term, whose meanings range from "heraldic emblem" to poetic "invention," draws attention to the manner in which the artifact has been "framed."[1] Where "song" insists on the lyric being heard, "device" insists on it being seen. Sir John Cheke's lament for Surrey recalls how Surrey's "skilfull pen[n] in hand" would "paynt the wittes device" (Arundel-Harington Manuscript, 206v). This writerly and painterly aesthetic insists on Surrey's poems being somehow visualized. Likewise, Wyatt's sonnet beginning "Eche man me telleth" seems to proffer itself as the "device" mentioned in its opening line:

Eche man me telleth I chaunge moost my devise
  and on my faith me thinck it goode reason
  to chaunge propose like after the season
  ffor in every cas to kepe still oon gyse
ys mytt for theim that would be taken wyse
  and I ame not of suche maner condition
  but treted after a dyvers fasshion
  and therupon my dyvernes doeth rise
but you that blame this dyvernes moost
  chaunge you no more but still after oon rate
  trete ye me well & kepe ye in thesame state
  And while with me doeth dwell this weried goost
  my word nor I shall not be variable
  but alwaies oon your owne boeth ferme & stable
(Egerton MS, London, British Library,
MS Egerton 2711, 11v)

While the speaker, in the last line, unconvincingly pretends to keep his word "ferme & stable," this poem playfully reflects on its own instability and its transgressions of form: its

hypermetric final lines, feminine rhymes, and self-conscious "dyvernes," a term and its cognates used three times in quick succession around, fittingly, the *volta*, the turning point between octave and sestet. Wyatt may well be playing on the Old French etymology of "device" as something "divided" (from the verb *deviser*, "to dispose in portions"), as if the sonnetic division into quatrains and tercets is the defining quality of this type of poem. In the manuscript, these divisions are represented visually, through functional indentation: the hanging indents (in lines 1, 5, and 9) announce the sonnet's structural subdivisions into quatrain, quatrain, and sestet. This spatial arrangement, this *mise en page*, can of course only be seen rather than heard, and here Wyatt may well be expressly following the typographic presentation of Petrarch's sonnets in the edition (by Alessandro Vellutello) that he most likely owned, in which the opening line of each quatrain is reverse-indented in just this way (Petrarch 1525).

As both "song" and "parcel" or "device," Wyatt's and Surrey's poetry appears wonderfully indeterminate, unsure whether it is disembodied sound (spoken or sung), or a material form (held, read, and seen), or perhaps both. In this sense, the early Tudor lyric participates in two media at once, a duality announced in Wyatt's sonnet "The piller pearisht," whose speaker invokes, jointly, "My penne in playnt, my voyce in wofull crye" (line 11). This tension, between the intangibility of sound and the material, spatial confines of written form, might be traced back to the several titles traditionally attached to Petrarch's poems: first, *Canzoniere* ("Song book"), approximating lyric poetry to music; second, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* ("Pieces written in the vernacular"), this Latin manuscript title venturing a collection of written fragments; and third, *Rime sparse* ("scattered rhymes"), a tag deriving from the opening line of the collection's first sonnet, "Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono" ("You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound"), as if these lyric poems are both physical objects that can be strewn and immaterial rhymes that must be heard. In the lyrics of Wyatt and Surrey—who crucially, unlike their continental contemporaries and native successors, did not write coherent sonnet sequences and did not apparently intend their songs and sonnets to form coherent narratives—there seems to be a continual tension between two conditions: between intangible sound and material form. In the ongoing tussle between orality and spatial enclosure, attempts at confining sound are countered by the threat of sound relinquishing or unbinding its physical containment.

It has become conventional to approach the lyrics of Wyatt and Surrey as poems of enclosure, withdrawal, and interiority. "The early Tudor period is," Colin Burrow remarks, "often associated with the rise of interiority or inwardness in the lyric" (Burrow 1999, 815), and Patrick Cheney has spoken of both Surrey's "Petrarchan solitude" and Wyatt's "commitment to the poet's withdrawal from the public world," especially "into the erotic privacy of the bedroom in the Petrarchan lyrics" (Cheney 2011, 134, 127). No less well-trodden in recent scholarship is the critical maneuver that exposes this withdrawal to an intimate space as, at best, a *performance* of privacy. Patricia Fumerton has discussed the difficulty of achieving privacy that is separate from public display, arguing that while Elizabethan love sonnets attempt to fashion a private space for the self, absolute privacy remains elusive, a private room forever beyond the series of public rooms which gesture toward it (Fumerton 1991). Likewise Colin Burrow, distinguishing between the "presence" chamber and "privy" chamber in Tudor palaces, demonstrates how the former connotes

public display whereas "retreat into the privy chamber stages a performance of intimacy" (Burrow 2010, 469). With self-conscious posturing, Wyatt's and Surrey's speakers often withdraw to such private chambers. "So do I seke some secrete place where I may make my mone," announces the speaker of Surrey's poulter's measure poem, "If care do cause men cry" (line 18), in just such a pose of private, even solipsistic, expression. This poetics of enclosure and performed inwardness might be linked to historical changes over the sixteenth century in the definition of the household. Building on David Starkey's claim that the literature of early Tudor England belongs to "the Age of the Household," Burrow argues persuasively that, rather than dwelling on the royal household, we should "open our ears to moments when other households are speaking" (Burrow 2010, 463–464). Answering this call, we might look for this private, intimate space, this alternative to the obsessive dominance of the Tudor court, in the resources of lyric verse itself.

The conceit of verse form as a type of room is well established in the sixteenth century. Architecture and poetics are often intertwined in continental and English theorizing. Wyatt and Surrey may have known works of Italian critical theory, such as Giangiorgio Trissino's *La Poetica* (1529), which describes the sonnet in architectural terms: Trissino likens the sonnet's two quatrains to "bases" (*Base*) on which to erect the rest of the sonnetic edifice (Trissino 1529, 37). So too George Gascoigne discusses the need to "grounde" any "delectable poeme" upon "some fine inuention" (Gascoigne 1575, 291), and George Puttenham elaborates on these architectural associations: "there is a band," he claims, "to be giuen euery verse in a staffe, so as none fall out alone or vncoupled … euen as ye see in buildings of stone or bricke" (Puttenham 1589, 73).

This branch of sixteenth-century nomenclature argues for poetry's material form and structures, linking lyric forms to the confines of privy chambers. Where the Italian etymology of "sonnet" likens the lyric to a "little sound," the root sense of the Italian word *stanza* (a "little room") announces something much more tangible: lyric verse, it implies, can be considered a physical space, a material structure seen rather than something heard. The conceit of the poem-as-room is given perhaps its most succinct and audacious expression by John Donne, whose "The Canonization" announces an intention to "build in sonnets pretty roomes" (Donne 1633, 203). More directly relevant to Wyatt, William Scott (his great-grandson), in his literary-critical treatise *The Modell of Poesye*, conceives of the various subdivisions of poetry in architectural terms: "Thus I hope I haue leade you into all the seuerall roomes of Poetrye," he reflects, before embarking on his next section with the invitation a few lines later, "Thus let vs come to discribe the furniture of Poesy" (Scott 1599, 16^{v}), as if enumerating the moveable household stuff that gives character to each room.

Verse Form and Memory

If poems are conceived of, at some deep structural level, as rooms, then perhaps we can think of the retreat inwards as a retreat into the pretty rooms of sonnets and into the enclosures of lyric forms. The idea is nascent in the terminology used by Wyatt and Surrey themselves, who play on the term "place." Wyatt (and probably Surrey) would have come across the term "stanza" as used formally in the marginal glosses of Vellutello's edition of Petrarch, and, if so, would probably have understood the word in its etymological sense, as

not simply a "room" but specifically a "resting place." As Puttenham remarks later in the century, "[t]he Italian called it *Stanza*, as if we should say a resting place" (1589, 54). This derivation perhaps also lies behind Wyatt's strophic song beginning "The restfull place":

> The restfull place Revyver of my smarte
> the labors salve incressyng my sorow
> the bodys ese and trobler off my hart
> quieter of mynd and my vnquyet foo
> fforgetter of payn Remembryng of my woo
> the place of slepe wherin I do but wake
> Be sprent with teres my bed I the forsake
> (Devonshire MS, London, British Library,
> MS Additional 17492, 18)

This opening stanza is ambiguous in its reference. On a first reading, it seems to address not just an imagined physical object (the speaker's bed, later announced in line 7), but also the lyric form itself—the stanza as a longed-for resting place of lyric utterance. Puttenham explicitly cites this poem as an example of what he calls "the [*long loose*]" whereby meaning is withheld until the end of the sentence or stanza (Puttenham 1589, 146–147). In this opening stanza, Wyatt recalls Petrarch's sonnet beginning "*O cameretta*" (*Rime* 234). Wyatt's first line effectively condenses the first quatrain of Petrarch's sonnet, the focus of which is the "*cameretta*" ("little room"), and not the "*letticciuol*" ("little bed") of Petrarch's next quatrain. So Wyatt's "restful place" seems to invoke, in the first instance, a little room, perhaps even the little room or stanza of this poem itself. Importantly, Wyatt departs from his Petrarchan model to introduce the idea of resurgent memory: where Petrarch's speaker flees both "*me stesso e 'l mio pensero*" ("myself and my thoughts," line 10), Wyatt's poem, by contrast, cannot dispense with memory, since this supposedly restful place is disturbed by the "Remembryng" of woe and the "Revyv[ing]" of smart. It is a room haunted by memory, not least this buried memory of Petrarch's poem.

When Wyatt and Surrey use the word "place," the term often gestures toward poetic form itself and carries these connotations of a space disturbed by unruly memories. In their poetry, "place" conveys not only topographic locations and architectural spaces, but also literary commonplaces (the Aristotelian notion of the *topos*, or verbal "place") and poetic forms inscribed with memorial or intertextual traces. An important movement in many of these lyrics, and one consonant with the aforementioned withdrawal inwards, is staged as a shift from an external, physical place, to an internal, memorial one. Surrey's terza rima poem beginning "The sonne hath twyse brought forthe" illustrates this pattern. Its speaker retreats from a physical place into the troubled terrain of memory. Around the middle of the poem, the speaker confides,

> I wish for night, more couertly to playn,
> And me withdraw from euery haunted place,
> Lest by my chere my chance appere to playn:
> And in my minde I measure pace by pace,
> To seke the place where I my self had lost
> (Howard and Wyatt 1557, A2–A2v)

Places here, whether physical, mental, or intertextual, are "haunted" in the original sense of being over-frequented, or over-determined. The physical topography of external places ("euery haunted place") gives way to the interior architecture of memory ("my minde"), a space in which the self might be lost, forgotten, perhaps also retrieved through recollection. Surrey here transforms what was an actual journey in his Petrarchan source, *Rime* 35, into a mental, memorial one. That the "place" sought by Surrey's speaker is a stanzaic one is suggested by the activity of "measur[ing] pace by pace," as if measuring out the dimensions of a small lyric room or measuring in the sense of metering, of writing metrical verse; and that the place is also an intertextual one is suggested by the tangled thicket of allusions that surface in these lines. This poem reframes several borrowed fragments from Petrarch: besides *Rime* 35, the line "the place where I my self had lost" recalls Petrarch's *Rime* 175, whose opening lines translate as "When I remember the time and the place where I lost myself" (*Quando mi vène inanzi il tempo e 'l loco / Ov'i' perdei me stesso*).

What looks like a poetry of inwardness, where estranged speakers withdraw to enclosed spaces, is also a poetry that negotiates various types of memory. If early Tudor verse is a poetry of introspection, it is also a poetry of retrospection. That lyric poetry should be so invested in memory is hardly surprising. Memory, the fourth of the five parts of rhetoric, was central to early Tudor literary and pedagogic culture. In the prefatory address of Thomas Becon's *New Pollecye of Warre*, dedicated to none other than Wyatt himself, Becon celebrates his upbringing, having "bene trayned vp from my cradles in the court of Lady Mnemosyne [Memory] & her doughters [the Muses]" (Becon 1542, B3v–B4). A specific confluence between memory and "place" is found in the tradition, still active in the sixteenth century, of the art of memory—the *ars memoriae*—a technique of artificial improvement of the memory's retentive capabilities founded on the idea of *loci* (the Latin term for "places"). On the authority of Cicero, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Quintilian, practitioners of this technique taught the memory to store and recall traces by imagining an architectural structure, like a building, and locating each idea or part of a speech in a particular feature, such as an archway (Yates 1966, 129–159; Carruthers 2008, 71–79). In Sidney's formulation, verse form itself is likened to a structured thesaurus or memorial storeroom:

> they that haue taught the Art of memory, haue shewed nothing so apt for it, as a certain roome diuided into many places, well & throughly knowne: Now that hath the verse in effect perfectly, euerie word hauing his natural seat, which seat must needs make the word remembred. (Sidney 1595, F4)

Here, memory resembles a well-ordered room, and verse becomes a well-ordered arrangement of words in their rightful position. From these correspondences between memory as a room and verse form as a room, the possibility emerges of regarding lyric form as a container for memory.

The attempt to give shape to memory is implicit in Surrey's elegiac poem, "So crewell prison." Ostensibly written when Surrey was imprisoned in Windsor Castle for striking a courtier in the precincts of the court, this elegy laments both Surrey's imprisonment at Windsor and also the "greater greif" of the death of his adolescent companion, Henry

Fitzroy (1519–1536), the Duke of Richmond and Henry VIII's illegitimate son, with whom the young Surrey played at Windsor. This poem shifts from external, architectural places to internal, memorial ones, and is structured as a series of memorial divisions—an inventory of successive quatrains cataloguing each physical location which in turn prompts the recollection of a paradise lost: "The statelye sales" (line 9); "The palme playe" (line 13); "The graveld ground" (line 17); "The secret groves" (line 25); "The wyld forest" (line 29); "The voyd walles" (line 33); and finally "The secret thoughtes" (line 37), an internal, memorial room. This litany of places—a tenseless list, lacking a main verb—was referred to by the Greek term *paradeigma*, invoking, in its root sense, a "pattern" or "model," returning us once more to the realm of architecture.

Yet while each place and each quatrain strives to contain or frame some recollected memory, the process is haunted by resurgent, troubling, intertextual echoes. From the opening quatrain,

> So crewell prison howe could betyde alas
> as prowde wyndsour, where I in lust and ioye
> with a kinges soon my childishe yeres did passe
> in greater feast then Priams sonnes of Troye
> (Park-Hill MS, London, British Library,
> MS Additional 36529, 51–51v)

we shift promptly from personal memory (lines 2–3) to intertextual memory (line 4), in a scarcely felicitous allusion to the doomed Troy. The poem is laced with literary borrowings. The line "O place of blys renewer of my woos" (line 45) recalls Wyatt's aforementioned song, beginning (in the Egerton Manuscript copy) "O restfull place: reneewer of my smart," and Surrey reaches back beyond Wyatt to Chaucer's Trojan masterpiece, *Troilus and Criseyde*, here invoking Troilus' address to Criseyde's now empty house:

> O paleis, whilom crowne of houses alle,
> Enlumyned with sonne of alle blisse!
> O ryng, fro which the ruby is out falle,
> O cause of wo, that cause hast been of lisse!
> (Benson 1988, *Troilus and Criseyde*,
> V.547–550)

Indeed, the whole poem, especially those moments of disjunction between a place's past joy and present sorrow, "Where eche swete place retornes a tast full sowre" (line 5), echoes Troilus's pained recollections as he surveys the joyless architecture of his former haunts: "And every thyng com hym to remembraunce / As he rood forby places of the town / In which he whilom hadde al his plesaunce" (Benson 1988, *Troilus and Criseyde*, V.562–564). Those twin conditions of early Tudor lyric—orality and spatial enclosure—seem particularly activated here, as the architecture of Surrey's verse resounds with literary echoes. Where the Park-Hill Manuscript (fols. 51–51v) gives the reading "eache alas that dothe my sorowe rewe" (line 49), the text printed in Tottel's *Songes and sonettes* reads "Eccho (alas)

that dothe my sorow rewe." The term "Eccho" perhaps connotes something consciously intertextual, a voice from the past reanimating the already haunted verse of the present. If, as Andrew Hiscock suggests, "memory is one of the instruments that Surrey most frequently deploys, it is ultimately shown to be profoundly insecure and ungovernable" (Hiscock 2011, 63).

Broken Pillars and Void Spaces

Both Wyatt and Surrey flirt with images of architectural disintegration, and test the limits of poetic form, exposing the fault lines that lie within seemingly well-wrought urns or neatly framed "parcelles." Surrey is repeatedly drawn to images of structural entropy, especially in what Mary Thomas Crane identifies as the inherently unstable genre of amatory-courtly lyric (Crane 1993, 153). In Surrey's "O lothsome place," for instance, the speaker wearily concedes that the "desert place" in which he finds himself has taught him that he is "not the furst / That love hath set aloft / And casten in the dust" (lines 33–40). Likewise, Wyatt develops the association between architectural collapse and the unquietness of the speaker's mind in the opening lines of a sonnet traditionally read in connection with the fall of Wyatt's patron, Thomas Cromwell, and based on Petrarch's *Rime* 269:

> The piller pearisht is whearto I lent
> the strongest staye of myne vnquyet mynde
> (Arundel-Harington MS,
> Arundel, Arundel Castle, 60v)

This image, deriving from Petrarch's *Rime* 269, is later recalled in the famous portrait that Surrey commissioned circa 1546 (see Figure 19.1). Here, Surrey adopts the conventional pose of the meditating individual supported by a broken pillar, an emblem of endurance, just as the Latin motto, "SAT SVPER EST" ("Enough remains") suggests that enough from the ruins of the past, perhaps the ruins of memory, survives to afford a physical prop. Yet the same image of Petrarch's broken column, as Burrow notes, is a "traditional emblem of despair," and in Wyatt's sonnet here "becomes an image of physical and mental collapse" (Burrow 1999, 810). Architectural props fragment, and the speaker's mind loses its form. The poem-as-room collapses, just as any hint of the poem as a prop for the speaker—an association implied later in the century in Puttenham's description of a stanza as a "staffe … for that we vnderstand it for a bearer or supporter of a song or ballad, not vnlike the old weake bodie, that is stayed vp by his staffe" (Puttenham 1589, 54)—is shown in the very opening line of Wyatt's sonnet to be decidedly illusory.[2]

Longer songs, not just short sonnets, are also subject to this threat of collapse. Wyatt's *canzone* beginning "Myne olde dere Enmye," one of only two poems (along with this sonnet "The piller pearisht") inspired by the "*in morte*" section of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, demonstrates how the edifice of the speaker's mind is not always a place of rest, but rather susceptible to destabilizing processes. The mind is here presented as a building that seems to

Figure 19.1 Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, *c.*1546, attrib. to William Scrots. Reproduced with permission of National Portrait Gallery, London.

offer "rest" but which is finally undermined by "error." In the fourth stanza, the dispirited speaker, in his forensic assault on Love personified, laments that

> … where I had my thought & mynde ataced
> from all erthely frailnes & vain pleasur
> he toke me from rest and set me in errour
> (Egerton MS, London, British Library,
> MS Egerton 2711, 8, lines 26–28)

Wyatt's departures from his Petrarchan source (*Rime* 360) are notable. Wyatt introduces the faculty of the speaker's "mynde," specifically, to Petrarch's hazier description of a desire to "raise myself high above earth" (*era / disposto a sollevarmi alto da terra*, lines 28–29); and he also transforms Petrarch's binary of "peace" and "war" ("he took me from peace and placed me in war," *mi tolse di pace et pose in guerra*, line 30) into the more striking pairing of

"rest" and "errour." Invoking the long-sought ideal of the "Quyete of mynde" (to quote the title of Wyatt's prose translation of Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi*), Wyatt's introduction of the keywords "mynde" and "rest" here merely reveals how unattained that state of equanimity is. The raising up of a sturdy, stable mental edifice is thwarted by restlessness and error. The variant reading for line 26, in both Tottel's *Songes and sonettes* and the Arundel-Harington Manuscript, "where I had my thought, and mynde araced," ventures a wry pun, since "araced" connotes both the raising up of a building ("araised"), the razing or erasing of an architectural structure ("erased"), and the unrooting of something set in the earth ("araced"). Any attempted raising up of an edifice is inseparable from its own undoing. If the mind is a building here, it is one vulnerable to collapse.

Architectural failure is witnessed not only in the image systems deployed by these lyrics, but also in their verse form itself. Especially in Wyatt's verse, but occasionally in Surrey's too, syllables spill out beyond the confines of the verse line and mutinous units of thought do not coincide with units of verse. For instance, Surrey's sonnet "When Windesor walles sustained my wearied arme" (Park-Hill MS, London, British Library, MS Additional 36529, 55) frustrates any expectation that syntactic units will fit neatly within verse lines as self-contained, end-stopped clauses. Here and elsewhere, the final sestet of their sonnets shows a dissonance between the favored *structural* division into quatrain and couplet (with a rhyme scheme typically *cddcee* in Wyatt's case and *efefgg* in Surrey's) and the *syntactic* division into two tercets (one sentence per tercet, a Petrarchan reminiscence). In both poets, this failure of poetic architecture to contain syntax, to house memory safely, or to secure the mind increasingly suggests a failure of poetic form.

Perhaps most starkly, Wyatt's *strambotto* "I lede a liff / vnpleasant," which constantly counterpoints present misery with the memory of former joy, illustrates this precarious interplay of verse form, memory, and verbal contents. An enigmatic, baffling poem—one that announces its orality as a "song" but whose loaded *mise en page* demands that it be read—has forced editors into wanton revisions as they try to force the lines into sense. It comes as scant consolation that the poem is penned by the erratic and incompetent scribe "Hand C."

> I lede a liff / vnpleasant/ nothing glad /
> Crye/ and complaynt offerre voydes Ioyfullnesse
> so chaungethe re vnrest / that nought shall fade
> payne and dyspyte hathe Altered plesantnes
> ago / long / synnys / that she hathe truly / made /
> dysdayne/ for trowght/ sett lyght yn stedfastnes
> I haue cause goode to syng this song
> playne or reioyse / who felythe / wele / or wrong
> (Egerton MS, London, British Library,
> MS Egerton 2711, 62)

Readers have long registered Wyatt's habit of putting key words ("truth, liberty, virtue") under duress, placing them at "points of emotional, rhetorical, and even metrical tension" (Greene 2011, 47). Colin Burrow, arguing that Wyatt is as much an inheritor of medieval literary practice as an innovator of early modern poetry, suggests that Wyatt distinctly emulates Chaucer's habit of unpicking "the range and complexity of key terms" within the

"brief compass of a lyric" (Burrow 1999, 810). This poem's litany of virgules (/), versatile punctuation marks of variable force that serve as both syntactic and prosodic dividers, complicates rather than resolves the poem's meter, and obfuscates rather than clarifies the relationship between its central terms. Adjectives ("vnpleasant/") are visually hived off from the nouns ("liff/") they are supposed to qualify, and keywords like "trowght/" (an ambivalent orthography connoting both "truth" and "troth") remain unclearly defined in relation to the words ("dysdayne/") that adjoin and displace them.

This poem's "key terms" remain fluid, as does its form. Feminine rhyme-words (a Wyattian favorite) dangle uneasily, unresolved, at the ends of lines; "plesantnes" becomes "payne" (line 4); and "stedfastnes" is made "lyght" (line 6). Visually, this uncertainty about the status of words is, in this manuscript copy at least, delightfully conveyed by Wyatt's later interlineation in the scribal text in line 3: Wyatt places the incomplete word "re" above the unerased word "vnrest," suggesting perhaps that "rest" and "unrest" are not ossified opposites at this point but strangely interchangeable. The poem wrestles with its own confines, in an inconclusive struggle between lyric utterance and the form that tries to contain it. While it is not unusual for Wyatt to transgress any tacit metrical norm of 10 syllables per line—George Puttenham perceptively remarked that any "sillable superfluous" was probably "of purpose" (Puttenham 1589, 108)—the form here is fluid at best: metrically, it is only loosely decasyllabic (the penultimate line offers just eight, bald monosyllables), and feet are wantonly reversed (lines 2, 4, and 8 begin with trochees rather than iambs). One reason perhaps why this form, the *strambotto*, especially appealed to Wyatt may lie in the word's etymology: deriving from the Italian *strambo* ("odd, eccentric, outlandish"), the term *strambotto* foregrounds the form's irregularity and caprice.

Wyatt both dwells on and demonstrates the fragility of spatial confines in this poem. However we interpret line 2, "Cry and complaint offer voydes Ioyfullnesse"—whether we take "voydes" as a verb or a noun, and whether we read "offerre" as a verb or an adverb ("afar")—the word "voyde" not only connotes "nullifying" but also perhaps gestures to a spatial aesthetic, to the activity of emptying a room (in the verb's root sense of "rendering unoccupied", from the Latin *vocitare*, "to make empty").[3] The resonance is also latent in Surrey's aforementioned image, from his poem "So crewell prison," of "The voyd walles." Perhaps this mysterious second line in Wyatt's *strambotto* suggests that lyric utterance offers the joy that comes from disburdening—from the voiding, the emptying out, of a charged place. Catherine Bates has argued that this sense of a void is constitutive of much early modern sonnet writing: sonnets may privilege an "existential emptiness" in the form of an "anticipatory or pregnant space, waiting to be filled"; or they may figure that void as a "vacated field left behind by an object that was once possessed but has since been lost" (Bates 2011, 106). The above evidence suggests that this intimacy with void spaces may be extended beyond sonnets to other short lyrics used by Wyatt and Surrey. While their earliest readers celebrated them, through artisanal metaphors, as poetic "makers" or as fashioners of lyric "parcelles," Wyatt and Surrey, in their experimentations with the form of their songs and sonnets, seem just as interested in *un*making—in showing how at times form fails to frame its contents, is unable to give stable shape to speech and memory, and threatens a void that denies its poets the pleasures of recollecting in tranquility.

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Notes

1 See *OED Online*: "device, *n.*": 1.a, "inventive faculty"; 1.b, "manner in which a thing is devised or framed"; 7.a, "something devised or framed by art"; 8., "something artistically devised or framed." http://www.oed.com/. Accessed June 14, 2017.

2 Compare also George Gascoigne's play on the cognate terms "staff" and "stave" (in "Certayne Notes of Instruction," appended to Gascoigne 1575).

3 See *OED Online*, "void, *v.*": I.1.a *trans.*, "To clear (a room, house, place) of occupants; to empty or clear (a place, receptacle, etc.) of something." http://www.oed.com/. Accessed June 14, 2017.

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20
Synecdochic Structures in the Sonnet Sequences of Sidney and Spenser

Catherine Bates

> You that poore *Petrarch*'s long deceased woes,
> With new-borne sighes and denisend wit do sing;
> You take wrong waies.[1]

So charges Astrophil, directing the accusation against his fellow poets, but the fact that he is clearly alluding to the famous opening of Petrarch's *Rime sparse*—"*Voi ch' ascoltate in rime sparse il suono / di quei sospiri ond' io nudriva 'l core / in sul mio primo giovenile errore*" ("You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound of those sighs with which I nourished my heart during my first youthful error")—suggests that he is as guilty as they.[2] Indeed, this rhetorical device of preaching the opposite of what you practice characterizes most of Sidney's references to Petrarchan tradition and constitutes his sincerest compliment to the poet who originated it.[3] Comprising a sequence of amatory sonnets interspersed with longer *canzoni* or songs, *Astrophil and Stella* (composed *c*.1581–1582) announces its parity with Petrarch's *Rime sparse* in a way that no English lyric had done before.[4] The poems are removed from the larger narrative frames within which English poets had previously embedded Petrarchan lyrics[5]—not least Sidney himself in the *Old Arcadia* (composed *c*.1577–1580), which includes some 18 sonnets spoken by various characters in the story—just as Petrarch had stripped his sequence of the prose surround of Dante's *La vita nuova*. Absent, too, is the elaborate commentary that accompanied many printed editions of Petrarch's poetry (Kennedy 1994), and that Thomas Watson had imitated in his *Hekatompathia* (1582), published while Sidney was composing his sequence and circulating in manuscript before that. Even in the pirated, "bad" Quartos in which *Astrophil and Stella* first appeared in print in 1591 (Woudhuysen 1996), the sequence appears as Petrarch's had done in the Aldine edition prepared by Pietro Bembo and published in 1501: a naked text, free from any

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headnotes, glosses, or accompanying commentary, in which the blank spaces between the poems are left to speak for themselves (Freccero 1986, 20–21; Kuin 1998, 191–217).

Petrarch's *Rime sparse* was important because it staked a claim for vernacular poetry. By describing his collection as "scattered rhymes" and entitling it *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* ("Fragments of vernacular poetry"), Petrarch sought to differentiate it from his other works—and especially his epic, *Africa*—that were in Latin. In relation to that monolithic language of cultural authority, his Italian poems were mere chips off the block, the broken shards of a greater whole. By the early sixteenth century, thanks largely to the efforts of Bembo, the language of the *Rime sparse* and the *Trionfi* had become the model for a newly approved version of Italian, capable of rivaling Latin in its beauty and authority; and yet—a composite of self-conscious archaisms and of classical, Provençal, and Siculo-Tuscan influences—it was an artificial language from the start and never one that had actually been spoken (Kennedy 1994, 2003; Braden 1999, 87). The *Rime sparse* made the case for vernacular poetry, in other words, by emphasizing its difference—both from written Latin and from spoken Italian—and from that surprising base, the fragments of one and a mixture of the other, a distinctly literary language arose. In the *Defence of Poesy* (composed *c.*1579–1581), Sidney praises Petrarch along with Dante and Boccaccio for raising Italian to this cultural eminence and claims that, in following them, English poets might do the same for "our mother tongue" (Sidney 2002, 82). English, too, has the advantage of being "a mingled language" (115), its social and regional variations similarly providing the materials necessary to produce a poetic diction distinct from common speech (Blank 1996; Kennedy 2003, 165–170; Nicholson 2014). Tottel had made a similar claim—namely, that his miscellany would prove "our tong" capable of writing lyric "as praiseworthely as ye rest" (Tottel 1965, 1.2)—but, in being the first to follow the format and formula of the *Rime sparse* and all it stood for, Sidney stole the show. To write a Petrarchan sonnet sequence in the vernacular was to make a statement—an announcement—about a poetry that could proudly and justifiably declare itself to be English. Petrarch's wit had indeed been "denisend" or naturalized—English poetry was its new home—and for effecting that repatriation Sidney was duly hailed as "our English *Petrarke*," "the *Petrarke* of our time."[6] The fellow poets he addressed in *Astrophil and Stella* understood immediately what he was doing and responded in kind: within 10 years of its first publication no fewer than 23 English sonnet sequences appeared in print (Roche 1989, 518–519), among them Spenser's *Amoretti*. English lyric poetry—if not English poetry per se—had arrived.

The relation of part to whole—the synecdochic structures of my title—is a defining feature not only of the language of the sonnet sequence but also of its form. The blank spaces that both divide and join the separate poems effect a unique combination of multiplicity and unity—of lyric and narrative, of moments frozen in time and their temporal sequentiality—creating a "problem of aggregation" that no other genre in prose or verse presents (Spiller 1992, 92; 1997, 20). As Samuel Daniel suggested, a sonnet might be thought of as an "Orbe of order and forme"—a pearl or jewel perfect in itself that could also be strung on a chain—or as a "small roome," *stanza* in Italian, comfortable and self-contained in itself that could also form part of a larger structure (Daniel 1930, 138; Fumerton 1986). Sharing the same root as "stance," "state," "status," "stature," and, more remotely, "stand" (all words of relevance to the insecure but attitudinizing sonnet speaker), *stanza* implies a definite positioning or placement—"a 'station' of meaning"

(Greene 1991, 68)[7]—but since the order in which sonnets appear can typically be rearranged without damaging the architecture in any major way, they are in practice more like temporary, mobile structures: tents in the wilderness rather than a rooms in a house. Sidney makes it clear that sonnets are not stanzas in *Astrophil and Stella* by giving us the same number of each: the 108 stanzas that make up the 11 songs provide a narrative flow within each song, if not between them, in a way the 108 sonnets do not. The story the songs tell—of enamorment, a stolen kiss, two meetings, two rejections, and the responses (variously angry, hopeful, and despairing) that those rejections provoke—is in large part responsible for creating the illusion that the sequence unfolds a series of causative happenings and the irrevocable passage of time.

The one foundational and immovable event of the Petrarchan sonnet sequence is the *innamoramento*: a fall into individuation—or, which amounts to the same thing, into language, into desire—that is experienced as a catastrophic loss or separation to be mitigated only by the powerful urge to unite with some beloved object, usually a woman. The lover can extrapolate a state of comparative innocence and wholeness as having existed prior to that precipitating moment (although only after the event), and can also learn (as a rule, the hard way) that the experience of individuation is not to be mitigated, or not by those means. This three-part story maps readily onto the Christian narrative of innocence, fall, and redemption (Roche 1989)—as, duly chastened, the lover looks for that mitigation on a higher, more transcendental plane—and as such it receives perhaps its fullest narrative treatment in *Troilus and Criseyde*. In their lyrics, Dante and Petrarch emphasize parts two and three. In his, Sidney emphasizes parts one and two: a debonair Astrophil, apt to like before he loved, is glimpsed in the love affair's shadowy prehistory.[8] Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, as Nashe did in his foreword to its first printing in 1591, that *Astrophil and Stella* dwells in and on part two, turning its central drama into a two-act play—"the Prologue hope, the Epilogue dispaire" (Nashe 1966, 329)—for Astrophil does not learn from his experience, and for good or ill the pain of individuation remains his permanent state to the end. If Sidney's sequence abjures narrative development, it more than makes up for it in dramatic intensity: for through his excessive use of apostrophe and lyric address (which appears in 72 of the 108 sonnets, sometimes more than once), Sidney creates an illusion of soliloquy and dialogue worthy of any playwright.[9] And, through the unusual step of giving his protagonist a name, he invents a "nominative" or "characterological fiction" (Greene 1991, 63), for all the world as if he had lifted one of his characters from the pages of the *Old Arcadia* and placed them on what Nashe, describing the sequence, called "a paper stage streud with pearle" (Nashe 1966, 329).

The tension that exists between lyric and narrative is more pronounced still in its relation to epic.[10] At the beginning of the *Paradiso*, Dante had invoked Apollo, the god of poetry, in the hope that he might prove worthy of the laurel crown, but in the *Rime sparse* Petrarch steals Cupid into the picture and makes the latter's connection with Apollo—in effect, the backstory of how Apollo came to be a poet in the first place—the controlling fiction of his lyric sequence. As told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, Apollo patronizingly scolds Cupid for playing with his mighty bow, in revenge for which the boy-god strikes him with his own weapon, inducing an unrequited and unquenchable love for Daphne (the Greek name for laurel) and metamorphosing that mighty bow permanently into a lyre: *semper habebunt / te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae* ("My hair, my lyre, my quiver

shall always be entwined with thee, O laurel") (Ovid 1916, 1.558–559). Before it has sounded a single note, that is, the very instrument of lyric poetry is already eloquent of an epic masculinity that has been irretrievably shattered (Enterline 2000; Bates 2013). This Apollo who sings is no longer the great sun-god, the Homeric "striker-from-afar"—a role now reserved for Cupid and for Laura—but rather their victim: the perennially pained and wounded singer of lyric verse, the gender-ambiguous *Apollo Citaredo* or Apollo with the Lyre (Kambasković-Sawers 2010, 7).[11] Even the most heroic and supposedly invulnerable of subjects thus proves helpless before the onslaught of love, and any notional wholeness he may once have thought he possessed is cast into pieces—a sun into a thousand stars—as he transmutes into a desiring subject, never to resume his former shape. Apollo proves no match for Cupid, and neither, by extension, does epic for lyric, since Cupid effectively wins this competition.[12] Petrarch's poetry thus effects "a *lyricization* of epic materials" (Greene 1982, 115; emphasis original). Just as Petrarch's literary language arose from the scattered fragments of other tongues, however, so Apollo draws a powerful lyric voice from his own shattered parts: the pathos and plangency with which, simply by naming his beloved Laura, Petrarch's "I" everywhere identifies.

In his own sonnet sequence, Sidney exaggerates the power imbalance between Apollo and Cupid still further, emphasizing not only that lyric emerges from epic's ruins, but that its voice is always fractured and broken: the lyricist might be winner of the competition, but he is in no position to claim any victory or laurel wreath. Although Nashe saw Sidney as usurping Apollo's power, therefore—"*Apollo* hath resigned his Iuory Harp vnto *Astrophel*" (Nashe 1966, 330)—in fact, unlike Petrarch, Astrophil nowhere identifies with him: where the sun-god does appear in *Astrophil and Stella* he is a remote and distant figure with nothing like the presence he has in Petrarch's sequence.[13] As for Cupid, although Sidney removes him from the scene when trying to shield lyric from accusations of scurrility in the *Defence*—speciously treating the lyre there as an instrument of war and the lyricist as one who "giveth praise, the reward of virtue, to virtuous acts" (Sidney 2002, 99)—in *Astrophil and Stella* he reintroduces him with a vengeance (Kingsley-Smith 2010; Bates 2013). As the personification of Astrophil's desire, the cause of and collaborator in all his pain, Cupid appears in at least 44 sonnets, with predictable results for Astrophil's equilibrium and integrity.[14] Astrophil is no fallen sun but a wayward son—a naughty schoolboy, the proverbial stargazer who stumbles into a ditch—and any expectations of virtuous action or ambitions for noble conduct that he should have or might have had once are repeatedly subject to collapse.[15] By emphasizing Cupid's mischievous and disruptive power over the would-be heroic subject, Sidney works to deny his sonnet speaker any correspondingly recuperative power as a worthy, fame-garnering, "Apollonian" poet. As Sidney sees it, the fragmentariness of lyric puts paid to epic's totalizing ambitions once and for all, and the reason for this, perhaps, is that contrary to Aristotle's advice that poetry should properly deal in generalities, universals, and ideals—depicting "what is fit to be said or done" rather than "whether Alcibiades did, or suffered, this or that," as Sidney paraphrases it in the *Defence* (Sidney 2002, 92)—lyric in fact does exactly the opposite (Bates 2017). In its obsession with the minutiae of a thoroughly subjective, private, individual, and unique experience (precisely what a particular "I," whether called Alcibiades or Astrophil, may have suffered or done), lyric prioritizes the "radically singular"—that is, "something or someone beyond or simply not encompassed by categories, by attributes

shared" (Langer 2015, 2)—making its relation to received wisdom or commonly held ideals one of a generally unmitigated resistance.

If the tension between part and whole pertains to relations between lyric and other genres, it is equally relevant to relations between sonnet sequences and the lyric tradition as a whole, or between individual sequences themselves. Indeed, the obsessive monitoring by means of which each sonnet sequence positions itself respective to a great and growing body of others constitutes one of the defining features of Petrarchism (Dubrow 1995). Just as Astrophil claims to differentiate his own sequence from those of others, so each poet who joins the great train that follows in Petrarch's wake does the same, their fidelity to the whole—retelling the old story yet again—bisecting a contrary fidelity to the particular: telling of a beloved that is unique, an experience singular, to them.[16] At the same time, the tension between part and whole also looks inward as well as out: for it not only operates between one sonnet sequence and the rest, or between individual sonnets and the sequence in which they are placed, but also between each individual sonnet and the formal elements that go to make it up. Indeed, the use of meter, rhyme, alliteration, assonance, consonance, wordplay, and so forth constitutes one of the defining features of lyric—the prioritizing of language's material aspects (sonic, acoustic, rhythmic, etc.) over its semantic function that makes for "another kind of order, a system that operates independently of the production of the meaningful discourse that it enables" (Blasing 2007, 2)—and is largely what differentiates "poetic language" from ordinary speech, poetry from prose. In particular, the use of such formal devices is one of the defining features of the sonnet—with its heightened artificiality and characteristically arbitrary rules—and above all of the especially intricate sonnet form that Petrarch used and that, for the most part, Sidney follows in *Astrophil and Stella*.[17] Here the deliberate and un-ignorable intrusion of non-meaning-bearing semiotic elements—for example, repeated patterns of metrical feet and rhymed sounds—crosses with the meaning-bearing semantic ones, exceeding or pulsing through the sentence so as to disrupt its basic function which is to communicate or represent: an action that has been theorized as resistant if not potentially revolutionary in political terms (Kristeva 1984; Adorno 1991). Sidney's sequence thus lends itself to formalist investigations which consider, for example, the fraught relation of sense to sound (or reason to rhyme) within individual sonnets (Ferry 2008); the alternate pulls toward metonymy (distributional, syntagmatic, centrifugal, displaced) and metaphor (integrative, paradigmatic, centripetal, condensed) (Hedley 1988); the intersection of fiction (the meaningful utterance of a given character) by ritual (sounds, patterns, rhythms, repetitions, non-verbal liturgical or calendrical schemes) (Greene 1991); and the decisive effects that song can have on story (as in *AS* 57) or musical structures on meaning (Parker 1998).

In their different ways, each of these approaches is concerned with the relation between that which means and that which does something else, and to the extent that this relation might be formulated in terms of mobility and stasis—that which flows and that which holds it up—it maps onto other spatiotemporal binaries, including the phylogenetic and ontogenetic, or the diachronic and synchronic. Sidney's sequence also lends itself, therefore, to historical investigations that—following Fredric Jameson's proposal that literary forms serve to imagine resolutions to otherwise unresolved social contradictions (Jameson 1981)—consider *Astrophil and Stella* in social or class terms. For Roland Greene, for example, the unrequited love that characterizes Petrarchism allows Renaissance society to do its imaginative work of rehearsing, experiencing, deploring, or accepting those

situations (social, political, and economic) in which demands are not met, promises not kept, or debts not repaid. The frustrations of a proto-capitalist/colonialist adventurer, therefore, are what play out—in ideologemes of conquest, slavery, cannibalism, and sugar production—in the relations between an unrequited Astrophil and a recalcitrant Stella (Greene 1999). For Christopher Warley, Sidney's sonnet sequence enacts an unresolved social tension between status (static, heritable, and feudal, belonging to birthright and the bloodline, and associated formally with lyric) and class (mobile, dynamic, and mercantile, belonging to cash or moveable capital, and associated formally with narrative). Problematically, Astrophil's status is both dependent upon and undermined by his possession or otherwise of wealth, material goods, capital in circulation (i.e., class), and is therefore articulated, very precisely, as the desire for something he lacks and can never possess, namely, Lady Rich.[18] Astrophil's lyric desire to imagine himself a narrative character—as in *AS* 45—represents an attempt on his part "to imagine a new social position, a new idea of nobility, that reconciles the strain between status and class" (Warley 2005, 79). Such readings demonstrate, among other things, that the formalist/historicist dilemma need not involve taking sides and that—with its distinctive play between lyric and narrative—the sonnet sequence or lyric collection (Miller 1994) is perhaps the best place to prove it.

Spenser's *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595) lends itself to readings of a similar kind. Published during the first flush of the sonnet craze that *Astrophil and Stella* had called into being, Spenser's sonnet sequence and appended wedding poem responded to the call, doing its bit to establish a vernacular poetry that would promote "Englands fame" above that of its continental neighbors, as a dedicatory sonnet by Geoffrey Witney put it, thereby "dawnting" them in the intensely rivalrous competition that Petrarchism had become.[19] Like Sidney, Spenser too was well versed in the latter by the time he came to composing his own contribution to it. Accompanying a letter to Gabriel Harvey written in 1579—a letter that adverts to his familiarity with Sidney's poetic endeavors at the time (his experimentations with quantitative verse, his mixed reception of Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*)—Spenser sends a Latin poem addressed to his friend in which he presents himself as an ocean-going vessel tossed this way and that by Love, his rational thoughts dispersed as if to the winds by Cupid's light bow (he was, it appears, about to embark on a journey to the Continent, although this seems not to have come off).[20] As Greene notes (1999, 14), this motif of the lover as a storm-tossed ship was "[p]erhaps the most prevalent of the ideologemes" in Petrarch—appearing throughout the *Rime sparse* but most famously in *RS* 189, *Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio* ("My ship laden with forgetfulness"), the latter the subject of countless imitations, not least, in English, Wyatt's "My galley charged with forgetfulness," published first in Tottel. In Spenser's oeuvre, the motif next appears in *The Faerie Queene* (1590) when Britomart utters what is recognizably a paraphrase of *RS* 189 to lament her as yet uncompleted quest and unrequited love for Artegall.[21] Like the *Canticus Troili*, this complaint remains embedded within the surrounding story like a quotation—an identifiably foreign body imported into the larger whole—but as such it unmistakably serves the lyric function of intersecting with and so interrupting and temporarily halting the narrative flow. Typically, lyric puts the totalizing ambitions of epic on hold and—its experience of non-requital fracturing any confidence that the promised conquest will ever be achieved—subjects the otherwise urgent, forward-bound, pressing epic quest to, perhaps permanent, question.

When this ideologeme reappears in the *Amoretti*—which it repeatedly does—any such surrounding text is stripped away and the narrative flow left for readers to infer from the white space in which the 89 sonnets now float. With narrative reduced to readerly conjecture (the defining feature of the sonnet sequence form), the expectation is that lyric—duly foregrounded—will continue to perform its generic function, which is to cut across any willed progress on the part of the speaker and to problematize his every desire for closure. And, at first, a barrage of insistently Petrarchan motifs, including this one, confirm that it is indeed business as usual as the lover finds his hopes dutifully shipwrecked by the lady's repeated rejections and his own unruly passions.[22] Thereafter, however, the storm appears unexpectedly to pass. The lady morphs into a steady ship in whose seaworthy and utterly weatherproof condition the lover confidently puts his faith, and in which he finally makes it safely home to port—a ship, moreover, that (in contrast to his own, by now, battered bark) is happily laden with precious merchandise—so that, no longer the idle suitor he once had been, foiled by the cunning of Penelope, he now truly is a Ulysses returned.[23] If, as Greene suggests (1999, 14), the ideologeme of the storm-tossed ship "represents a particular class of European—the citizen or agent of empire—as chronically unrequited," thereby allowing readers and writers of Petrarchan lyric an opportunity to work through, on an imaginative level, the unresolved contradictions of conquest and colonialism (including newly commercialized experiences of risk, venture, danger, peril, misfortune, disaster, and loss), then here it undergoes an unprecedented reversal. For, unique within the tradition, Spenser's lyric poems defy Petrarchan convention to show a love returned—mission accomplished, goal achieved—as he lands himself a valued prize: "fayre soyle it seems from far and fraught with store" (*Am* 63); "my loues conquest … The happy purchase of my glorious spoile, / gotten at last with labour and long toyle" (*Am* 69).[24] Passing a watershed moment at the mid-point of the collection,[25] the speaker's transformative circumnavigation brings him round from being one who seeks to one who conquers, as the sonnets do what they are not supposed to do and tell a story: a story, moreover, that has a positively novelistic ending since it concludes not (as the *Rime sparse* does) with a once-human love now sublimated to a higher sphere, but rather with an ordinary, bourgeois marriage. The *Amoretti and Epithalamion*, that is, unfolds a fantasy of social mobility, as Spenser's marriage to Elizabeth Boyle (which a number of autobiographical references commemorate and allegorize)[26] allows him to achieve status—that of a quasi-feudal landowner in colonial Ireland—by means of class: in this case, the mercenary if not mercantile tactic of marrying into money (Kennedy 1994; Warley 2005). All this puts a new gloss on the otherwise conventional itemization of a lady's jewel-like parts as a series of fetishized commodities, and on the speaker's claim that one need not act like the "tradefull Merchants" in order to gain them (a denial if ever there was one).[27]

While they both engage with lyric and narrative to negotiate status and class, therefore, Sidney's and Spenser's sonnet sequences differ profoundly from one another. Where Sidney works to subordinate epic to lyric by determinedly de-heroizing Astrophil (going beyond even Petrarch in his lyricization of epic), Spenser moves in the opposite direction, casting himself as the hero of his own personal odyssey. Where Sidney nowhere identifies Astrophil with Apollo, Spenser reverts to type by claiming Petrarch's Delphic and laurel imagery for himself.[28] Where Sidney magnifies Cupid and all his debilitating and destructive powers, Spenser belittles him, reducing Apollo's potent nemesis to a mere cloud of fluttering *putti*: the

"legions of loues with little wings [that] fly" and that give the *Amoretti*—"little loves"—its name.[29] Where *Astrophil and Stella* dramatizes a scene of "cruell chastitie" (Nashe 1966, 329), its prologue hope, its epilogue despair, the *Amoretti* celebrates the "chast bowre" of the speaker's bride-to-be (*Am* 84): the chastity of the faithful wife to be distinguished from the virginity of the untouchable love object as Amoret—the sequence's other namesake—is to be distinguished from her twin, Belphoebe, in *The Faerie Queene*. In this new "drama of affective transformation" (Kennedy 1994, 197), Spenser performs the seemingly impossible task of accommodating into the otherwise alien environment of Petrarchism a scenario of Protestant companionate marriage: the argument kind chastity, the prologue despair, the epilogue hope. Where Sidney exaggerates the Petrarchan scene of fruitful frustration into one of unrelieved deadlock, Spenser takes the unprecedented step of maneuvering the partners into wedlock, much as Britomart—the knight of "chastity" newly defined—breaks the spell with which the evil enchanter, Busyrane, locks Amoret in his Petrarchan house of horrors, in order to release her into the waiting arms of her betrothed and future husband, Scudamour.

Spenser's break with Petrarchan tradition in the *Amoretti* is not to be underestimated and constitutes, arguably, the greatest example of that tradition's typically "diacritical desire" (Dubrow 1995, 11–12): the determination on the part of each sonneteer to make his own inimitable and distinctive mark. Spenser certainly does as much in relation to Sidney, and to generations of sonneteers that came before and after. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which this daring coup against Petrarchan lyric could be said not entirely to succeed. The promised marriage of Amoret and Scudamour with which the first version of *The Faerie Queene* ends, after all, is famously revised in the second, which has the lovers inexplicably miss each other again and again, never to be reunited. In the *Amoretti and Epithalamion*, too, for all its undeniable shift from stasis to flow, from lyric desire to narrative outcome, some doubt continues to hover—like the cloud of *amoretti* over the marriage bed (*Epithalamion*, lines 357–371)—about the hope with which it ends, as if the classic resistance between lyric and narrative still remains in play and the former is not entirely ready or willing to be co-opted to or subsumed by the latter. This resistance registers in the pervasive imagery of imprisonment or capture that literalizes, perhaps, the wedlock toward which the story tends, as the hooks and snares with which the lady caught her lover in the first half of the sequence come to trap both of them in the second.[30] In *The Faerie Queene*, Amoret is said to be "cruelly pend" by Busyrane (*FQ* 3.11.11)—not only imprisoned but also "penned" or inscribed by him in his monstrous version of Petrarchan stalemate—and her release is brought about when Britomart takes up "Those cursed leaues, his charmes backe to reuerse" (*FQ* 3.12.36). In the *Amoretti and Epithalamion*, the poet-lover seeks to do likewise—to submit Petrarchism to a violent reversal and so release his beloved from its spellbinding dead end—but for all that she inevitably remains penned within his own sequence. The "Leaues, lines, and rymes" that he deposits in her (and the reader's) hands in the opening sonnet are the same as the "leaues" of laurel that she and he both wear (*Am* 28), and are written with her name just as surely as Laura's is by Petrarch. Elizabeth Boyle is Spenser's poetic subject matter, just as the "*Helicon* whence she deriued is"—the source of poetic inspiration that he also invokes in this opening sonnet—is also his "*Helice*": the "lodestar" by means of which he navigates his storm-tossed ship (*Am* 34), both of them plays on her name.[31]

To be penned by a beseeching Petrarchan whose desire is destined traditionally never to end is, arguably, a more liberating scenario than being penned by a lord and master,

a husband and conquering hero (better to be the subject of one than subject to the other). Amoret's rescue is not necessarily a rescue, in other words (which may be why the 1596 *Faerie Queene* lets her off the hook), and in her name the *Amoretti* hints as much by suggesting that the mastery the sonnet-speaker would, exceptionally, take unto himself thankfully eludes him: as, indeed, it would similarly elude a later tradition, no less defiant, of a poetry that celebrates consummation (Kerrigan and Braden 1989, 157–189). Sonnets continue to resist narrativization—just as Cupid gets the better of Apollo, the smaller god of the larger one, lyric of epic, the part of the whole—and the sonnet sequence is the place that perhaps best dramatizes this resistance between the two. In the *Epithalamion*, too, notwithstanding its celebration of a wedding, there are indications—not least in its echoing refrain (which, in turn, echoes a line from the first half of the sequence)—that the lovers have somehow escaped from the distinctly prosaic business of housekeeping and child-production to which the poem ultimately looks forward, and that in the forests of a wild and still uncolonized space the poetic *chasse d'amour* is still going on (Bates 2013; Dubrow 2015): "The woods shall to me answer and my Eccho ring."[32]

Notes

1 *Astrophil and Stella* 15; hereafter *AS*. All references to Sidney's poetry to Sidney (1962).

2 All references to Petrarch's poetry to Petrarch (1976).

3 See also *AS* 3, 6, 28, 55, 60, 74, 90.

4 Contrast the Petrarchan but free-floating and unconnected sonnets by Wyatt and Surrey in Tottel's Miscellany (1557); the religious sonnet sequence by Anne Lock, "A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner," in her translation of *Sermons of Iohn Caluin* (1560); and the two short, moralistic, and occasional "sequences" of sonnets—one, a series of three sonnets on the subject of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*; the other, a series of seven in corona form on the theme "*Sat cito, si sat bene*" ("Fast enough, if well enough; or No haste but good")—in George Gascoigne's *A hundreth sundrie flowres* (1573).

5 As Chaucer inserts the *Canticus Troili* (a rendering of *RS* 132) into *Troilus and Criseyde*, or Gascoigne eight sonnets (three of them in sequence) into his novella, "The Adventures of Master F. J.," in *A hundreth sundrie flowres*.

6 The first accolade that of Sir John Harington, the second that of Sir Walter Ralegh from his epitaph on Sidney, published in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), and cited by Harington alongside his own (Harington 1972, 183).

7 Like *stanza*, stance, state, status, stature, and station all derive from Latin *stāre*, to stand; stand derives from the more ancient Indogermanic root **st(h)ə-* (compare Sanskrit *sthā*). See http://www.oed.com/.

8 See *AS* 2, 16.

9 See *AS* 4, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 (x5), 16, 20, 21, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47 (x2), 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93 (x5), 94, 95, 96, 98, 100 (x3), 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108. For speech addressed to Astrophil see *AS* 1, 19, 32, 53, 71, 76, 107; for internal dialogue see *AS* 34, 74; and for reported speech see *AS* 54, 63, 92. 71 percent of the sonnets thus contain some form of direct or indirect speech (by way of comparison, the equivalent figure in Spenser's *Amoretti* is 58 percent). On Sidney's use of apostrophe, see Spiller (1992) and Greene (1991); on apostrophe and lyric address as quintessential to the lyric mode, see Culler (2015, 186–243).

10 The Italian theorist Antonio Minturno was the first to put lyric on a par with epic and drama, in his *L'arte poetica* (1564): *Quante adunque sono le parti della Poesia? Tre generali: l'una si chiama Epica, l'altra Scenica, la terza Melica, o Lirica, che dir vi piaccia* ("How many, then, are the divisions of poetry? Three main ones: one you call Epic, the other Dramatic, the third Melic, or Lyric, as you like to call it") (Minturno 1725, 3). His discussion of lyric takes up Book 3 and of the sonnet in particular, 240–246; cf. Aristotle's *Poetics* on which this classic tripartite division is based but which subordinates lyric to the other two forms.

11 Sidney adverts to this figure in *Certain Sonnets* 12 (a translation of Horace, *Odes* 2.10), and 17 (lines 36–37).

12 Petrarch's *Africa* gets deferred by the poet's preoccupation with his sonnet sequence (Kennedy 2003, 31–34), as Spenser's *Faerie Queene* does by the poet's choice to sing "my loues sweet praise" in his (*Amoretti* 80; hereafter *Am*). Whether the result of chance or not, the unfinished nature of these texts, like Sidney's *New Arcadia*, speaks to a tension with—if not power over—epic that their authors' lyrics already manifest. Love proves as fatal to Astrophil's heroism, after all, as it does to that of Pyrocles, Musidorus, Amphialus, and Philisides in the *Arcadia*.

13 See *AS* 13, 22, 25, 97, 98, 108.

14 See *AS* 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 31, 35, 38, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 59, 61, 62, 65, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 79, 80, 86, 90, 98, 101, 102.

15 See *AS* 4, 5, 18, 21, 23, 25, 30, 40, 41, 47, 49, 52, 53, 62, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72. For Astrophil as a naughty schoolboy, see *AS* 1, 11, 16, 42, 46, 56, 61, 71, 73, 79, 90, 102; and as the stumbling stargazer, *AS* 19.

16 In addition to the sonnets listed in note 3, see also *AS* 1 and 2. While Astrophil is presumably addressing the tradition of Petrarchism already well established on the Continent, especially in France, it is also possible that he is addressing those English Petrarchans who, in 1582, as yet barely exist: that is, that he calls them into being—interpellates them—by urging them to do exactly as he has done in differentiating their own incipient sonnet sequences both from his own and from one another's.

17 20 out of 34 of Sidney's earlier sonnets follow the looser "English" rhyme scheme introduced by Surrey (*ababcdcdefefgg*). Every sonnet in *Astrophil and Stella*, by contrast, uses an octave with only two rhymes, typical of the Petrarchan or "Italian" sonnet, 71 percent of these being variants on the *abbaabba* pattern and the remaining 29 percent being variants on the *abababab* pattern. Sidney's preferred pattern in *AS* seems to be a combination of Italian and English forms: 76 percent of its sonnets end with an "English" sestet (the most common pattern being *abbaabbacdcdee* which accounts for 56 percent), while only 22 percent end with variants on the "Italian" sestet of two tercets (the most common being *ccdeed*). For a comprehensive table of Sidney's verse forms, see Sidney (1962, 569–572). The degree of experimentation in *Astrophil and Stella* suggests that Sidney is going to some lengths to emphasize the sonnet's formal qualities. By way of comparison, the rhyme scheme that Spenser devises for the *Amoretti* (*ababbcbccdcdee*), while no less demanding, accounts for all of the sonnets but one (*Am* 8, which follows the English pattern), suggesting that formal experimentation and variety was less of a priority for him.

18 Thus Sidney's well-known pun not only identifies Stella with Penelope Rich—as at *AS* 24, 35, 37—but with capital more generally: see also its appearance in *AS* 3, 9, 48, 79, songs 5 (line 46), 8 (line 1) and 9 (line 10).

19 See Spenser (1999, 387). All references to Spenser's shorter poems to this edition.

20 See Spenser (1999, 159, 576). While still a schoolboy, Spenser had translated *RS* canzone 323 (via Marot's version) as a series of six

"Epigrams" for Jan van der Noot's *A Theatre for Worldlings* (1569), later revising them and publishing them as *The Visions of Petrarch* in his volume of *Complaints* (1591). The motif of shipwrecked love also appears in Epigram 2.

21 See *FQ* III.iv.8–10 and the discussion in Wofford (1987). All references to *The Faerie Queene* to Spenser (2007).

22 See *Am* 34, 38, 41, 46, 56.

23 See *Am* 59, 62, 63, 69, 81; for the lover as formerly one of Penelope's suitors, see *Am* 23.

24 See also *Am* 35 (repeated at *Am* 83) on the lover's eyes being "filled with the store" of the beloved's beauty. In *Am* 77, the lover imagines himself as "the greatest Prince" to whom the lady's body—principally, her breasts—are served up as a sumptuous banquet (a similar motif appears at *Epithalamion*, lines 173–176).

25 This occurs between *Am* 61 and *Am* 62 (the second New Year sonnet, the first being *Am* 4), marking the exact mathematical center of the collection's 89 sonnets + 9 Anacreontic stanzas + 24 *Epithalamion* stanzas. Where Sidney had suggested that sonnets and stanzas were distinct (the former allied with lyric, the latter with narrative), Spenser here suggests that they are continuous or interchangeable (subsuming lyric to narrative, in effect).

26 See *Am* 33, 74, 80.

27 See *Am* 15; also *Epithalamion*, lines 167–203, in which the "merchants daughters" are invited to gaze in wonder on the bride's prized and valued attributes, both external and internal. The speaker's position as a social inferior is repeatedly cast (i.e., euphemized) as his unworthiness before the lady's beauty and virtue: see *Am* 3, 61, 66, 82.

28 See *Am* 28, 29. Witney's dedicatory sonnet also casts Spenser as a Phoebus/Apollo whose long absence in Ireland has denied the English the benefit of his poetic rays.

29 See *Am* 16; they reappear at *Epithalamion*, line 357. Where Cupid appears in 44 sonnets in *Astrophil and Stella* (41 percent), he appears in only 6 in the *Amoretti* (7 percent)—see *Am* 4, 8, 10, 19, 60, 70—and there as a ceremonial and rather remote figure who has none of the personality of Sidney's Cupid. Spenser seems determined to cut Cupid down to size in his sonnet sequence. In the Anacreontic poems that intervene between the *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion*, Venus reminds her son that he is "lyttle made" (poem 4, line 35) and his dart barely more serious than a bee-sting. In *FQ* III.vi.28, she names the baby she adopts "in her litle loues stead" (i.e., in Cupid's place) "Amoretta" or Amoret.

30 Compare *Am* 1, 12, 20, 31, 37, 41, 42, 47, 49, 53, 56 (before) with *Am* 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 80 (after).

31 Spenser uses the same wordplay to compliment Queen Elizabeth ("Elisa") in the April eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), calling on the nymphs of Helicon to inspire his song (line 42). Writing the beloved's name is something of a preoccupation within the *Amoretti*: see *Am* 3, 73, 74, 75, 82.

32 *Epithalamion*, line 18, repeated with variants at the end of the following 23 stanzas, and echoing "that all the woods theyr ecchoes back rebounded" (*Am* 19).

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21
"I am lunaticke": Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, and the Evolution of the Lyric

Danijela Kambaskovic-Schwartz

The reputations of Samuel Daniel and fellow poet Michael Drayton today are paradoxical: they are still primarily studied for their lyrical poetry, yet almost always as minor poets of the Renaissance. Such a view is rarely based on considerations which include innovation and services to genre development, perhaps because, as John Pitcher points out, an innovative approach to genre carries the risk of being unintelligible to one's contemporaries as well as to one's future readers (Pitcher 1999, 72). Daniel's and Drayton's innovative approach to lyrical poetry is better understood in the context of their vision to adapt Italian genres, particularly those written in the first-person mode, to English writing. By building on traditions of the first-person romance, poem sequence, complaint, romance, and epistolary fiction, Daniel and Drayton enlarged the pool of first-person genres available in English.

Despite general acknowledgment that lyric did not mean the same to early modern writers and readers that it does to us today (Dubrow 2013), critical opinion is divided on whether sonnet sequences can be considered integral works with elements of narrative or not. Risking a generalization, critics working in the anglophone tradition by and large believe they are not, and the first-person speaker remains in a murky category of its own, halfway between an autobiographical voice and a character or narrator (Auden 1964; Lever 1966; Ramsay 1979; Dubrow 1987, 1996; Shakespeare 2002; Schiffer 2007; Vendler 2007). Literary critics working in the Italian tradition and cultural historians, on the other hand, have less trouble acknowledging that poem sequences—even when not followed by obviously narrative works—function integrally, a distinction best encapsulated by the title of Marco Santagata's seminal book on the history of the poem sequence genre, *Dal sonetto al canzoniere*, loosely translatable as *From a Sonnet to a Sequence* (Santagata 1989; see also Buchbinder 1988; Barolini 1989; Greene 1991; Barzun 2000; Pöeters 2007; McLain 2008). Details of these debates, as well as vast literatures probing into elements of autobiographical

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narratives which may or may not be concealed in the sonnet sequences, and other forms of organization (Eagle 1965; Prescott 1978; Jones 1989; Roche 1989; Brink 1990; Bachinger 1994), will not be my primary concern here. Instead, as part of a larger point that Daniel's and Drayton's sonnet sequences can be viewed as a prelude to their work on English first-person genres, I propose that the lyrical nature of the individual sonnets—easily anthologized and studied out of context—routinely overshadows the questions of sonnet sequence integrity and fictionality. Yet sonnet sequence writers achieve an impression of integrity by means of characterization—the building of a vivid, engaging first-person voice whose fortunes we become interested in following—as well as by careful organization of the sonnets (Kambaskovic-Sawers 2010; Storey and Walsh 2013–2015).

Daniel and Drayton characterize their speakers with a view to evoking interest and continuous involvement—categories which are, of their very nature, narrative. They also use their speakers as mouthpieces for metafictional thoughts. The interest of both sequences is generated primarily by the fascinating immediacy and seeming truthfulness of the speaker's voice as a *writer*, a technique invented by Dante in *La Vita Nuova* and developed by Petrarch; Daniel was the first English sonneteer to adopt it. Reader engagement is achieved by creating a speaker who comes up with thrilling descriptions of the writing process and its emotional impact; comic exaggerations of Petrarchan motifs; outrageously bold verbalizations of the erotic; thinly disguised comic aversion to the idea of the professed service to women (Fleming 1993). References to well-known past works, such as Ovid or the Bible, are remodeled to reflect complex purposes, and are often consciously subversive (Kambaskovic-Sawers 2007a; Kambaskovic-Sawers 2007b). Such functionality is far beyond what is expected of lyricism, and, for this, Daniel and Drayton deserve more focused critical attention than they have received.

In his 1592 sonnet sequence *Delia,* published accompanied by *The Complaint of Rosamund*, Samuel Daniel's speaker positions himself against Petrarch:

> He never had more faith, although more rime,
> I love as well, though he could better shew it.
> (*Delia* 35, lines 7–8)[1]

The attitude to Petrarch revealed here is deliberately ambiguous and humorous: Daniel's speaker is both reverent ("he is the better writer") and irreverent ("I claim the virtue of conciseness"). Similarly, in his *Idea's Mirrour* (1594), Michael Drayton's speaker distances himself from foreign poetry, as well as slavish imitation on English soil:

> … I wrong not other men,
> Nor trafique further then thys happy Clyme,
> Nor filch from *Portes*, nor from *Petrarchs* pen,
> A fault too common in this latter time.
> (Dedicatory poem to Anthony Cooke,
> lines 9–12; 1594)[2]

Although Daniel and Drayton sought to distance themselves from Petrarch, by working within the genre he popularized, they continued to use him as a point of departure and a

measure of their own poetic mettle. But Daniel's cultural patriotism emerges also in the angst with which he reports Gianbattista Guarini's dismissal of the English tongue as "barbarous" and English land as being "with no measure grac'd" in his sonnet prefixed to the 1602 English translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (Guarini 1602, dedicatory sonnet, lines 9–12)—angst which seem to suggests a genuine concern with the functionality of English genres.

Genre innovators often have a complex relationship with their sources. All sonnet sequences originate from Dante's *La Vita Nuova*, which pioneers a charismatic writer using the first-person voice to speak of the spiritual transformation wrought on his soul by love and writing. Petrarch's *Il Canzoniere* eliminates Dante's prose and absorbs all its fictional and metafictional functions, including the auto-poetic, into the poems themselves (Barański and Cachey 2009). Petrarch's "poems-only" version of Dante's story of a writer in love inspired a 400-year-long sonnet sequence vogue in Western Europe; but Dante's original form—prose with poems possibly adapted from Menippean satire—also engendered another stream of influence independently of Petrarch. First-person romance relied on Dante's form more directly, and exerted an independent influence also on Daniel's and Drayton's thinking about the first person.

A minority mode in the early Latin Middle Ages, the first person was used in the genres of consolation, confession, the public letter, and the dream vision. Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and St Augustine's *Confessions* exerted critical influence on Petrarch's *Secretum*, written in first-person dialogic form and closely connected to *Il Canzoniere* thematically. As *Il Canzoniere* was being written throughout Petrarch's life, its themes and voice interact with his philosophical works, written in first-person Latin (for the example of the interaction of *Il Canzoniere* and letter to Cicero, see Petrarch 1909, 203, and Abbott 1897, 320). Similarly complex relationships exist between works which inspired Daniel and Drayton. Their connection with Italian and classical sources is well documented. The influence of Italian drama on Daniel's pastoral tragicomedies, *The Queen's Arcadia* and *Hymen's Triumph*, has been widely acknowledged (Pitcher 1999, 80). Ovid's *Heroides*, Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (*c.*1350) and its vastly popular English version, and William Baldwin's *Mirror for Magistrates* (1559) are cited as sources for the *Complaint of Rosamond* and other English complaints (Trench 1898; Rose 1968; Pitcher 1999, 73; Van Es 2008, 257–258), as well as Drayton's *England's Heroical Epistles* (Van Es 2008). Recent criticism has suggested a connection between Daniel's *Rosamond* and Torquato Tasso's lead female character Armida from the romance *Gierusalemme Liberata* (1581) (Praz 1958; Guy-Bray 2008; Lawrence 2011, 649, 652), which, in turn, implies the influence of Lodovico Ariosto's Alcina from *Orlando Furioso* (1516), which influenced Tasso.[3] Rosamond even more closely resembles Boccaccio's Fiametta from *L'Amorosa Fiametta*, a sympathetic female first-person voice with no real power over men in her story. Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* and Drayton's *Matilda* follow this pattern, important enough to be varied by Drayton in *Piers Gaveston* in order to comment on the shift in power occurring when the gender of the complainant is changed (Quinn 2008, esp. 439–442).

Many works available for purchase in Italy during Daniel's visit there—a visit dated to 1591, a year before the publication of *Delia* (Schlueter 2012)—also developed and explored the formal models of Ovid's *Heroides* and Dante's *La Vita Nuova.* Petrarch's *Il Canzoniere* is, of course, a ubiquitous presence in Italy of the 1590s, as are many poem sequences by

Italian poets of the 1590s and manuals for aspiring writers of Petrarchan sonnet sequences. Apart from *De Casibus*, Boccaccio's other works—pre-print, but widely available in Italy during Daniel's 1591 visit in multiple sixteenth-century editions—show motifs reminiscent of Daniel's and Drayton's writing: *Amorosa Visione* (*Amorous Vision*) is a first-person narrative of love; *Il Corbaccio – Laberinto d'Amore* (*The Raven – A Labyrinth of Love*) features a ghost which speaks from beyond a grave; and *L'Amorosa Fiametta* (*Fiametta in Love*, also available in England from 1587) is a female first-person complaint which warns other women of the danger of faithless lovers.[4] Also available during Daniel's visits were contemporary Italian works influenced by Dante and Boccaccio: Jacopo Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* (1504) and Pietro Bembo's *Gli Asolani* (1505), which follow Dante's format, but also first-person works written in hybrid forms: *Amore Di Hieroni* by Girolamo Benivieni (1523) and *Philena* by Nicolo Franco (1547), first-person love narratives which read like sonnet sequences, but use different forms.

English experiments with the first-person mode which preceded Daniel's and Drayton's are no less important. Oliver Oldwanton's pseudonymous *Image of Idleness* (*c.*1550) is possibly the first English work of epistolary fiction, finding an echo in Drayton's *England's Heroical Epistles.* George Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573) combines prose, sonnets, and epistles in a complex narrative with three distinct first-person voices. Thomas Whythorne's *A Book of Songs and Sonetts* (1580s, in manuscript until 1961), which may have been known to Daniel and Drayton in manuscript form, features a first-person narrative framing many sonnets and poems. Robert Greene's widely read *Greenes Never Too Late* and *Francesco's Fortunes*, both published in 1590, just before Daniel's departure to Italy, use epistolary elements. Edmund Spenser relies on a combination of the first and third persons to engage with questions of poetic immortality and the passage of time in two of his works, *Ruines of Rome: by Bellay* (1591), and *Ruines of Time* (1591), both of which are relevant for Daniel's and Drayton's lyric and later work, as they combine a lyrical poetry with a historical focus, an important consideration for both Drayton and Daniel. As lyrical poem sequences, all of these works also owe a generic debt to Dante's *La Vita Nuova*. The relationship shows that working across genres with similarity of voice and theme was a stronger determinant of early modern genre perception than the formal consideration on which we insist today.

Daniel's and Drayton's sequences show serious work on characterization. The first-person speakers of their respective sequences are styled as "writers' writers" with captivatingly vivid voices pondering auto-poetic questions, engaging in subtle self-promotion, ironizing aspects of the Petrarchan framework, enjoying slapstick humor and outrageous sexual innuendo; they twist the meaning of literary sources and subtexts, including the Ovidian and the biblical, to fit their purposes, and offer funny, irreverent satire of the discourse of patronage (Kambaskovic-Sawers 2007a, 2008). Daniel's dazzling poet-persona exerted a quiet but fundamental influence on other writers of his generation, including Shakespeare, whose sonnets owe him an acknowledged debt (Adams 1923, 167–170; Bell 1999, 456–457; Dubrow 2007). No less influential was Daniel's formal innovation: his decision to append *Anacreontics* and *The Complaint of Rosamund* to *Delia* resulted in the creation of a "tripartite Delian structure" which Carol Thomas Neely and many others hailed as the eminently English sonnet sequence form (Neely 1978, 359; De Grazia 2007; Dubrow 2007; Shakespeare 1986, 134; 1995, xvii; 2002, 140; 2003, 45), something it eventually became through imitation, although Daniel was most likely inspired by a widespread Italian precedent of scribing and printing Petrarch's *Trionfi* with *Il Canzoniere* (Wilkins 1947, 23–24; Petrarca

1470, 1484). Daniel's and Drayton's joining of their sonnet sequences with longer first-person narrative works is rarely simplistic. Daniel connects *Delia* with *The Complaint of Rosamond*, while Drayton promotes the 1599 edition of *England's Heroicall Epistles* as "newly enlarged with *Idea*," a wording which suggests that he might have viewed his epistolary narrative and his sonnet sequence as connected and related in terms of both theme and genre.

Although our own age's views on the differences between narrative and lyric are much less flexible, we can see Drayton's point: whether featuring other people or the author's own persona, both the sonnet sequence and the narrative work to which it is attached rely on the first-person mode to tell stories of love. The *Heroicall Epistles* open with a reference to the *Heroides*: Drayton hails Ovid as a poet "whose Imitator I partly professe to be," as he explains that he named his work "*Heroicall*" because this is a word "properly understood of Demi-gods, as of Hercules and Aeneas … and them, who for the greatnesse of Mind come neere to Gods" (Drayton 1961, 2.130). He is not eschewing a Virgilian career in favor of an Ovidian one (Cheney 1997), nor is he referencing *Metamorphoses*. Rather, he is referring to the *Heroides*, a first-person epistolary work concerned with love, and Drayton's comment concerns generic imitation. Drayton's decision to link *Idea* and *England's Heroicall Epistles*, then, offers a particularly significant insight into Drayton's thematic conception of genres. And link them he did: a sonnet printed between them neatly completes the first story, and introduces the second:

> … *Edward*, and that delicious London Dame,
> *Brandon*, and that rich dowager of Fraunce,
> Surrey, with his fayre paragon of fame,
> Dudleys mishap, and virtuous *Grayes* mischance,
> Their seuerall loues since I before haue showne,
> Now giue me leaue at last to sing mine owne.
> (Drayton 1961, 2.308)

This sonnet positions Drayton's speaker as a Dantesque figure of a writer in love whose story is equally important as—and adjoined to—love stories of people of high rank and tragic fortunes. In addition, although this sonnet is unnumbered, the next sonnet in the book is numbered 2, not 1. Drayton wanted the *Epistles* and *Idea* to be one work.[5]

The voices that Daniel and Drayton develop for their other first-person works—complaints (Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* and Drayton's *Matilda* and *Piers Gaveston*) and epistolary works (Daniel's six verse epistles to Lord Henry Howard, Lady Cumberland, and Lady Bedford, and Drayton's *England's Heroicall Epistles*)—are, of course, more nuanced, fictionally developed, and purposeful than the voices of the sonnet sequence speakers. But they are also shackled by limitations of politics and gender, and never quite reach the freshness, hilarity, and interest of the sonnet speaker voices. It is possible that fictionalizing one's own voice provides greater freedom of expression. With two authorized editions of Daniel's *Delia* appearing in 1592, and subsequent revisions of 1594, 1595, 1598, and 1601, and the five editions of Drayton's *Idea's Mirrour* of 1594 and *Idea* of 1599, 1602, 1605, and 1619, with several reprints in between, the sequences trace the outer edges of the English sonnet sequence vogue timeline. Daniel is concerned with stylistic improvement; Drayton's revisions also betray consistent concern with the order of the sonnets, as well as the economy of his verse (Berthelot 1967; Seronsy 1967). Yet, significantly, the sonnet

sequence is the only genre Drayton does not describe in his theoretical introduction to the 1619 Folio. Drayton's biographer Jean Brink proposes that this is because *Idea* itself stands as the best example of his critical perception as it relates to convention. While both poets' meticulous revisions betray a need to be part of a venerable tradition, they also reveal an awareness of the dangers of Petrarchist rehearsal. Daniel's and Drayton's challenge was to create new works within a well-worn Italian story of a writer's erotic pursuit, but also to ensure commercial success within a saturated marketplace. The poets envisaged their first-person voices as a continuous flirtation with their (male, educated, writerly) audience.

Instead of a Platonic quest for spiritual redemption which characterizes most sonnet sequences (Kambaskovic 2015), *Delia* and *Idea* dramatize the processes of composition itself: its conflicts, creative, and logistical challenges, and ethical and political dilemmas. Daniel's and Drayton's speakers explore a writer's purpose and the nature of poetic work. Is a poet born or made? Does he function best when inspired or when skilled? Should a poet care more about achieving contemporary recognition, or immortality? Like the speaker-poet of Petrarch's *Il Canzoniere* before them, Drayton's and Daniel's lyrical voices give ambivalent answers: they profess disregard for the reception of their works, but also a passionate interest in it; they claim poetic immortality, but are also disarmingly insecure; they talk of pure love, but also use vividly sexual imagery, slapstick humor, and misogynistic insult. The fluctuations are an enactment of the notion of *energeia*, a notion adapted from Aristotle and defined by Sir Philip Sidney as the "forcibleness … of the writer" (Sidney 2004, 49), and defined in George Puttenham's manual for writers, *The Arte of English Poesie*, as "inwardly working a stirre to the mynde" (Puttenham 1589, 119). Petrarch had professed a similar ideal as his own: "… many things recorded in my mind / I overlook, and tell only of those / that stun the mind of anyone who listens (*Il Canzoniere*, 23, lines 93–95).[6] The prefatory letter "To the Reader" in Daniel's *Certain Small Works* (1607) sounds a note of Horatian hubris: "I know I shall be read, among the rest / so long as men speake English" (Daniel 1607, ¶4). The ideal had earlier been stated in *Musophilus*: "And give our labours yet this poore delight / That when our daies do end they are not done" (Daniel 1965a, lines 39–40). Drayton's hubris is extreme: having never succeeded in obtaining Queen Elizabeth's patronage (Brink 1990, 2), Drayton used this idea to praise King James VI of Scotland even before the Queen had passed away. Who needs kingly status, Drayton seemed to ask James, when "thine own glorie from thy selfe doth spring"? (*Idea* 63, line 5; 1602). He claims a greater right to divinity for poets—a right based on poetic madness (Plato 1961, *Phaedrus*, 245 b)—than even royal birth can bestow. This was, without doubt, the biggest faux pas of Drayton's political career: the strategy failed to impress James and shocked Drayton's contemporaries, and Drayton never acquired the position at court which he desperately craved. The theme recurs elsewhere in his work:

> For they [the Muses] be such coy Things
> That they care not for Kings,
> And dare let them know it;
> Nor may he touch their Springs,
> That is not borne a Poet.
> (Drayton 1961, 2.347; "Ode to Himselfe,
> and the Harpe," lines 16–20)

> That little diff'rence 'twixt the Gods and us,
> (By them confirm'd) distinguish'd onely thus:
> Whom they, in Birth, ordaine to happy dayes,
> The Gods commit their glory to our prayse.
> (Drayton 1961, 2.280; *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, "Henry Howard, Earle of Surrey, to the Lady Geraldine," lines 117–120)

Drayton reuses the risky strategy in a dedicatory sonnet to a patron, Sir Walter Aston, in 1605, implying that he and his intended patron are equals in terms of merit, if not financial and social status:

> Our interchanged and deliberate choise
> Is with more firme and true election sorted
> Then stands in the censure of the common voise.
> (Dedicatory poem to Sir Walter Aston, lines 5–7; Drayton 1605, A2)

Drayton often laments the public nature of a poets' work—"Let others striue to entertaine with words / … I hold it vile that vulgar wit affords" (*Idea* 66, lines 9, 11; 1602)—while Daniel pleads introversion and natural modesty: "Nor are my passions limnd for outward hewe … My loue affects no fame, nor steemes of art" (*Delia* 4, lines 5, 14). This is strikingly at odds with both poets' protestations of immortality, as well as ambition for a public life. It is also at odds with Daniel's professed love of the boundaries of poetic form which some critics have seen as a medievalist tendency (Kneidel 2004, 72) and which require a high level of poetic skill to honor:

> All verse is but a frame of wordes confinde within certaine measure; differing from the ordinarie speach, and introduced, the better to expresse mens conceipts, both for delight and memorie. (Daniel 1965b, 131; *A Defence of Ryme*)

It is also at odds with his mockery of styles which use "aged accents, and untimely words" (*Delia* 46, line 2) and the need, expressed also in *Musophilus*, to write in a way which would be relevant to a contemporary audience and avoid obscurity:

> Be new with men's affections that are now;
> … For not discreetly to compose our parts
> Vnto the frame of men (which we must be)
> Is to put off our selues, and make our artes
> Rebles to Nature and societie,
> Whereby we come to burie our desarts,
> In th'obscure graue of singularitie.
> (Daniel 1965a; *Musophilu*s, lines 77, 80–85)

Both sequences display an almost obsessive interest in matters of relevance and reception. Drayton called Daniel "too much *Historian* in verse" (Drayton 1627, Dd2), which is hardly fair given the formal and thematic influence of Daniel's *Delia* in England. Perhaps the

comment could have been made in envy, as Daniel was associated with Sir Thomas Egerton (Pitcher 1999, 71; 2005) and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and held a position of influence at James I's court (Cadman 2012, esp. 367; Cano-Echevarria and Hutchings 2012, esp. 239), achievements to which Drayton aspired (Brink 1990). The irony of this censure is, of course, that Drayton's own "history in verse," *England's Heroicall Epistles*, is the work for which he was best known amongst his contemporaries. Richard Barnfield calls the *Epistles* "sweete" (cited by Buxton in Drayton 1967, 1.xxxviii), and Spenser compliments Drayton by saying that a Muse's invention "doth, like himselfe, heroically sound" (Spenser 1595, line 447). Both poets pitch their sequences to writers. Drayton's persona yearns to be admired by those who have known the toil of professional writing, and speaks with humorous self-deprecation to those who have not:

> Thou whose pen hath like a pack-horse served
> … Come thou and reade, admire, applaud my lines.
> (*Idea* 46, lines 5, 14; 1599)

> You that behold us, laugh vs not to scorne,
> Giue Nature thanks, you are not such as we.
> (*Idea* 25, lines11–12; 1602)

Overcome with humorous dread, he imagines a hostile reader,[7] and writes in a gentle, self-deprecating voice, belying the over-confident bluster:

> Me thinks I see some crooked Mimick ieere
> And taxe my Muse with this fantastick grace,
> Turning my papers, asks what haue we heere?
> Making withall, some filthy anticke face.
> (*Idea* 31, lines 1–4; 1599)

Why write poetry, one might wonder, when it is badly paid, recognition is poor, the lady is unyielding, and the reader is hostile? Drayton's answer is fresher and funnier than any other found in early modern English lyric:

> I will resolve you: I am lunaticke.
> (*Idea* 12, line 5; 1602)

No less funny are Daniel's exaggerations of Petrarchan conventions presented in the most outrageously eroticized voice of Elizabethan sonneteering. Here, for instance, he ridicules the exclusive, sublimated nature of Petrarchan love:

> [I] Affect no honour, but what she can giue mee:
> … I weygh no comfort unlesse she releeue mee
> (*Delia* 12, lines 6, 8)

He plays with the double meanings of the word "sight": at first he expresses a need to see the lady …

I onely sought the bliss to have her sight …
(*Delia* 28, line12)

… but in the next line, he reveals that what he is really after is being watched:

Her sight contented thus to see me spill
(*Delia* 28, line13)

He complains about the injustice of the lady's preference for playing with herself, rather than with him, even though he taught her everything she knows:

There my soules tyrant ioyes her, in the sack
Of her owne seate, whereof I made her guide.
(*Delia* 39, lines 7–8)

Daniel's humorous, vituperative Petrarchism, after the example of Etienne Jodelle and Pierre Ronsard, is a technique which influenced Shakespeare's sonnets to the Dark Lady:

When thou surcharg'd with burthen of thy yeeres
Shalt bend thy wrinkles homeward to the earth
(*Delia* 42, lines10–11)

Daniel's persona mocks the convention of modesty by concealing in the verse a jibe at the lady's expense, certain to provoke an educated reader's reaction:

None other fame myne vnambitious Muse,
Affected euer but t' eternize thee
(*Delia* 48, lines 1–2)

A political jibe lurks in the sonnet Drayton dedicated to Lady Anne Harrington, which reads like the parody of a laudatory sonnet employing the Petrarchan convention of *sobramar* or love that surpasses speech:[8]

What should commend your modesty and wit,
… standeth dumbe, in much admiring it,
And where it should begin, it there is ended
(*Idea* 58, lines 9–12; 1599)

Drayton uses insult in a complex way. Accusing the lady of being illegitimate is mixed with a compliment: she is a bastard because she is divine, while her parents are earthly folk:

Our Lawes allow no land to basterdy:
By natures Lawes we thee a bastard finde.
Then hence to heauen, vnkind, for thy childs part:
Goe bastard goe, for sure of thence thou art.
(*Idea's Mirror* 40, lines 10–14; 1594)

By casting the lady as the prodigal son (*Idea* 12, 1599), Drayton slyly suggests that she is too liberal with her affections. The biblical subtext, a parable on divine mercy, brazenly implies a correspondence between God's and the speaker's forgiveness. Daniel, meanwhile, reminds the lady of his divine immortalizing powers by embedding a sexual innuendo in Christic imagery: "And this my death shall christen her anew" (*Delia* 27, line13). Both speakers accuse their ladies of an astounding array of wrongs, including murder of virtue, destruction of art, mass murder, tyranny, infanticide, and witchcraft. Here, Drayton compares the lady to a doctor who tortures a man condemned to death by testing medical treatments on him:

> First make incision on each maistring vaine,
> Then stanch the bleeding, then transperce the coarse,
> And with their balmes recure the wounds againe,
> Then poison and with Phisicke him restore,
> Not that they feare the hopelesse man to kill,
> But their experience to increase the more;
> Euen so my Mistresse works upon my ill.
> (*Idea* 50, lines 6–12; 1605)

Drayton's lady is shown standing with her hands "imbru'd" in his blood (*Idea's Mirror* 14, 1594), or bloodied around her mouth (*Idea* 5, 1599). Daniel ridicules the convention of blazon by dismembering the lady's body (*Delia,* 18) (see Vickers 1985; Wall 1989; and Sedgwick 1985); while Drayton's speaker seeks to subdue Idea—"this Tyrant ever Martyring mee"—by "sweet punishments of love" which involve fettering, stopping the "passage of the ayre," forcing her to drink tears, binding, racking and, finally and most importantly, executing her by crucifixion (*Idea's Mirror* 15, 1594). The slapstick humor tames the cumulative effect of these descriptions, which could, otherwise, have been quite disturbing.

The moody, highly entertaining writer-speakers of Daniel's and Drayton's sonnet sequences exhibit the usual array of auto-poetic and emotional introspection, along with dry, slapstick humor, outrageous sexual innuendo, sarcasm, mockery of Petrarchan conventions, and ambivalence toward the processes of writing and reception. By using sophisticated characterization and proto-fictional mechanisms in sonnet sequences and applying them to the other first-person genres they worked on, Daniel and Drayton greatly enhanced the functionality of the first-person mode in English.

Notes

1 Unless otherwise stated, references to Daniel's work are to Daniel (1965b).

2 In this essay, I quote from *Idea's Mirrour* (1594) and *Idea* (1599, 1602, 1605, and 1619) using the reference to the sonnet, lines, and year of publication in brackets (e.g.: *Idea* 1, lines 1–4; 1619). Citing *Idea* has represented a challenge, as standard editions provide incomplete selections. For the purposes of this essay, I have cited *Idea* and other works by Michael Drayton using Drayton (1907) (which, despite its age, I have found to be the most complete) and Drayton (1961). I have also consulted Drayton (1967), although I do not generally use this edition to cite *Idea*, as it represents a selection of 33 sonnets from five sequences authorized by Drayton in his lifetime, all provided without reference to the year of their

publication. As an exception, I have used this edition to cite two sonnets which do not appear in Brett and Hebel's editions.

3 Queen Elizabeth I was passionately interested in both Tasso's and Ariosto's works (Johnson-Haddad 1994; Lawrence 2011, 649), which would have added to Drayton's, and particularly Daniel's, interest.

4 *Amorosa Visione* was printed in Italy in 1521, 1531, 1549, and 1558; *Il Corbaccio* in 1516, 1551, 1545(a), 1581, 1584, and (after Daniel's visit) in 1594; *L'Amorosa Fiametta*, a female complaint warning against the wiles of faithless lovers, became available in 1545 and 1557; also in England, in 1587.

5 Drayton (1907), the most complete available edition of *Idea*, does not print *England's Heroicall Epistles* prior to *Idea;* neither does Drayton (1967). Drayton (1961) is a rare edition which does.

6 Unless otherwise specified, all quotations of Petrarch's verses have been taken from Petrarch (1999).

7 This description could well be a humorous response to Sir John Davies, who had ridiculed Drayton's 1594 version of *Idea* in his Epigram 25 (see Davies 1599, C1).

8 *Sobramar*: a concept ascribed to Daniel Arnaut (see Braden 2000, 27).

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22
Art and History Then: Reading Shakespeare's Sonnet 146

Christopher Warley

> *Life—such is the god who comes to inhabit the deserted temple once again and command the revival of art.*
>
> Rancière, *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*, 136

"And death once dead, there's no more dying then." How to read the last line of sonnet 146? It gestures at Christian orthodoxy: because Christ died for your sins, no one really dies anymore. But the line also sounds a little preachy, self-satisfied, and smug. It comes very close to implying that its own logic, rather than divine intervention, is responsible for the death of death. Yet logically pronouncing the death of death ends up doing something like the opposite. "Death," "dead," "dying": saying a version of death three times does not make a triumph. Instead, the "gloominess of this sonnet," as Helen Vendler puts it, "has little of the radiance of Christian hope" (Vendler 1997, 614). God makes no appearance in the final line, and rather than a vision of eternity in heaven or a life safe from death, there is a negative statement ("there's no more dying") and an adverb: "then." *Then* stands in, so to speak, for the "Christian radiance" that the line does not have. And yet the line is not just all gloom. Deploying all the radiance that an adverb can muster, the line also, tacitly, poses a question: when death is dead and there's no more dying, does that mean there is life? Is there life *then*?

Though not as catchy as many of Shakespeare's Sonnets, sonnet 146 can reasonably represent them because it is full of life. It is not a joyous celebration of living, but, like most of the Sonnets, it offers a meticulous, occasionally manic, and regularly overwhelming effort to describe and sort through the satisfactions and dissatisfactions of being in the world. *Then* is gloomy because life is often gloomy. But *then* also maintains a feeling of expectation. It gestures outside itself to some other time: *then* things will be better than they are now. Even by Shakespeare's high standard of verbal compression, *then* is laconic.

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But it is not an anomaly. The Sonnets regularly manage to find a little solace in something as simple as an adverb. They can be depressing, but they are rarely desperate. In its muddles, its contradictions, and its hopes of something brilliant always hanging slightly out of grasp, sonnet 146 sets in motion the problems, but also the promises, of Shakespeare's Sonnets.

By turning to 146 as a point of entry into these poems, I follow Stephen Booth, who in his unsurpassed edition of the Sonnets also points to 146 as "the proper place to make" a case for how to read these poems, and perhaps how to read literature more generally (Booth 2000, 515). Booth's edition remains unsurpassed because it demonstrates that there is no tension between treating the sonnets as art and treating them as history—a tension which, despite readings by Empson, Sedgwick, Fineman, and Halpern, continues to prove critically attractive when the sonnets are treated either as a "cultural formation" (Stallybrass 1993) or as a lyric mode that "deliberately strips away most social specification (age, regional location, sex, class, even race)" (Vendler 1997, 2). Much of what has enthralled and exasperated readers of Booth's edition, I suspect, is his stress on the muddling between art and history: "The great virtue of poetic embodiments of human experience," he insists, "is that they house undeniable contrarieties of response instead of translating experience into thesis, antithesis, and synthesis" (Booth 2000, 516). Sonnet 146 is "moving in its serenity" (517) because it

> enables us singlemindedly to espouse spiritual values *and* to do so in a genuinely narrow vision that genuinely includes pertinent reminders of the considerations and attitudes it successfully excludes; 146 achieves a genuinely restricted frame of reference that *feels* as all-inclusive as the logic of Christianity asks us to believe it is. (516)

Booth's notes constantly make clear that the many arguments sonnet 146 makes, or just about any other of Shakespeare's sonnets make, do not necessarily hang together logically. But they do, somehow, hang together. The job of criticism is to describe that remarkable fact. Booth's reason is refreshingly straightforward: "Such improbable coexistence occurs regularly in human experience" (515). The sonnets sort of make sense and sort of don't because, well, life is like that. Readers share a common task with the poems: sorting through the improbable.

Still, Booth's position begs two related questions. Have poetic embodiments of human experience always imagined themselves as inexplicable unities? And has that human experience always seemed like an "improbable coexistence"? Sitting in the middle of Booth's notes is an assumption about poetry and life, and about art and history, that I would like to put under some pressure. Sonnet 146 cannot quite seem to decide what either art or human experience amounts to because it is caught in the midst of regime change: a change in the links between poetry and human experience. The improbable coexistence that Booth places at the center of poetry and life expresses what Jacques Rancière has recently called "aisthesis": not just a particular vision of what art is but an entire "regime of perception, sensation and interpretation of art" in which anything can be part of art (Rancière 2013, x). The feature of Shakespeare's Sonnets that is inescapable after Booth's exhaustive editing—the jostling of different meanings, of different languages, of different tones—is only possible within this aesthetic regime. But sonnet 146 also manifests a different conception

of art—Rancière calls it the representative regime—in which art reflects and reinforces separations between fine arts and mechanical arts, between men of leisure and artisans and slaves, between proportion and disproportion. These two regimes of art are not compatible: the improbable coexistence that makes up aisthesis throws into question the social separations that the representative regime reinforces.

Much of the trouble with *then* in sonnet 146, I am going to try to show, is that it embodies both of these two very different conceptions of poetry and life. The poem is probable and improbable, logically organized and conceptually errant. Part of what seems so difficult about the sonnet is its vacillation between these two conceptions of art. Yet the fact that it vacillates means that the poem tentatively comes down on the side of aisthesis. Sonnet 146 feels "all inclusive," as Booth puts it, because it argues that life, or at least the death of death, must be equal and available to anyone. And in this light, Booth's commitment to an open-ended criticism of Shakespeare's Sonnets—to a criticism "that admits that every impression that a poem evokes in the majority of its modern readers and can be demonstrated as a probable response in the majority of the poet's contemporaries is and was a part of that poem and cannot be argued away" (Booth 2000, 508)—this conception of the Sonnets and their criticism is part of the aesthetic regime, which, I will argue, is itself partly an outcome of the vacillations that you see in the word *then* in sonnet 146. Booth's stance on Shakespeare's Sonnets remains unsurpassed, consequently, because it is very much in keeping with the spirit and the struggle of the poems. Courtesy of Rancière, I will call this struggle, the questions caught up in the word *then* in sonnet 146, "democratic." As Rancière puts it in the epigraph, the "revival of art" is also a revival of life, because in its modern form, art is an expression of freedom and equality. Criticism can be part of this revival. By turning back to Booth, I also mean to make a gesture at reviving aesthetic criticism, because carefully attending to the promises of *then* in sonnet 146—that is, carefully attending to art—is democratic.

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When you speak of that most famous thing, the "Shakespeare sonnet," what exactly are you talking about? In most respects, Shakespeare's Sonnets are of a piece with others in the period. Though stressing the originality of Shakespeare's Sonnets has been an unfortunate and persistent feature of criticism, Shakespeare depends extensively, though not always explicitly, on other sequences in the period: Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* above all. Shakespeare adopts the form of the sonnet in English devised by the Earl of Surrey over 50 years earlier, and any of the dozens of introductions to Shakespeare's poetry will offer an adequate description of Shakespeare's techniques (see Spiller 1992; Cohen 2008). In place of the usual inventory, Booth offers a definition of Shakespeare's Sonnets so abstract as to seem, at first glance, totally useless. But it is, to my mind, the single best account of the Shakespeare sonnet. The "common denominator" of a Shakespeare sonnet is not rhyme scheme, or meter, or logical progression. It "is the unity of divisible things and the divisibility of units" (Booth 2000, 515). A Shakespeare sonnet is a unit that divides itself. So what, then, "unifies" a Shakespeare sonnet (I will come to the dividing in a moment)? Let me begin with a 1942 essay that Booth himself takes as a sort of touchstone, "Critical Principles and a Sonnet," by Donald Stauffer. The essay reports a conversation between

Reuben Brower, John Crowe Ransom, Daniel Aaron, Elizabeth Drew, and Stauffer himself, and its dialogic format turns this "mere literary curiosity" into something more: "Reading the essay is like thinking about the sonnet," writes Booth. "The essay tells the truth without focusing on *one* truth about the poem and subordinating the others to it" (513). Instead of imposing a thesis, an antithesis, and a synthesis, Stauffer's essay rearticulates the questions the sonnet poses. Within the essay's own divisible unity, Elizabeth Drew's remarks on the unity of sonnet 146 are especially elegant. "I come to something which I find hard to put in words," remarks Drew, "and impossible to defend or demonstrate logically." What she wants to describe, she says,

> is the difference between the feeling of the whole poem and its argument. I do not believe that Shakespeare is making out a case for immortality except as a formal device. He convinces neither himself nor me. Not for what it may be in the future but for what it is here and now the human soul is both poor and magnificent … Superficially I suppose we could call the doctrine of the poem Christian; it is conventional in its argument; it is almost sentimental in its doing away with the painful and the transient and the worthless, in its centering man's hope upon immortality and a system of future rewards and punishments. Yet in reading the poem I feel not a future but an immediate triumph over death. (Stauffer 1942–1943, 57)

In Drew's reading, *then* in the final line means something like here-and-now: "not a future but an immediate triumph over death," a triumph that occurs in the very moment you read the poem and recite the final word. One way this immediacy occurs is grammar. *Then* operates as a deictic. A deictic, explains Jonathan Culler in his classic structuralist account of how literature works, "force[s] us to construct a fictional situation of utterance, to bring into being a voice and a force addressed" (Culler 1975, 166). *Then* refers to an external context but, paradoxically, orients the reader not outward but inward. *Then* means here-and-now because of this out–in movement, with the result that the stilted, sophomoric logic in the last line falls away as it is overcome by "an immediate triumph over death" in "the feeling of the whole poem." Such triumph is "hard to put in words and impossible to defend or demonstrate logically," remarks Drew, and yet the poem has done it. *Then* has defeated death and manifested life.

Drew's reading is a classic instance of New Criticism, which argues that poems are important because of the unity they achieve. And New Criticism is the primary source for Booth's sense that Shakespeare's Sonnets have a "common denominator" that is "the unity of divisible things and the divisibility of units" (515). Yet the roots of this elusive unity go back much further than 1942, to the eighteenth century. The most influential account of the unity of art was, and remains, Kant's *Critique of the Power of Judgment*. Recognizing the Kantian origin of the question of unity is important because it challenges a widespread assumption that treating a poem as a unity must mean discounting or escaping history: that the unity of a poem transcends time, that there is a basic conflict between describing the beauty of a poem and locating it in history. But for Kant, beauty is very specifically an expression of historical freedom. What distinguishes the judgment of beauty, argues Kant, is that it is a disinterested judgment. Instead of simply expressing a personal preference ("I like the color blue"; "A hot shower is good") a disinterested judgment "must contain a ground of satisfaction for everyone": "there must be attached to the judgment of taste,

with the consciousness of an abstraction in it from all interest, a claim to validity for everyone without the universality that pertains to objects, i.e., it must be combined with a claim to subjective universality" (Kant 2000, 96, 97). Because there can be no "concept"—no "general representation of an attribute or mark of a class of objects" (Guyer 2006, 374)—that determines beauty, any judgment of beauty must, at exactly the same time, remind you of "subjective universality": very broadly speaking, it reminds you that you are free and equal to everyone else. Beautiful unity ends up also meaning equality: beauty has to be true for everyone.

The unity of the beautiful object will, consequently, always be a little strange, because its borders can never be quite pinned down. To define the object precisely would give it a concept and would signal my interest in the object. And then it would not be beautiful, but merely agreeable or good (like a hot shower); Kant's experience of unity in an object must, stresses Paul Guyer, "*go beyond* whatever sort of unity or organization is entailed by the concept of concepts" (315). Beauty, insists Kant, always exceeds any concept put in place to describe it. One result of that excess is that you, as judger of beauty, or reader of sonnet, are reminded that you are free. "And death once dead, there's no more dying then." *Then* signals a unity, the "feeling of the whole poem." But *then* also moves beyond that unity to manifest equality and freedom. The death of death, Drew insists, is the triumph of a human soul that "is both poor and magnificent." Poor *and* magnificent: the death of death is a universal claim, a claim available to anyone and everyone. It knows no class distinction, no social insignia, no gender difference, no particular identity at all: it encompasses both poor and magnificent. The very fact that it is impossible to define *then* with precision signals, in the poem, the universal death of death and, just maybe, life for everyone.

Nevertheless, attributing the free life promised by sonnet 146 only to its enigmatic beauty is not entirely adequate. After all, the final line also makes a universal claim by invoking Christianity. The poem is, very obviously, in part a "Christian exhortation to reject transient pleasures and gain eternal life," as Booth puts it (Booth 2000, 516). But Christianity is not exactly the "concept" that unifies the poem either. Instead of Christian doctrine, the poem offers you the word *then*. The poem's theology, Drew stresses, is merely conventional and "almost sentimental" "in its centering man's hope upon immortality and a system of future rewards and punishments." This sentimental deployment of Christian theology is characteristic of Shakespeare's work in general. As Erich Auerbach remarks of Shakespeare's plays, "the drama of Christ is no longer the general drama" it was for so much medieval literature. Like Shakespeare's plays, sonnet 146 is "still permeated with the entire ethical wealth" of the medieval Christian past (Auerbach 1953, 323, 324). It clearly alludes to the promise of eternal life that Christ's suffering offers all Christians. But Christ is not the concept that organizes the poem. Instead, Shakespeare's poetry "has a specific human action as its center, [and] derives its unity from that center" (323). Christianity reverberates in the insistence on universality: unity must be a unity for everyone, as Kant argued. But that unity—that beauty, that life—will only emerge when its center is "human action." Instead of a theological promise of equality after death and in heaven, you just get *then*, the feeling of the whole poem that promises a universal life on earth.

But in sonnet 146 this sense of universality held over from Christianity bumps into another conception of art and life. And the bump happens when you notice that *then* is not

only the last word of the poem. *Then* is also the first word of the third quatrain. And that quatrain does not say that the death of death is for both the poor and the magnificent, that the enigmatic unity of the poem realizes universal life and freedom. Instead, it stresses that the death of death happens when the magnificent soul lives, vampire-like, off its servant:

> Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
> And let that pine to aggravate thy store:
> Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;
> Within be fed, without be rich no more.

Then at the start of line 9 means "that being the case, since that is so." It "functions as a particle of inference" (*OED*, 5) that points to a conclusion as a result of the problem that has been tentatively laid out in the first two quatrains:

> Poor soul, the center of my sinful earth
> [...] these rebel pow'rs that thee array,
> Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth,
> Painting thy outward walls so costly gay?
> Why so large cost, having so short a lease,
> Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?
> Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,
> Eat up thy charge? Is this thy body's end?

The logic of the first two quatrains is notoriously difficult, in no small part because of the possibility of a corruption in line 2 (about which more in a moment). Yet the *then* of line 9 retrospectively helps to organize something like an argument. Because the poor soul is arrayed by "rebel pow'rs," spending its fortune (this is a "poor" soul) on a "fading mansion" even though it only has "so short a lease," it is in danger that "worms" will inherit its "excess." As a result of this (opaque but apparently bad) situation, the poem argues, *then*, poor soul, here is what you should do. You should "aggravate your store" by living upon your servant's loss. "Aggravate" is an obscure word. It seems to mean mostly "increase" here, but, as Booth points out, aggravate "inevitably infuses the line with overtones of the senses 'to aggravate' still has—'to make worse,' 'to annoy,' 'to inflame.' Those senses do not modify the discursive sense," he stresses, "but they can aggravate a reader's sense of uneasiness about a recommendation of spiritual values couched in terms appropriate to a petty, mundane, vindictive vow to revenge in kind" (Booth 2000, 506–507). The uneasiness emerges because Christian spiritual values are supposed to be universal values. The word "aggravate" aggravates because it transforms universals into particular and interested values, and that is why the third quatrain can sound "petty, mundane, vindictive." In the third quatrain, and perhaps in the entire poem, the death of death exists only for lords who suck the life out of their servants. What seemed a promise of universal life becomes a hope for more efficient exploitation.

The third quatrain consequently expresses a unity very different from "the feeling of the whole poem." In line 9, the unity promised *then* means the hierarchical organization of life, not equality. And it means the correspondence of the organization of the poem to that

social organization in which lords rule unapologetically over servants. *Then* in line 9 is supposed to be the solution to all the problems set out in the first two quatrains: rebel powers, dearth, the dissolution of your estate (your mansion, your lease, your costly outward walls). The third quatrain is trying to respond to and impose itself upon the first two quatrains. It advises living off a servant's loss in order to reinforce not a universal life but a hierarchical order to which the sonnet would correspond: the social organization of lords and servants. If the sonnet were in order, so would be the world, and vice versa. When social order is reinforced, the poem stresses, when you get your expenses straightened out, when you spend money more wisely, and, above all else, when you subordinate your servant to yourself—*then* you get a couplet and there is no more death. Even death itself consequently does not mean a universal condition. Death is a social disorder, a violation of a hierarchical society that the sonnet would correct. The sonnet's dogged logic laboring through three quatrains and a couplet tries to reimpose the standing that the "poor soul" has lost at the start. "Within be fed, without be rich no more" implores line 12. Among the very many possibilities this line entertains (there are a lot of them), one is a reversal: soul, you will not be rich on the outside. But you will be rich on the inside. No doubt lurking in these words is a conventional Christian piety: the soul is rich; the body is poor. But the terms in which that piety is expressed have seemed unpleasant, even un-Christian, to some very sharp readers. "[D]o you not find the imagery of the eating worms itself so excessive," Stauffer reports John Crowe Ransom snapping, "as to destroy any calm ethical judgments in the argument?" (Stauffer 1942–1943, 55). Ransom's sense of excessiveness, and Booth's "reader's sense of uneasiness," reveal that they expect the sonnet to be artistic in a particular, Kantian sense. To a rich soul-lord, though, to anyone who imagines that poetic unity should correspond to social order, there is no uneasiness or excess.

So which *then* is more important, line 9 or line 12? It is hard to say. The poem does not cleanly align social and poetic unity any more than it realizes the death of death in its last line. Instead, sonnet 146 dramatizes the vacillation between two different conceptions of the poem's unity: a vacillation in the very conception of what counts as art. The *then* of the third quatrain embodies Rancière's representative regime: its privileged status will emerge quite specifically against the lowness of a servant; the various parts of the sonnet should express a hierarchical unity. But aisthesis appears in the *then* of the final line, a *then* that manifests the "intrinsic excellence" of the "feeling of the whole poem." And this whole feeling emerges quite specifically as the antithesis to the vision of *then* in the third quatrain: it is universal and egalitarian, not particular and hierarchical. In other words, the sense of *then* as beauty is implacably hostile to the *then* of the third quatrain in specifically social terms: will there be life *then* for everyone, or only for lord-souls? What you witness in sonnet 146 is not only a complex poetic embodiment of human experience, as Booth argues. You also witness the emergence of a concept of art, and a concept of an equal and democratic life, that makes both "poetic embodiments" and "human experience" seem valuable. The two *thens* of sonnet 146 are incompatible with each other: this is a sonnet defined by "the unity of divisible things and the divisibility of units." But the very fact that the poem vacillates between them also expresses a historical transformation in art and life: from a representative to an aesthetic regime. In its vacillating excess, sonnet 146 becomes an expression of aisthesis.

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The most notorious place that sonnet 146 seems excessive is in line 2, the "prize crux of the Sonnets" according to C. J. Sisson (Sisson 1956, 1: 214). In the 1609 quarto, the only version of the Sonnets to appear in Shakespeare's lifetime (versions of sonnet 138 and 144 also appeared in *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1598/99; see Burrow 2002, 74–82), the start of line 2 repeats the end of line 1: "Poore foule the center of my finfull earth, / My finfull earth thefe rebbell powers that thee array." Very many readers, editors, and commentators have felt that the repetition must be an error of some sort. It seems likely that the compositor repeated the end of the first line as the beginning of the second line ("my sinfull earth"). Many emendations for line 2 have been suggested (Kerrigan offers a helpful list), but none of them have acquired widespread acceptance (which does, very occasionally happen in Shakespeare emendations).

Line 2 could, no doubt, be a mistake to be corrected, but emending it is troublesome because it also is a problem with which the poem grapples. Is there a rebellion in this poem or not? The rebel powers, points out Booth, are "both the besiegers and the besieged; they imprison and they protect" (505) because they "array" the soul. They marshal forces against the soul; they marshal forces for the soul. They dress the soul, but it is not certain whether dressing the soul is good or bad. Rebel powers are powers that (*OED*) "refuse obedience or allegiance," that "fight against the established government or ruler," that are "seditious" or "insurrectionary": which is a pretty good way of describing a line with 12 or 13 syllables in an otherwise pentameter poem that appropriates and redeploys the sinful earth. The result is that it is not clear what an emendation is supposed to do because the lines enact a rebellion that never quite comes into focus. Are the missing words supposed to define the rebels, make the poem about a struggle for a clear political and poetic organization—a sort of set-up for the *then* of the third quatrain? Should the poem maintain the opacity of the final *then*, a unity that always exceeds itself? Is this a poem that will put down a rebellion in favor of social hierarchy? Or does the excessive unity of the poem celebrate rebels? Does it declare life for everyone, or only those on one side of a political and social divide?

The presence of both a representative regime and an aesthetic regime means that the criteria by which an emendation could be judged are always vacillating, and the result is that every emendation feels inadequate. When Booth remarks that the "paradox inherent in the perfectly fluid fusion of metaphors" in the opening lines "is emblematic of the whole poem" (2000, 505), that emblem is doubly paradoxical. For the "fluid fusion of metaphors" is an ideal only for a conception of art that prizes its unity and excess. But line 2 is a problem because the sonnet simultaneously deploys another conception of art in which metaphors should not be fluidly fused but proportionately organized. The question of emending line 2, in short, is always a question about art.

Whatever side line 2's "rebel powers" are on, and however successful they are, there is, nevertheless, a rebellion of some sort happening in sonnet 146 of which the difficulties surrounding emending line 2 are a symptom. And this rebellion is one reason that Shakespeare became, in Auerbach's words, "the ideal and the example for all movements of revolt against" classicism in the later eighteenth century (Auerbach 1953, 313). It is not, I think, entirely a coincidence that Rancière's *Aisthesis* begins with a failed emendation of sorts that turns out to be not just a rebellion but a revolution: Johann Joachim Winckelmann's description in 1764 of the *Belvedere Torso*, a fragment of an ancient Greek statue now in the Vatican Museum. Like the end of sonnet 146, Winckelmann too turns

to an indeterminate unity to reject an aesthetic of proportion. The statue is called the "torso" because it is missing its head, its arms, and its legs below the knees. Previous artists had tried, much like Shakespearean emendors, to fill in the lack by adding a club, a bow, or a distaff to clarify what, exactly, this was a statue of. But Winckelmann transforms the lack of limbs into a virtue. The beauty of the torso is not signified by an order that could be filled out with correctly proportioned limbs. Instead, beauty is defined "by indeterminacy and the absence of expressivity," by the "tension of many surfaces on one surface, of many kinds of corporality within one body" (Rancière 2013, 6, 9). The lack of limbs is not a problem for Winckelmann, insists Rancière, because the lack makes clear that it is tension and indeterminacy, not proportion and elegance, that is the beauty of Art. Instead of social and artistic proportion, the real origin of the torso's beauty is "the liberty of the Greek people" (xiv). Sounding a lot like the argument that Kant will systematize 30 years later, Winckelmann stresses that the *Belvedere Torso*, mutilated and lacking its limbs and head, expresses liberty "in the contours that melt into one another. It is everywhere and nowhere on the surface that withdraws what it offers" (18). Greeks have liberty because they are free aesthetically, "free and equal in their sensible life itself" (xv), and that freedom manifests itself in their art as tension and indeterminacy.

But the torso's freedom does, it turns out, have one clear boundary, and one that is familiar from sonnet 146. The location where freedom occurs, the place where aisthesis happens, is History. Art as "a notion designating a form of specific experience" only emerges in the eighteenth century, stresses Rancière. And its new divisible unity is only possible because History as a form of collective life is invented at the same time. "Art and History," he stresses, "are born together" in the work of Winckelmann and his contemporaries. "Art exists as an autonomous sphere of production and experience since History exists as a concept for collective life" (15).

Sonnet 146 makes clear, though, that Winckelmann's particular linking of art and history itself has a long genealogy. The new coordination of Art and History in Winckelmann, Kant, Schiller, and Hegel draws upon Shakespeare's rewriting of Christian universality as earthly collectivity: on the stress that the equal life promised by the last line of sonnet 146 will be a life on earth. The reason Shakespeare's work became a model for reactions against aesthetic harmony, stresses Auerbach, was the "historical consciousness" that Shakespeare's stylistic mixing created (Auerbach 1953, 323–324). Booth likewise points out that the opening line of sonnet 146 "suggests the beginning of human history" (Booth 2000, 503). That history is, at first glance, a specifically Christian one: the line "implies [history's] course, and implies its end, which is also the focus of the poem's end, the Last Judgment, doomsday—when bodies and souls of the righteous shall be reunited in eternal life and death shall have 'no more dominion' over them (Romans 6:9)" (503). The course of Christian history is only implied, though, because the sonnet does not embrace Christianity's telos. Instead, the sonnet offers a different conception of history, a history that is *then*. The poem holds onto the universalism of a Christian vision, the insistence that at the Last Judgment all human beings will equally be judged by God. But Shakespeare's poem redirects such egalitarianism into the only life there is in the poem, the location that someone—Shakespeare, a compositor, whoever—felt the need to write twice: the life of "my sinful earth," the life that emerges in the feeling of the whole poem, the life that appears *then*. Christian history orients itself toward a life beyond. Sonnet 146 orients itself to a life on earth *then*.

Then is not a transcendent but a historical world. The vacillation of sonnet 146, its uneasy movement between artistic paradigms, opens up the gap that is the historical world, the world of the collective life of people, a world in which all people are, potentially, the same. For *then* is not simply a structural deictic, pointing to the spatial outside of the poem in order to generate its internal voice. Nor is it only the summary of a logical argument that tries to align poetic form and social hierarchy. *Then* also refers, declares the OED, "to a specified time, past or future: opposed to now." *Then* means very specifically *not now*: death will be dead *then*, but not right now. The "voice and force" (Culler 1975, 166) that the deictic *then* paradoxically constructs is, also paradoxically, always delaying the arrival of that forceful voice. This temporal vacillation applies to the *then* of the third quatrain as well. The death of death promised by living off your servant has not happened yet. The poem tries to pull riches inside its soul, but *then* also always means "not now." The soul is still poor. The promised alignment does not happen in the poem but beyond the poem, at the moment when the poor soul starts behaving correctly. Within the very regime of representation, within its hierarchy of forms of life, a vacillation is already occurring as the re-arrival of hierarchy is postponed: it will arrive *then*. In both cases, the *then* of the poem depends upon a past and a future, so that the art of the poem expresses a collective life in history.

For Rancière, this egalitarian promise comes with one, catastrophic, qualifier. Art works "come to us as the product of a collective life, but on the condition of keeping us away from it" (Rancière 2013, 19). The whole force of the poem occurs *then*: in the past or in the future, but not now, not as you read it. It is a promise of egalitarian souls or reimposed hierarchy, rather than a realization of either of those things. Here is the dead end of so many Kantian theories of art: the subject can never know the thing itself, and rather than a proliferation of freedom there is only the proliferation of isolated subjects. The object perpetually remains out of the grasp of the subject. Because the unity of art promises the freedom of a people, that freedom never arrives. Winckelmann's free Greeks are "entirely enclosed in a block of stone" (18). Promising the death of death *then* means life will never happen.

But Booth's maintenance of an open-ended reading process—a process that effectively is Shakespeare's Sonnets—makes freedom and liberty manifest. By insisting that what defines a Shakespeare sonnet is "the unity of divisible things and the divisibility of units," Booth embraces the divisible unity of modern aesthetics. But he extends that divisible unity to readers as well. Booth's open-ended reading tacitly insists that the free people realized in the judgment of the work is, well, us. What irritates or frustrates readers of Booth's notes, and what irritates and frustrates readers of Shakespeare's Sonnets, is that they offer no abstract principle, no "pattern concept of what is desirable absolutely speaking" (Auerbach 1953, 443), no clear criteria, by which they could be judged, emended, evaluated, or organized. Do you call them Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, or Shakespeare's Sonnets, or Shakespeare's sonnets? Is this a single work or a jumble of different works? But that lack of clear criteria is simply another way of saying that what is so remarkable about these poems, and what is remarkable about their greatest contemporary reader, is that they are both democratic. Shakespeare's Sonnets, like *then*, are adverbs: qualifiers of an ongoing action, modifiers of what is happening, efforts to sort through the satisfactions and dissatisfactions of living in history. All readers, and all responses, stresses Booth,

are "part of the poem": that is, part of life. What unifies the divisible in Shakespeare's Sonnets is democratic life. The only horizon that can limit the judgment of them is another reader, careful or uncareful, thorough or sloppy, but always free to judge Art living in History: that is, to judge sonnets living then.

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23
Metapoetry and the Subject of the Poem in Donne and Marvell

Barbara Correll

The place of John Donne and Andrew Marvell in current early modern studies is unshakably prominent, interest in their work unflagging and prolific in the last decades. It was not always so. Donne's rediscovery and canonization in the first half of the twentieth century through the work of Grierson, Eliot, Gardner, and others established him as a major figure to stand beside Shakespeare as an early modern lyric poet, as well as a writer in several genres. For Marvell, the reception is less unified; one editor of an earlier edition of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* actually introduced his work as "the most major minor verse in English" (Abrams 1979, 1360). His more modest literary ambitions and lack of self-promotion, the publication of his *Miscellaneous Poems* in 1681, three years after his death by a woman who claimed to be his wife, and the smaller body of work in poetry, letters, and prose, distinguish Marvell from Donne; like Donne, however, he is now a major literary figure.

The focus of this essay is the lyric poetry of Donne and Marvell, especially their amatory verse. These are two poets whose lyric poems are remarkable, original and complex, often difficult, and certainly provocative in their approach to amatory discourse. Their ability to compose strong and plural lyric voices speaks to the topic of early modern subject formation, to intertwined questions of sexuality, history, and politics, and especially to the place and the writing of poetry itself. Their work has two closely related concerns: early modern subject formation and poetry itself as literary subject. A look at some exemplary poems will show how Donne and Marvell address the subject in the poem and the subject of the poem as issues of early modernity.

Critical interest in the two poets' lives and works for the last decades has been strong and unceasing. Donne biographies, notably by Bald and Carey, revise Izaak Walton's seventeenth-century hagiographical portrait and represent Donne as a more complex historical and literary figure (Bald 1970; Carey 1990). To such biographical work Arthur

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Marotti's path-breaking *John Donne: Coterie Poet* also belongs for its chronological approach that links his life and writing and that, against a high humanist canon, establishes a record of manuscript transmission that shows the historical and social dissemination and reception of Donne's writing (Marotti 1986). Since then, the *Donne Variorum* continues to uncover manuscript collections and records of textual variants, and each published addition to the *Variorum* includes an annotated bibliography of available Donne scholarship, year by year (Donne 1995–). An article by Ernest W. Sullivan II summarizes the *Variorum*'s textual work and explains what is at stake in its discoveries: ever-evolving knowledge of his texts, embedded in ongoing questions of dating, dissemination, and attribution (Sullivan 2005). For the Donne specialist this is indispensable research, but even those new to Donne studies gain much by getting beyond traditional claims of a coherent and unified oeuvre and gaining a sense of the textual indeterminacies of his works. This applies not only to textual variants, to possible sequential planning on the poet's part, but also, as we shall see, to still vexing questions of attribution for individual poems.

Donne, still apparently subject to the stigma of print, and reluctant to become "rhapsoder of mine own rags," wrote for coteries and enjoyed notoriety as an unconventional love poet whose work, circulated widely in manuscript form, left perennial questions of dating and dissemination.[1] Marvell, on the other hand, while an active public and political figure engaged in administrative and parliamentary work in the English Revolution and Restoration, remained an intensely private or, as Nigel Smith describes him, an "intensely secretive" writer who "kept a sense of achievement to himself" (Smith 2012, 10) and whose works also leave questions of dating.

For Marvell, recent reception has produced newer biographies, new editions, new approaches and debates. Exemplary here would be the work of Nigel Smith, whose biography *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (2012) sees Marvell moving among disparate political views and leanings, though often trenchantly commenting on its historical and political context, rather than merely reflecting it. Smith's *The Poems of Andrew Marvell* (2006) is a sweeping edition of the individual poems with copious glosses and detailed notes on influence, reviews of their reception, and arguments for dating them. Hirst and Zwicker's *Andrew Marvell: Orphan of the Hurricane* (2012), whose title quotes a line from what may be his most difficult poem, "The Unfortunate Lover," reads his poetry as a record of a subject who struggles with identity vis-à-vis patriarchy, sexuality, and politics in the historical setting of political upheaval.

Biographical questions can quickly become textual questions. Donne biographers debate whether Donne was a shameless opportunist and apostate, a crypto-Catholic, an absolutist, or a self-divided subject; some critics read the poems as autobiographical records. In his provocative biography, John Carey celebrated what he saw as Donne's triumphant masculinity and argues that Donne dealt with his opportunistic turning against his Catholic past by displacing his guilt onto constitutively unfaithful women in the elegies and love poems (Carey 1990). Other critics, like Stanley Fish, see Donne's masculinism and rhetorical bravado as problems posed but not resolved in the poetry (Fish 1990). And for both poets, the topic of sexual politics—the representation of women, the question of triumphant or beleaguered masculinity—is often central.

Donne and Marvell have generated a massive body of scholarship: handbooks and guides, articles and monographs, all of which contribute to ongoing issues and debates. The range

of critical work on their lyric poetry might be approached through analogies with two of their famous lyric poems: Donne's "Valediction: Forbidding Mourning" and Marvell's "The Definition of Love."[2] In Donne's famous valedictory poem the central figure, the compass, is the emblem that joins the lovers when they are separated, but it also serves as a figure of measurement and as a disciplinary metric: the woman is figured as the fixed leg who makes the mobile speaker's "circle just." The poem is traditionally read as affirming the reciprocal love of a couple who part when the male speaker travels, that reciprocity signified by the two joined legs of the compass; it is also conventionally read as representing Donne's own investment in the enduring stability of mutual love that remains, to use an early modern term, "in compass" (Targoff 2008). Marvell's "The Definition of Love" uses another metric, locating the lovers in another geometrical figure: two parallel lines. In effect Marvell interrogates and radically revises Donne's image of perfection and idealized love, strategically disrupting "the love which doth us bind" with Fate's "iron wedges," "Despair" and "Impossibility." The compass that in Donne's poem joins the couple and makes the "circle just" is transformed by Marvell in a bleak "definition" of love in which the lovers are fated never to meet. In what amounts to a rereading of Donne, then, Marvell's poem goes out of compass.

But the relationship of Donne and Marvell is not one of simple oppositions; it would make no sense to claim that Donne's lyric poetry is as centered—in compass—as the valedictory poem, or similar verse such as "The Canonization" or "The Ecstasy" that similarly situate lovers in centered and mutual love, signifies that that Donne's poetry lacks the reflexivity or the startling twists of Marvell: far from it. These are not two unified figures who compose grounded work, but rather poets conversing or debating with themselves on power, love, gender, and on poetry itself. The two poets' interests in amatory discourse are far more complicated, and critical approaches to them can eloquently reflect that complexity, although when we look at the critical work since the 1980s we can say that much of the criticism of the two poets in the last 30 or 40 years falls roughly into two categories: one, tending toward formalism and traditional humanism, that looks back to the rediscovery of Donne in the first half of the twentieth century, that sets out to explicate the poems in theme, form, and chronology, that projects determining links between biography and poetic text, and sees an affirmative unity between the man and the work: that remains, in other words, in compass; the other, which can be historicist, poststructuralist, gender-focused, politically interested, that scrutinizes schematic or affirmative reading in dealing with the poetic texts, and that keeps the critical conversation going. David Norbrook's critique of those, like Carey, who would locate Donne in a political "standpoint"—while he argues for Donne's "quest for a standpoint"—can apply to Donne's wide-ranging explorations in amatory lyric and, for that matter, for Marvell's as well (Norbrook 1990, 6). Another illustration of this division can be seen in newer editions of their poetry. On the one hand, Nigel Smith's Marvell edition actively enters into the debates on dating the poems and presents updates on critical approaches (Smith 2006). On the other, Robin Robbins's 2010 edition of Donne's poems unquestioningly reproduces, at least as far as the *Songs and Sonets* are concerned, the editorial and critical stance of Helen Gardner and, despite a more recent body of criticism, firmly maintains her decisions on the "dubia."[3] The critical reception of Marvell's "Nymph Complaining" illustrates the division as well. Where earlier criticism speculated about the character and personal drama of Marvell's

nymph, the speaker of the poem, later criticism wonders not what the nymph is doing or feeling, instead addressing what the poem is doing.

Yet this division is not entirely satisfactory. First, it leaves out the important earlier criticism of William Empson, who set out to "rescue" Donne from the affirmative approaches and editorial practices of the 1950s and 1960s (Empson 1993), and the seminal work on Marvell by Rosalie Colie which brought Marvell criticism to a new level of sophistication in its awareness of his reflexive poetic practice (Colie 1970). These past interventions anticipate much of the generative criticism of more recent decades. Second, such a division may seem to leave out the important work of textual scholarship and its work on variants and dissemination which in one way could be seen as strengthening a knowledge economy that would normally respect traditional boundaries and thus remain in compass. At the same time, and whether intentionally or not, textual scholarship mirrors and tacitly supports the tendency of more progressive criticism to keep questions open and to place critical weight on indeterminacy at the fundamental level of the very textual material that constitutes the work under discussion and in debate.[4]

The long survival of the vexed category of metaphysical poetry continues to influence, even structure discussions of the two poets, who then stand as its historical bookends, with Donne audaciously yoking erotic passion with intellectual virtuosity as the originator, Marvell audaciously yoking (some version of) erotic passion with intellectual virtuosity as the last of the metaphysicals. Despite the problems of the category of metaphysical poetry—is it a genre? a school? a style? a philosophy? a worldview? a literary-historical period? a marketing tool for anthologies?—many critics who cannot manage to pin it down still genuflect to the term, repeatedly retracing its origins in Dryden and Johnson, its revival by Grierson and Eliot. Anthologies in particular continue to keep the category alive, as Burrow's recent *Metaphysical Poetry* (2006), which distinguishes between the unwieldy category of metaphysical poets that individual differences belie and an identifiable body of metaphysical poetry as a mode of writing, attests.[5] Those who, like Burrow, question its usefulness or attempt to refine it, tacitly answer to and sustain the term, even when placing it in scare quotes.[6] The uncertainty about its definition and applicability suggest that metaphysical poetry is itself an unstable category, and even on literary-historical grounds Donne and Marvell themselves undermine the notion of its usefulness or validity: Donne's poetry begins at the time of late Elizabethan verse writing, contemporary with the composition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*; Marvell's association with Milton places him at a remove from so-called metaphysical territory.

To write about either author is a challenge, but the project of writing on both Donne and Marvell's lyric poetry is daunting. There are many handbooks and guides on each author, and comparisons between the two appear frequently, although they are seldom sustained.[7] Of the current scholarship on Donne and Marvell, the most productive contributions are the more interrogatory, more theoretically inflected readings, often found in individual and influential essays.[8] This scholarship addresses such familiar issues as the relationships of Donne and Marvell to the literary tradition—Petrarch, Ovid, and others—and their actively adaptive responses. It also probes Donne and Marvell's relationships to political, economic, and gender questions, as well as the links between the negative or aggressive representation of women and early modern masculinity; the relationship between the speaker and the poet; the ways that the poems construct a centered or dislocated,

self-divided early modern subject; the relationship of Donne and Marvell to their historical and political contexts. Along with such thematic and social issues are questions of editing, attribution, circulation, reception, which can also contribute to critical work. So, if we let go of the category of metaphysical poetry and turn instead, as Rosalie Colie's seminal work on Marvell did, to metapoetics and metapoetic reflexivity, reading Donne and Marvell can be more critically fruitful. A selection of Donne and Marvell's love poems and their treatment of amatory discourse illuminates a constellation of interwoven issues, in which the subject of poetry and the early modern subject intersect.

Donne's most popular and provocative verse, his love poetry, attracts the greatest critical attention. Those active in the debates on the love poems argue about such matters as whether Donne and his speaker are identical, whether that speaker is an ardent lover who reveres reciprocity and lovers' unity or an unreconstructed misogynist; whether he is hyper-masculinist and self-aggrandizing or self-ironizing, actually subversive of masculinist notions. Questions of persona and gender representation relate as well to Donne's engagement with amatory discourse and Petrarchan traditions, for Donne's exploration and interrogation of amatory discourse often demonstrate a cantankerous and argumentative relation. Petrarch, Ovid, and lyric convention clash in the Elegies, where a woman can be addressed as "nature's lay idiot," or an excoriating "Anagram" perverts the praise of the (also anatomizing) Petrarchan blazon, or the speaker can subject a woman to strategically disgusting comparisons, as in elegy 8, with its indelible reference to "spermatique issue of ripe menstruous boils."

Donne's explorations of amatory discourse can be seen expanded, even radicalized in Marvell, whose verse can be chilly, alienating, or even perverse in its treatment of the erotic. The situation in Marvell is consciously staged and artificial: a nymph, a coy mistress, a Petrarchanesque suitor who is doubly assaulted by the visual beauty and voice of a "Fair Singer," an isolated "unfortunate" lover who is much more or other than human. Marvell's treatment of sexuality in poems like "The Garden" can be unsettling when, for example, he imagines a pre-sexual Eden—"When Adam walked without a mate"—and presents his speaker as a literal tree hugger who frolics amorously with melons in the grass.

Donne and Marvell write amatory verse about writing amatory verse, and their subjects locate themselves in the composition of poetry. Love is invoked and probed but not affirmed as transcendent; on the contrary, it becomes the affective ground of other erotically and politically charged topics. A selection of their amatory poems—responses to Marlovian seduction verse, poems on tears and weeping, poems about the politics of love, and, finally, two of their gnarliest poems, "The Unfortunate Lover" and "Sapho to Philaenis"—will illustrate this.

Donne's "The Bait" and Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress" engage with a tradition of seduction and carpe diem poetry made popular by Marlowe's "Passionate Shepherd" poem. Donne takes Marlowe's "bait" as a poetic exercise in imitation and emulation and in doing so decodes seduction as bait: both allure and deception. "The Bait" begins by echoing Marlowe's "Come live with me and be my love / And we will all pleasures prove" and revises the promise of "all pleasures" to "new pleasures"—"and we will new pleasures prove"—in an aquatic pastoral setting: he invites the beloved on a fishing expedition. He literalizes the bait of promise and seduction in making his poem about fishing bait. Where Marlowe's poem rhetorically sets out to bait its addressee, in Donne the bait of

seduction is collapsed and conflated as the beloved, invited to take the bait, *is* the bait that has already caught ("catched") the speaker. Although baited to respond to a lyric poem circulating since the end of the sixteenth century, Donne gives an astute reading of seduction rhetoric that promises, deceives, and places the woman squarely at the center of a logic that makes her object and actor.

"To His Coy Mistress," Marvell's quite famous final word on the passionate shepherd poems, responds less to Marlowe than to Ralegh's Nymph, whose prudent skepticism for the promises—the bait, the deception—of the shepherd makes her the source for the coy mistress whose resistance to seduction Marvell's speaker would overcome in his carpe diem proposition. The pleasure promised is subject to temporal forces. Ralegh's "Nymph's Reply" is circumscribed by conditionals that beg the question of seduction in the first stanza—"If all the world and love were young" (line 1)—and the last: "But could youth last, and love still breed; / Had joys no date, nor age no need …" (lines 21–22). Un-amorously skeptical of pleasures promised by an untruthful shepherd for a hypothetical future, Ralegh's nymph soberly recognizes the temporal limits that will structure Marvell's self-conscious response. Like Ralegh's nymph, Marvell's speaker also scrutinizes the promise of future pleasure, but he turns her prudent objections upside down; he takes Marlowe's easy imperative "Come live with me" and counters the nymph's "coyness" with a grimmer subjunctive—"Had we but world enough, and time, / This coyness, Lady, were no crime" (lines 1–2)—in which a temporal and moribund future threatens the present that should be seized and, at the end of the poem, truly seized, and enjoyed.

The poem progresses through three temporal realms. The speaker first stretches out time with comic exaggeration, setting his staged ardor from the antediluvian "ten years before the flood" (line 8), to the "thirty thousand" years needed for a transhistorical blazon of the lady's body (line 16), to an apocalyptic "conversion of the Jews" (line 10). But an abrupt memento mori interrupts this extravagance when "Time's winged chariot" resoundingly intervenes and an image of "vast eternity" displaces the comic attenuation of the first part of the poem and moves the poem to a fateful future of "lust" turned to "dust":

> … then worms shall try
> That long-preserved virginity:
> And your quaint honour turn to dust
> And into ashes all my lust: (lines 27–30)

In this "ecchoing song," as Colie knew, Marvell makes recognizable the conventions of seduction lyric even as he adds a startling dimension, placing the poem in a resonant carpe diem tradition and reintroducing the imperative present of seduction: "Now let us sport us while we may" (line 37). But that echo of the tradition becomes an invitation to an annihilating intensity, first with the strange simile of time-devouring birds of prey—"let us … / … like amorous birds of prey, / Rather at once our time devour" (lines 37–39)—and finally with an invitation erotically to distill "strength" and "sweetness" into a force that will tear "Thorough the iron grates of life" (line 44). Literally seizing the day cannot defeat time, which we know from the poem does not stand still, but it will force time ("our sun") to pursue the lovers to their erotically ecstatic and willfully self-destructive end.

Marvell does not always outdo Donne in the self-conscious extravagance department, as a comparison of their poems on tears and weeping shows. In Donne's three-stanza valedictory poem, "Of Weeping," two lovers face each other before their separation. On the one hand, the poem is a *reductio ad absurdum*: tears shed and metaphorized become a literal flood of tears that threatens to overpower, drown the speaker; on the other, in its exaggerations it mocks the very threats it extravagantly projects. The speaker, like a grieving Petrarchan lover, weeps before the woman coining his tears and stamping them with her reflected image. He is, we could say, weeping for all he's worth: the tears are coined and "pregnant," offspring (fruits) of the grief that engenders them, and a supplementary more ("emblems of more"). But the image of the woman imprinting her lover's tears with her fleeting image, lost when the tears fall and signify departure, is transformed in the next stanzas when she weeps, her tears join his, and they flood a world of imprinted images. In the third stanza, that flood of the woman's tears (the real emblems of more, the actual fruits of grief) threaten to drown the speaker who extravagantly projects the danger of the female addressee. Donne's characteristic tension between projected threats and a certain acknowledgment that the poet/speaker self-consciously exploits his own extravagance is fully on display here.[9] The poignant ambivalence of the line "Weep me not dead in thine arms" hovers between a masculine anxiety about who "sighs most"—weeps most or comes most?—and bawdily inflected, self-mocking humor.[10]

Although Marvell's "Eyes and Tears" seems the obvious candidate for comparison with this poem, "Mourning" is the stronger response to Donne on the treatment of tears and their poetic potential. The poem begins with a disingenuous question: "What mean these infants which of late / Spring from the stars of Chlora's eyes" (lines 1–2), and it offers a meaning, somewhat snide in its ambivalence, by the end. The Chlora in "Mourning" is, like the Chlora of "The Gallery," a figure of artifice and contrivance, a poetic function. In "The Gallery" she is product of the speaker's derivative imagination, clearly brought forth from a gallery of female representations that "people" the mind of that speaker; she operates within the circle in which the speaker projects the gallery that resides in his mind as a comment on poetic creation as endless derivation, including the derivation of the speaker himself. In "Mourning" Chlora's tears pass through three stages of observation by a celestial "you" who traces the movement of the suspended tears, to an accusative "some" who declare her a narcissist who "courts herself in am'rous rain" (line 19), to the "others" who see her withholding a "tribute" of tears from one slain lover and looking for a replacement victim. The poem is situated in a familiar Petrarchan frame of female cruelty, broken in the final stanza when the speaker disingenuously offers his not wholly suspended judgment to the three "decipherers": "sure as oft as women weep, / It *is to be supposed* they grieve" (lines 35–36). Such a supposition is, in effect, no supposition but an insinuation that echoes the accusatory perspectives of the poem.

In "Mourning" the copious tears that threaten to drown the speaker in "Of Weeping" are artificially staged; Marvell in effect defangs the woman who threatens to weep the speaker dead in Donne's poem by placing her and her tears in a mock hypothesis, skeptically regarding weeping women as performers in an all too derivative Petrarchan drama. Donne's self-conscious extravagance becomes Marvell's rhetorically understated but always startling statement on amatory tradition and the poet's derivation from and adaptation of it.

In another instance of taking on tradition, Donne examines the politics of love in "The Good Morrow" and "The Sun Rising." He transforms the world of kings and the world of early modern exploration into a bed-world inhabited by the lovers and ruled by the speaker:

> For love, all love of other sights controls,
> And makes one little room an every where,
> Let sea-discoverers to new worlds have gone,
> Let maps to others, worlds on worlds have shown,
> Let us possess one world, each hath one, and is one.
> ("The Good Morrow," lines 10–14)

In "The Sun Rising" Donne's speaker squints and banishes the sun from the bedroom, boasting of his ocular power to invert and take over the political world: "She is all states, and all princes, I, / Nothing else is. / Princes do but play us …" (lines 21–23).

On the one hand, these poems could serve as illustrations of Donne's masculine persuasive force that poetically appropriates the external world of political power. On the other hand, Donne's poems are bound by the terms of that world; the poems have him displacing macropolitical tensions to micropolitical concerns. Donne's political inversion would shut out the political world that it unavoidably references in its disavowal. Even in the bed world of intimacy the amatory is situated in the social-political world and the poem mirrors that world in its own political-erotic categories of a monarchical male speaker and the female state he rules.

In poems like "The Garden" and "Nymph Complaining for the Death of Her Faun" Marvell stages a strategic retreat from history, a staging that contains a kind of poised engagement with it. In "The Garden" Marvell's speaker rejects the terms of the historical-political world, a vain world where men pursue "the palm, the oak, or bays" as signifiers of ambition and success, and he looks to their sources in nature in his "garden-state," structurally opposing the green world to the historical world. "Nymph Complaining" begins with the violent intrusion of the troopers as signifying the violent intervention of history and war, linked to betrayal in love, and the poem develops into a non-contrasting whiteout, a disappearance motivated by the initial violence. The unresolved and historically conditioned conflicts, in which speaker and poet are denied stability or a center, are foregrounded by Marvell's interrogatory and experimental energies.

Finally, two difficult and much debated poems powerfully address the subject in and of the poem for Donne and Marvell: Donne's elegy "Sapho to Philaenis" and Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover." So much has been written about "Sapho to Philaenis" that it would seem to drown out the arguments that it is not Donne's poem. Clearly, since it appears in both the 1633 and 1635 editions of the *Songs and Sonets*, one would have to first argue why it should be excluded. Also fruitless are arguments that seek to insert the figure of Sappho in a drama in which, like some readings of Marvell's nymph, she acts as character. One way to approach the poem is by reading it as a poem about poetry, even about the origins of lyric, and to see it as an exercise in writing a poem about failed poetry. If the other Elegies are poetic compositions influenced by and in competition with Ovid, Propertius, and Catullus, then "Sapho to Philaenis" adds something crucial: it

points back to a still earlier classical influence and indeed addresses the very origin of lyric poetry: Sappho of Lesbos (Correll 1995). The much-debated question of how the poem represents lesbian love can best be addressed by considering the place of lesbian love in amatory discourse and the composition of poems. For the poem begins with a writing crisis as the speaker, Sapho, laments her lack of "holy fire," her inability to write, and that failure stems from a homoerotic lack of the heterosexual difference that enables Donne to write love poems. As Sapho describes it, "Men leave behind them" the signs (semen) of their "tillage," where lesbian love leaves "no more signs … / Than fishes leave in streams, of birds in air" (lines 39, 41–42). As Donne's bold experiment—composing a fine poem about poetic failure—he only gets out of the corner (of sustaining failure) he paints himself into by reinvoking sexual difference in the last lines, as Sapho sees her lost lover eliciting "Envy in all women, and in all men, love" (line 62). But in restoring that sexual difference Donne reinscribes himself in the poetic economy of loss as a precondition for poetic composition: the signs of difference are the little death that threatens Donne's speaker in "Of Weeping" and that underwrites and undermines his "masculine persuasive force."

Marvell's "The Unfortunate Lover" has received much critical attention for its difficulty, even its impenetrability. Hirst and Zwicker have called it "that script of the self," "a veritable aetiology of the self," and the "supreme text of Marvell's imagined life" (2012, 74, 75). It begins with a fleeting image of happy but doomed lovers who stand in for a sweet, idealizing amatory lyric that cannot "make impression upon time" (line 8) and proceeds to an abrupt transition to a pungent story of the lover, an isolated figure who recalls the artful suffering of the Petrarchan lover but one whose torment involves no female love object. In this unmediated representation of love, this unvarnished reading of amatory discourse, of the subject in poetry, Marvell's lover is an "orphan of the hurricane" (line 32), cast away, suspended between "hopes and air" and "despair" (lines 33–34), "life and death" (line 40), defiant toward "tyrant Love" (line 45) even as he is "Torn into flames, and ragg'd with wounds" (line 54).

Lynn Enterline, in a psychoanalytic reading of Marvell's "Unfortunate Lover," sees Marvell's lover as putting the subject on trial (Enterline 1995, 187). We can probably go further and, to conclude, bring in Donne to say that, in their poems, the two poets put poetry and the subject in poetry on trial. This is not a matter of early modern anti-poetical writing, against which Sidney so famously argued in his *Defence of Poetry*. Instead, Donne and Marvell themselves submit their poetry to an interrogation that shows them both to be reflexive, sometimes radically so, about poetic discourse, about the role of language and the stakes of writing or, for us, of reading a poem.

Notes

1 "I am brought to a necessity of printing my Poems … By this occasion I am made a Rhapsoder of mine own rags, and that cost me more diligence, to seek them, then it did to make them." In Letter to Goodyer, from *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (London, 1651), 196–197. Cited in Sullivan (2005, 190).

2 All quotations from Donne's poetry are from Donne (1971). All quotations from Marvell's poetry are from Marvell (1972).

3 See, for example, Annabel Patterson's argument for including the elegy "A Citizen and His Wife" (Patterson 1990) and the significant body of critical work on "Sapho to Philaenis," including my own (Correll 1995).

4 This would also distinguish textual criticism from historicist or material culture studies that link Donne's poetry to early modern science or empirical history.

5 Burrow very loosely defines this as "one kind of poetry which some poets in the seventeenth century sometimes wrote" (2006, xxiii–xxiv). His rejection of "metaphysical poets" is a tacit but definite response to Gardner (1957).

6 An exception to the problem of the category of the metaphysical appears in Targoff (2008), which makes an interesting and spirited argument for considering Donne's philosophical endeavors, or his "metaphysics" in the poetry and in other writings.

7 One exception would be Klawitter (2010).

8 I mention several exemplary essay collections which gather what may be the best examples of current criticism: Mousley (1998) and Marotti (1994), both of which reprint essential material.

9 Donne's ambiguous confession, "I did best when I had least truth for my subjects," suggests a more artful relationship to amorous experience in which Donne seems to revel in writing the outrageous (Bald 1970, 7).

10 It may be digressive to mention that the line has a somber element to it. If the valedictory poems are poems from Donne's marriage to Anne More—a marriage in which More died in childbirth at the age of 33, having given birth 12 times—then the issue of who is wept dead is a poignant one.

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24
Jonson and the Cavalier Poets

Syrithe Pugh

If Petrarchan love justly dominated discussion of sixteenth-century lyric in the foregoing essays, Jonson tunes his lyre to a different tradition, with lasting effect on his followers. His verse collection *The Forest* opens with a poem titled "Why I Write Not of Love," a witty turn on the *recusatio* poems in which Anacreon and Ovid (especially) explained their inability to write of anything else. Jonson does occasionally write of love, but his work is certainly not characterized by the Ovidian or Petrarchan amatory obsessions which resulted in sixteenth-century attacks on lyric as detrimental to public morals. Jonson looked back beyond such poetry to Greek lyric, and to Horace, whose *Carmina* ("songs") imported its varied meters into Latin (Moul 2010).

As its name (from "lyre") indicates, lyric was originally composed for musical performance. The practice of song-setting for private and domestic performance is important in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but in Archaic Greece there was a public aspect to the performance (Johnson 1982). Pindar's choral odes, performed at public games, celebrated athletic victories in terms which reasserted the community's religious traditions. The monodies of poets like Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon, too, were rooted in social context and occasion: even when not marking deaths, weddings, or festivals, they celebrate the values of a social group "united by commitment to shared political goals, or to the formalized hedonism of the symposium, or to the quasi-religious service of Aphrodite and Eros" (Russo 1973–1974, 710). It was this public performative role which Jonson, and Horace before him, sought to recreate. The poet is "useful to the state," Horace argues (*Epistles* 2.1.124–138), teaching virtue and securing the gods' favor through choric hymns. But poets in Horace's society no longer enjoyed such a central position. The notion of performance on the lyre is already metaphorical in his *Carmina*, and Horace's desire for a public role is always in tension with the desire to retreat from "the profane rabble" (*Carmina* 3.1.1), to seek a select, discerning audience. This strain

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becomes dominant in the *Epistles*, after the cool public reception of the *Carmina*: he scorns to recite to "theatres crowded" with the "fickle masses" (1.19.37–41); he leaves drama alone (*Valeat res ludicra*, "farewell the stage," 2.1.181) because its success depends on the mob's vulgar judgment, and writes instead for readers like Augustus (2.1.214), the metaphor of lyric performance now dropped altogether. In reality, Horace addresses a private audience of Augustus, Maecenas, and personal friends, or recites to fellow poets in meetings like that recalled in *Epistles* 2.2.91–105 at Apollo's Temple. He views wider publication with distaste: in its eagerness to be put up for sale (*prostes*) by the Sosii, Horace's booksellers, scorning the locks dear to the modest or chaste (*pudico*), Horace's book resembles a rent-boy; he warns that it will be loved for a while, but then, well-thumbed and dirty from the hands of the rabble, suffer the ignominy of being packed off to the provinces or becoming a school text (*Epistles* 1.20). Yet he still seeks publication, and is aware that he owes his monumentality and immortality to public dissemination of his written texts: his parting words to this book ask it to spread his fame abroad. It may be the lyre which will lift him to the stars in *Carmina* 1.1, and it may be as a "melodious bird" that he will travel the empire to be "studied" by provincials in *Carmina* 2.20, but this is merely a poetic way of describing the fate awaiting the material book in *Epistles* 1.20. The Greek lyricists he imitates are themselves, after all, by Horace's time part of a *literary* canon, their lyres long since silenced.

Jonson and his followers show similar ambivalence about public dissemination. Compare Herrick's "To his Booke":

> While thou didst keep thy *Candor* undefil'd,
> Deerely I lov'd thee; as my first-borne child:
> But when I saw thee wantonly to roame
> From house to house, and never stay at home;
> I brake my bonds of Love …
>
> (3, lines 1–5)[1]

The print publication for which Herrick has carefully prepared *Hesperides* is compared to prostitution. But the work's former chastity did not consist in being read by no eyes but Herrick's. In common with most lyric of the 1620s and 1630s, many of the poems included in *Hesperides* had circulated in manuscript among the educated social elite. Manuscript circulation, among groups connected by friendship, kinship, and patronage, was grounded in real social interactions at court, the universities and Inns of Court, and in literary fraternities, frequently involving musical performance and recitation. Manuscript verse also carries much of that performative aspect symbolized by the Greek lyre: its ephemerality, occasionality, and foundation in community (Traister 1990, 82–83). But like Horace's preferred audience, this elite community excludes "the profane rabble." Print's wider audience brings the potential for the more truly public role Horace describes in *Epistles* 2.1, reforming the nation's manners and speaking to the gods on its behalf; it also preserves poetry, bestowing the monumentality of the canon. But print publication of lyric is, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, marked with a "social stigma" (Saunders 1951; Krevans 1992; Marotti 1995) akin to Horace's distaste for mass audiences. With the exception of contributions to commemorative volumes and occasional commendatory

sonnets, lyric was not written for the press in the 1620s and 1630s, poets enjoying secure social standing still keen, like Sidney in the *Defence*, to distinguish themselves from the rout of rhymers who look to the book trade to eke out a living.

In preparing his poems for the press in 1648, Herrick was joining a "rush to print" by royalist poets, the second of two remarkable print phenomena bookending our period. Numerous single-authored volumes of lyric verse appeared in the 1640s and 1650s, including many from a single publisher, Humphrey Moseley, their royalist affiliations foregrounded in content and front matter. The new publication method repackages manuscript verse as acts of political defiance. When Moseley publishes Suckling's poems posthumously in 1646, for instance, he calls them *Fragmenta Aurea*, fragments of a Caroline Golden Age, whose passing the poet's death, foregrounded in the frontispiece's funerary monument, comes to symbolize. As Thomas Corns observes, "what had celebrated, untendentiously, the life and values of the personal rule of Charles I carried a new freight of political significance as a sort of reservoir of a culture that was (royalists hoped temporarily) suspended" (Corns 1993, 201). Suckling died early in 1642, before the King raised his banner against Parliament. His royalist allegiance, had he survived, would not be in doubt (he was involved in the first Army Plot of 1641). But most of the poems in this volume were written in the 1630s, the product of a culture which did not know it was about to become fragmented. Caroline poems become different utterances in print, not merely because courtly modes are provocative in the Civil War context, but because print addresses a wider audience, and addresses it in a different way. Manuscript poetry is essentially private, the sound of an elite talking to itself; in print, it enters the public sphere, to be heard alongside very different voices, and by those whose social status excluded them from manuscript networks.

Yet these volumes are also remarkable for the ways in which they preserve the feel of poetry in manuscript circulation and evoke the elite society in which manuscript culture operated. It is as if the relation between print and manuscript culture is being thought out anew. But it is not entirely new: at the beginning of our period, Jonson is also an amphibian of manuscript and print. His 1616 *Works* represents a landmark in the history of print publication, yet the verse it contains cultivates the aura of manuscript poetry; thereafter until his death Jonson wrote verse only for manuscript circulation. Jonson's exploitation and combination of the two media reflect his attempt to negotiate his position within a highly stratified society, and influence the Cavaliers' handling of print in changed political circumstances. Considering these negotiations is crucial to understanding how the poets of this period conceived the social role of lyric, which Jonson, by tuning his songs to the Greek and Ausonian lyre, made central to the genre.

Jonson was not born to gentlemanly status, and struggled to attain it. Brought up by a bricklayer, his mother's second husband, he was fortunate to attend Westminster School and be taught by the great antiquarian, William Camden, "most reverend head, to whom I owe / All that I am in arts, all that I know" (*Epigrams* 14). But his family lacked the means to send him to university, and he was forced to seek his living, briefly as a bricklayer and a soldier, finally as player and writer in the theater. Attending university conferred gentility on the base-born. Association with the theater had the opposite effect: players were classed as laborers, the term "playwright" coined by Jonson himself to suggest a parallel with the lowly wheelwright. The public theater's commercial aspect and socially inclusive audience

meant that it shared the social stigma of print. As a literary genre too, drama had fallen from its high status in the classical genre-hierarchy, a status Jonson stridently reasserted. But when *The New Inn* failed in 1629, and the public rejected his efforts in didactic comedy in the classical mold, he was himself ready to stigmatize and "leave the loathed stage" (recalling Horace's response to the debased tastes of contemporary theater audiences, *Valeat res ludicra*). The insult Jonson hurls at unappreciative audiences in "Ode to Himself" is that their vulgar taste shows them the peers of "stagers and … stage-wrights," their "plush and velvet" no truer signs of gentility than the players' "patched" costumes. From "things so prostitute," he turns to lyric, "the Alcaic lute / Or thine own Horace, or Anacreon's lyre" (lines 41–43), promising to sing the praises of King Charles to a harp that will "hit the stars." This image is taken from the end of Horace's first ode, which dedicates his collection to Maecenas, agent of Augustus' patronage. Its context is relevant, for one of this ode's concerns is how lyric composition will raise Horace's social status. Born the son of a freedman, Horace was lifted "from low estate to greatness" (*Carmina* 3.30) by the skill which attracted Maecenas' attention. In this first ode Horace abjures his contemporaries' ambitious pursuits in favor of the lyricists' ivy crown, which will "separate [him] from the multitude" to "mingle with the gods." Jonson goes further: drawing on Horace's later assertion that poetry immortalizes its subject in *Carmina* 4.8 (where it is poets who have lifted Hercules and the Tyndarides to the stars), Jonson's verse will "rais[e] Charles's chariot 'bove his wain." So far does lyric skill undo the deficiency of birth that Jonson can ennoble the King.

Taking Horace's relationship with Augustus as his model, Jonson repeatedly imps the wing of his literary authority on the political authority of the king and aristocracy. Praising King James as "best of poets" in *Epigrams* 4, he ennobles his own occupation, and in a place where this is especially necessary. Epigram's reputation as scurrilous and politically inflammatory had made it the target of the Bishops' Ban of 1599. Jonson disowns "licentious" English epigram ("To My Book," *Epigrams* 2), to follow "the old way and the true" ("To My Mere English Censurer," *Epigrams* 18) of Martial, who mixed moral satire with fulsome praise of Domitian. Nevertheless, to publish *Epigrams* as an independent verse-pamphlet, as Jonson originally planned (it was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1612), would have risked offending conservative sensibilities. In the event, they were not printed until their inclusion in Jonson's folio *Works* in 1616. Publication in this prestigious format was less risky, partly because its price put it beyond the reach of the rabble. Epigram 3, written with the planned pamphlet edition in mind, expresses fastidious scorn of the sort of audience it would expose him to. Jonson distances himself from commercial motives, imploring his bookseller ("that mak'st gain thy end") to take no steps to encourage sale, but to allow the volume

> To lie upon thy stall till it be sought;
> Not offered, as it made suit to be bought;
> … For termers or some clerk-like serving-man …

The mode of sale imagined comes as close as possible to the privacy of manuscript circulation: it will be purchased only by those who already know of Jonson's verse, presumably through connections with the elite who have access to it in manuscript, and who would certainly not include serving-men. In folio, there would be little danger of such lowly buyers.

Prior to Jonson's folio, Spenser was the only poet to see his single-authored poetic works to the press without embarrassment; even he began anonymously, and regularly foregrounded his court connections in paratexts. Sidney entered print only posthumously; his aristocratic credentials made subsequent printing of lyric less objectionable, but he would never have stooped to print when alive, and the 1598 collected edition's frontispiece wards off lower-class readers with its picture of a pig sniffing a marjoram bush, inscribed *Non tibi spiro* ("Not for you do I breathe forth"): like the swinish audience in Jonson's "Ode to Himself," it cannot appreciate Sidney's refined verse. By the time Spenser's *Workes* were published as a collection, he too was dead: Jonson is the first living poet to use the title *Works* (along with King James in the same year). But publication in this format aligns Jonson with classical authors, whose currency in print betokens revered cultural status. The volume's authorial glosses draw attention to Jonson's classical learning, and recall the commentary in Renaissance editions of classical works. The frontispiece depicts Jonson, DOCTISSIMI POETARUM ANGLORUM ("most learned of English poets"), wearing Horace's laurels; Holland's accompanying verse calls him "Sole restorer of ancient art, Father of deceased learning." In 1619 Jonson's honorary degree from Oxford would undo the shame of never having attended university: Jonson pre-empts it here. Classical authors were regarded as both pinnacles of aesthetic excellence and repositories of moral wisdom. Jonson's verse continually identifies aesthetic with moral perfection, describing virtue through the metaphor of beauteous inner form, like that of architecture, or poetry itself (Peterson 2011, ch. 2). Print's monumental connotations are apt for immortalizing such architecturally conceived forms. But moral and aesthetic excellence are intimately related to social status throughout the volume's two verse collections, which cultivate the feel of poems circulated in manuscript, and the sense of Jonson's involvement in elite communities of manuscript exchange.

Manuscript verse was normally circulated in the form of miscellanies, growing as recipients added verse before passing them on. The result was an unordered mixture of different poets, styles, forms, and subjects. Though *Epigrams* and *Forest* are the work of one author, they share this miscellaneity. The *Epigrams* mix satire, praise poems, funeral elegy, verse epistle, and mock epic; poems praising the Sidney family form a connecting thread in *Forest*, but are interspersed with love lyric, epode, satire, and prayer. Manuscript verse was often personal and occasional, marking recent social interactions, and sometimes sent like letters to named addressees. These features recur frequently in Jonson's print collections, building up a rich picture of the society in which Jonson moves. *Epigrams* addresses many poems to named individuals, mostly aristocrats and holders of political office, but also a few intellectuals: the prefatory dedication to Pembroke speaks of "leading forth so many great and good names as my verses mention." "To Lucy, Countess of Bedford" (84) remembers a social occasion when, just refused money by her husband, he was forestalled in his plan to ask her instead, by her offering unasked: he sends this poem to remind her to fulfil her promise. Another poem is sent to the same Lucy "with Mr. Donne's Satires" (94), which she has "desired" of him, highlighting Jonson's participation in manuscript networks, and emphasizing their exclusivity: "Rare poems ask rare friends" at line 6 is a compliment to Lucy, but also distinguishes Jonson, already a "friend" of these poems (as of their author). The poem's conceit is that Lucy deserves to read and will enjoy the satires because of her "rare" virtue (where others would take offense, recognizing themselves in Donne's descriptions), but readers of these poems must also be "few" for other reasons, and "of the best" in a social sense. Readers of Jonson's print volume without Jonson's privileged

access to this elite society would not be among them: Donne's poems were printed only posthumously, in 1633. Epigram 96 addresses Donne himself, accompanying a parcel of Jonson's epigrams in manuscript: Jonson values Donne's opinion more highly than the praise of mere "porters" and "players," sought by "Those that for claps do write." Print readers unacquainted with the poems in manuscript are dismissed as beneath notice.

Forest emphasizes Jonson's ties of friendship and patronage with the aristocratic Sidney family. Since his poetry had appeared in print, the invocation of Philip's memory in *Forest* 2 and 12 serves to ennoble Jonson's publishing act. But the title enhances the lingering aura of manuscript exchange, and as a metaphor running through the collection enacts a delicate negotiation between manuscript's ephemerality and print's permanence. As a note to Jonson's posthumously printed *Underwood* explains, it reflects the collection's manuscript-like miscellaneity: "the ancients called that kind of body *sylva* … in which there were works of diverse nature and matter congested, as the multitude call timber-trees, promiscuously growing, a … forest." The classical precedent is Statius' *Silvae*, a miscellaneous collection of occasional and praise poems presented as dashed off at the request of the emperor and other wealthy acquaintances, circumstances reminiscent of seventeenth-century manuscript composition. Jonson's *Forest* shares these features, as it also shares Statius' social conservatism. A series of emblematic trees in Jonson's collection further enriches the trope. His praise of Penshurst's fertile estate, symbolizing Robert Sidney's social standing and traditional virtues, focuses on Philip Sidney's oak, "That taller tree, which of a nut was set / At his great birth, where all the muses met" (lines 13–14), and on the oak and copse named after Robert's wife, the first because she went into labor beneath it, the second because she fed deer there, which now Robert serves to his friends: these trees are images of birth, growth, and continuity linking Sidney genealogy, the endurance of Philip's poetry, and the reciprocity of hospitality. The well-timbered estate also indicates ancient nobility, a family never forced by debt or ambition to fell their trees. The next poem praises Robert's son-in-law Wroth, who, rather than pursuing vice or ambition abroad, lives contentedly on an estate boasting

> curled woods and painted meads,
> Through which a serpent river leads
> To some cool, courteous shade, which he calls his … (lines 17–19)

This shade also evokes the opening image of Virgil's *Eclogues*, Tityrus beneath the shady beech, traditionally allegorized as Virgil enjoying Augustus' patronage. Later we see "those boughs made / A fire now, that lent a shade" (lines 45–46), to warm an hospitable feast like that enjoyed by Jonson in "To Penshurst." In *Forest* 13 the image carries further freight, as Katherine, Lady Aubigny, is exhorted

> Grow … fair tree, and as thy branches shoot,
> Hear what the muses sing about thy root,
> By me, their priest … (lines 97–101)

This tree is at once the fertile Katherine, the family whose ramification she ensures, and her husband's patronage, sheltering Jonson.

The trees of Jonson's forest *are* its aristocratic addressees, then. But they are also Jonson's poems, which give his addressees this noble form. Jonson's return of immortality for patronage is the theme of *Forest* 12, sent as a New Year's gift to Philip Sidney's daughter. Elizabeth will value Jonson's gift of verse above gold, thanks to her inherited "love unto the muses" and immunity to greed, which corrupts society, giving "pride fame, and peasants birth." Jonson's verse also exalts, but it exalts virtue rather than pride, and aristocrats rather than peasants. Following Horace *Carmina* 4.8 and 4.9, Jonson lists Greek heroes who owe to poets their fame and place among the stars, and promises he will do likewise for his addressee, Elizabeth, and "that other star" Lucy Countess of Bedford, "sing[ing]" their praises in "notes" which, like those of "old Orpheus," the original lyric poet, can move stones. (He recalls the miracles wrought by Orpheus' "melodious lyre" described in Horace's panegyric *Carmina* 1.12.) All his patrons

> Shall thronging come, and boast the happy place
> They hold in my strange poems, which, as yet,
> Had not their forms touched by an English wit.
> There like a rich and golden pyramid,
> Borne up by statues shall I rear your head …
> And show how, to the life, my soul presents
> Your form impressed there … (lines 79–83, 86–87)

In *Carmina* 3.30, Horace boasted that his poetry, the first to import Greek lyric into Latin, would endure longer than the pyramids. Jonson's verse gives this enduring form to Elizabeth, and where Horace in his first ode anticipated that, borne up by lyric, he would strike the stars with his head, here it is Elizabeth's "head" which Jonson will "rear." But this inner form of virtue which he immortalizes is identified with the aesthetic form of his verse. "Which" in line 81 refers both to Jonson's "strange poems" (unfamiliar because importing classical forms into English) and to the thronging patrons they describe, an ambiguity confirmed when we see Elizabeth's "form impressed" in the poems' form (Peterson 2011, 71). In 1616, "impressed" connotes print, as the manuscript poem did not, and elite readers who knew both might connect this to the poignant change to the poem's ending. The manuscript poem ends with a wish that the year will bring Elizabeth a son. By 1616, Elizabeth's husband was known to be impotent, and the printed poem breaks off as it mentions him, with "*The rest is lost.*" For all Jonson's concern to preserve the aura of manuscript verse, it is the monumentality of his printed volume which provides the enduring "impress[ion]" of the Sidney line the Earl was unable to sire: *Forest* participates metaphorically in the lineal descents it celebrates.

But Jonson is still an inferior and dependent: *Forest* 12 is essentially a begging letter. The "Tribe of Ben," which met from the early 1620s for convivial evenings of poetry reading hosted by Jonson in the Apollo Room, upstairs in the Devil and St. Dunstan tavern, recast such relations. An informal literary community, it both mimicked and transfigured the social hierarchy of birth. Exclusive as the social elite with which it overlapped, sustained like it through manuscript exchange and social gatherings, its criteria of belonging were wit, learning, poetic skill, and moral probity, with low-born Jonson as head and arbiter: paterfamilias of a different kind of noble family. The formal initiation of

those admitted is recorded in "An Epistle Answering to One that Asked to be Sealed of the Tribe of Ben." Describing Jonson's Stoical virtue, it promises friendship to similar souls; the addressee (possibly Thomas Randolph) proves himself one by the quality of manuscript verse he has shown Jonson (with the familiar identification of moral and aesthetic excellence): "I will take you so / As you have writ yourself." Randolph's reply underlines the Tribe's relation to social hierarchy. He no longer envies aristocrats their "lineal honours," for his adoption by Jonson (Apollo's son, like Orpheus) makes "Phoebus himself my grandsire," the Muses his aunts (lines 16–21).

Lyric responses to Jonson's "Ode To Himselfe," addressing Jonson's social status, reflect the interactivity of manuscript composition within and beyond the Tribe.[2] Imitating Jonson's stanza-structure and tropes, "I. C." and Randolph endorse Jonson's revision of social hierarchy.[3] I. C.'s "Ode: to Ben Jonson Upon his Ode to Himself" implicitly compares Jonson's plays to his more exclusive Apollo Room gatherings:

> … if thou make thy feasts
> For the high-relish'd guests,
> And that a cloud of shadows shall break in,
> It were almost a sin
> To think that thou shouldst equally delight
> Each several appetite … (lines 21–26)

Umbra ("shadows") is the Latin term for uninvited guests. It is regrettable that the theater is open to all, but Jonson should not be surprised if this public includes some who "had rather drink / Out of the common sink" (lines 33–34); as in Jonson's original, the base tastes of these "silken men" (line 41) belie the gentility their dress implies. Jonson should indeed turn from such vulgar audiences to lyric. Randolph's "An Answer to Mr. Ben Jonson's Ode to Persuade Him not to Leave the Stage" echoes Jonson's comparison of well-dressed critics to swine, who "more delight in mast" (line 14): they will prefer "what Brome swept from thee" (line 34) (plays by Jonson's former servant, Richard Brome), while "guests of a nobler straine" (line 28) appreciate Jonson's. For Randolph, Jonson does not despise his audience *enough*:

> Their hiss is thy applause:
> More just were thy disdain,
> Had they approved thy vein … (lines –68)

Jonson should ignore them, and compose in all genres. In "An Answer to the Ode of Come Leave the Loathed Stage &c," Feltham by contrast (from outside the Tribe) reproves Jonson's "self-conceit" (line 53) but does so with Jonson's stanza-structure and Jonsonian classicizing pedantry, remarking that Alcaeus and Anacreon never "taught so bold assuming of the bays, / When they deserved no praise," (lines 43–44) and correcting Jonson's anachronism, with "Alcaeus lute had none" (line 41). He reminds Jonson of his lowly social status:

> it is not fit,
> That a sale poet, just contempt once thrown,
> Should cry up thus his own. (lines 4–6)

Jonson's boasting is of a piece with his ignobly mercenary profession, as though touting for trade like the bookseller of *Epigrams* 3. Poesie is "next mechanics, when it works for pay" (line 40), and Feltham admonishes the "mechanic" Jonson to respect the judgment of his social superiors, for "there are in plush who scorn to drudge / For stages, yet can judge" artistic merit truly (lines 33–34).

Jonson's "Tribe" set a fashion for literary clubs. John Mennes and James Smith organized the Order of the Fancy in the later 1620s (Raylor 1994); Thomas Stanley the Order of the Black Ribband in 1645–1646 (Revard 2000; McDowell 2008). Both operated, like Jonson's, through convivial gatherings, manuscript exchange, and responsive composition. One poet apparently connected to all three is Herrick, whose descriptions of poetic symposia fondly recall their Jonsonian originals:

> Ah Ben!
> Say how, or when
> Shall we thy Guests
> Meet at those *Lyrick* Feasts,
> Made at the *Sun*,
> The *Dog*, the triple *Tunne?* …
>
> My *Ben*
> Or come agen:
> Or send to us,
> Thy wits great over-plus …
> (911, "An Ode for him,"
> lines 1–6, 11–14)

The poem's first-person plurals implicitly reconvene the Jonsonian community, while its form—complex stanzas with varied line lengths, recalling classical and Jonsonian lyric—displays the inherited skill for which it prays. Such claims of literal inspiration are common in Jonson's successors. The title of *Jonsonus Virbius*, a collection of tributes printed the year after his death, identifies Jonson with the revived Hippolytus of Roman myth, who became a god of the Italian woods under the new name Virbius after being torn apart by stampeding horses and restored to life by Aesculapius. The poets who, like the scattered limbs of Hippolytus, come together in this volume both announce Jonson's immortality and embody it in their own work. Jonson's strains of conviviality, royalist panegyric, classicism, and Stoic moralizing run through Cavalier poetry. Other, un-Jonsonian aspects of Caroline culture also leave their traces, in Neoplatonizing love lyrics (a court fashion encouraged by Henrietta Maria) and libertine verse which seems very far from Jonson's Stoical ethics; they sit oddly together, but all are parallel products of an elite homosocial bonding closely related to Jonson's poetic fraternity.

These poets look to Jonson's example both in their manuscript practices and their print forays. Stanley's group was explicitly partisan, extending friendship and patronage to court poets fallen on hard times; its black ribband was a sign of mourning for the Caroline age. In *A Register of Friends*, an older Stanley remembers their meetings as Jonsonian symposia where, "withdrawne from the dull ears of those / Who licens't nothing but rebellious Prose," they "Love and Loyalty did … sing" (Stanley 1962, lines 357, 360). They focused

on translation, engaging in playful competition through manuscript exchange: imitations and translations from the *Anacreontea* by Lovelace, Cotton, Alexander Brome, Herrick, and Stanley respond to each other as well as their Greek originals (Revard 2000; Achilleos 2011). But Stanley's group was also prominent in the "rush to print": Shirley, Stanley, Herrick, Lovelace, and Sherburne all published single-authored collections between 1646 and 1651; Richard Brome edited *Lachrymae Musarum* in 1649. The heads of the Order of the Fancy, meanwhile, edited the royalist anthology *Musarum Deliciae* (1655). This "rush to print" has been explained as giving enduring form to a political order now under threat (like Jonson's folio immortalizing himself and his addressees) and "a safe haven for their work and a sign of political resistance" (Marotti 1995, 71; Pugh 2006). But these volumes also use print's wide reach to recruit waverers to the cause, not least through the ambiguous relation they maintain with manuscript culture.

Like Jonson's folio, these collections combine print's monumental associations—the sociocultural authority of the classic, the ability to confer immortality on its subjects—with features evoking the manuscript culture in which many of their poems had been composed and circulated, and the elite community which sustained it. Both aspects acquire newly partisan significance in the context of the 1640s, but nevertheless these volumes redeploy strategies formerly used by Jonson to negotiate his ambiguous position in the social hierarchy. Like Jonson's *Epigrams* and *Forest*, they are strikingly miscellaneous. Idealizing love poetry, libertine verse, satirical epigram, political panegyric, and drinking songs jostle in apparent disorder, reproducing the effect of haphazard accumulation and pleasurable variety of manuscript miscellanies. Addresses to specific persons, allusions to social gatherings, and responses to others' poems evoke elite society and manuscript exchange. But the tensions between print and manuscript prominent in Jonson are eased. *Epigrams* conspicuously excluded print readers from the community of "rare friends" granted access to Donne's satires; in the Cavaliers' printed volumes, there is a sense that participation in the elite community they evoke is possible merely by sharing its ideals and values. It is still presented as an exclusive club, but the print reader receives a flattering—though conditional—offer of membership.

Moseley's epistle "To the Reader" prefacing *Fragmenta Aurea* reminds readers who rely on the "Paper-prostitutions" of print that their access to Suckling's poems is inferior to the manuscript access granted Suckling's intimates and social equals—an elite combining social and intellectual superiority, those "that convers'd with him alive, and truly, (under which notion I comprehend only knowing Gentlemen)" (Suckling 1646, A3–A3v). Their superiority becomes spiritual, as the trope of salvation is introduced:

> if any have liv'd in so much darknesse, as not to have knowne so great an Ornament of our Age, by looking upon these Remaines with Civility and Vnderstanding, they may timely yet repent, and be forgiven. (A3v)

Moseley regards print readers, with pitying incredulity, as guilty of a willful self-exclusion like the heathen's sinful ignorance of God, but extends an offer of admittance into Suckling's "Elysium" like God's grace to the elect. Though not entirely a jest (for *Fragmenta Aurea* also includes a prose treatise on religion), this "repent[ance]" clearly means, first and

foremost, embracing the civil creed of the courtly and political values enshrined in Suckling's lyric verse. Only base-born readers would criticize these poems or reject this creed, thereby revealing their plebeian ignorance, and condemning themselves to perpetual exclusion like that of souls in hell: "he that is bold upon his unequall Stock, to traduce this Name, or Learning, will deserve to be condemned againe into Ignorance his Originall sinne, and dye in it" (A3v–A4).

The posthumous nature of the volume facilitates this strategy. Death denies even the original readership direct communion; like the print reader they too can only "honour these posthume Idaea's of their friend." (A3). The title page points out that "The Lyrick Poems were set in Musick by Mr. *Henry Lawes*," Charles's court composer: unable now to convene for such lyric performances, the court is delineated instead by admiration for Suckling's verse and views, criteria for belonging within the reach of print readers willing to embrace royalism. Such politicization of aesthetic choice stretches back through the Caroline period. In Carew's "Answer to Aurelian Townshend," written in the early 1630s, epic praise of the Protestant hero Gustavus Adolphus would align the poet with "obdurate" (line 48) voices of dissent criticizing Charles's withdrawal from the Thirty Years War, while writing in "lyric feet … of love and beauty" (lines 6–7) betokens the same political loyalty as composing masques for court.

Posthumous status also enhances print's monumental connotations: not to print *Fragmenta Aurea* "had been a prejudice to Posterity." Many Cavalier publications appeared posthumously: Randolph's, Carew's, Cartwright's, and second volumes by Lovelace and Suckling. In them all, mourning for the dead poet implies mourning for Charles's rule, a connection so well established that Herrick, preparing *Hesperides* for the press in 1648, adopts the fictional persona of one dead or dying for political purposes. As in several of the posthumous volumes, a frontispiece by William Marshall depicts a funerary monument to the author; poems alluding to Herrick's death constitute a connecting thread in an otherwise dizzyingly miscellaneous volume. But the lament over political mutability conveyed by this funerary air prompts continual reflections on the immortality the poems enjoy and bestow on Caroline society, as Herrick looks back, like Jonson and through him, to Horace's claims for poetry's immortalizing power.

Herrick's title contributes to this. In Greek myth, it is the name of the daughters of Hesperus, the evening star, and of the orchard in the Fortunate Isles where they guarded the golden fruit of immortality. Herrick's volume is thus an arboreal space like Jonson's *Forest*. Like *Forest* it contains many trees, particularly those furnishing wreaths associated with lyric: Anacreon's roses, Bacchus' ivy, Apollo's laurel. Claimed by Horace in *Carmina* 3.30, the laurel is here dedicated to Jonson ("Upon M. Ben Johnson," 383), and made symbolic of Herrick's book, "like a Laurell … grow[ing] green for ever" (240). As in *Forest*, the addressees are themselves trees, enjoying "Life eternall … in this my rich Plantation" (392). The metaphor acquires wider political significance in "Farwell Frost," which develops the opening of Horace's *Carmina* 4.7, on Spring's return, into the hope that the "Storme" of "War" now tearing oaks will subside into "a breeze / That scarcely stirs the nodding … Trees." Herrick's "Plantation" is clearly royalist, a "*Sacred Grove*" harboring Henrietta Maria's "Leavie-Throne" (265). Since the Fortunate Isles were often conflated with Elysium, it is a fitting space to provide "Life eternall." The Hesperides'

stellar connotation (as Hesperus' daughters) also serves the Horatian/Jonsonian theme of immortalizing poetry. He gives a royalist friend

> … a Verse that shall
> (When hence thy Circum-mortall-part is gon)
> Arch-like, hold up, *Thy Name's Inscription*.
> *Brave men can't die*; whose Candid Actions are
> Writ in the Poets Endlesse-Kalendar:
> Whose *velome*, and whose *volumne* is the Skie,
> And the pure Starres the praising Poetrie. (444)

Herrick combines architectural imagery, like *Forest* 12's Horatian pyramids, with the stellification Jonson also took from Horace: "*Brave men can't die*" quotes the original directly (*Carmina* 4.8.28). Herrick stellifies many addressees, but all pale before King Charles, brightest star "in this my ample Orbe" (685). In fact, though the Horatian trope of stellification still empowers the poet, Herrick makes this power originate in the royal family as well as subserve it. The dedicatory poem "To the Most Illustrious, and Most Hopefull Prince, Charles, Prince of Wales" concludes:

> So all my *Morne*, and *Evening Stars* from You
> Have their *Existence*, and their *Influence* too.

What in Jonson compensated for inferior social status here serves political ends.

But this is not the inert monumentality of the Horatian/Jonsonian pyramid. *Hesperides* figures immortality as eternal symposium, recalling Jonson's "*Lyrick* feasts," but now including classical lyricists resurrected through poetry readings. "A Lyrick to Mirth" (111) invites musician friends to "Sing o're Horace"; reciting Anacreon will "Rouze [him] from the dead" so fully that they must "return him drunk to bed" afterwards. Where verse recitation summons the absent and the dead into such companionable presence, Herrick's reader too is a guest at the feast. The old, exclusive communities are now physically dispersed, but if Clipseby Crewe cannot visit Herrick to recite classical lyric, he can

> … send [his] mind
> (Though but in Numbers few)
> And I shall think I have the heart,
> Or part
> Of *Clipseby Crew*.
> (544, "An Ode to Sir
> *Clipsebie Crew*," lines 7–11)

Posted manuscript verse overcomes separation, but by the same token print readers have "the heart / Or part" of the poet, and participate on equal terms in the (now virtual) symposia of the elite. Like the front matter of Suckling's volume, Herrick adds the flattering offer of social inclusion to the promise of hearty but refined aesthetic pleasure with which he advertises royalist culture.

"The bad season makes the Poet sad" (612) furnishes a final example of how Cavalier poetry politicizes Jonsonian lyric. Herrick is

> Lost to all Musick now; since every thing
> Puts on the semblance here of sorrowing.
> Sick is the Land to'th'heart …
> But if that golden Age wo'd come again,
> And *Charles* here Rule, as he before did Raign …
> I sho'd delight to have my Curles halfe drown'd
> In *Tyrian Dewes*, and Head with Roses crown'd.
> And once more yet (ere I am laid out dead)
> *Knock at a Starre with my exalted Head*.
> (lines 3–5, 7–8, 11–14)

The last line translates that of Horace's first ode, evoked in the final stanza of Jonson's "Ode to Himself," but this lyric transcendence has lost its connection with social status. Where lyric lifted Horace and Jonson above the plebeian vulgarity tainting the "loathed age," for Herrick the season is bad because the land is sick with political disloyalty, and the (re)turn to lyric music is tied to political change in the nation as a whole. By exploiting print's polemical possibilities in an attempt to effect such change, the Cavaliers reclaim the public role integral to lyric at its origin.

Notes

1 Since Herrick frequently uses the same title for more than one poem, I shall refer to Herrick's poems by the numbers assigned to them in Herrick (2013), as well as or sometimes instead of by their titles.

2 The poems discussed here are conveniently gathered in Appendix 1 in Jonson (1984, 210–218).

3 There is no consensus over the identity of "I. C.": William Gifford (1816) attributes the poem to John Cleveland in his edition of Jonson's *Works*; Hattaway suggests instead James Clayton (see Jonson 1984, n.213).

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COMPLAINT AND ELEGY

25
Complaint

Rosalind Smith, Michelle O'Callaghan, and Sarah C. E. Ross

Complaint is a widely used early modern poetic form, expressing lamentation in response to losses that might be personal, social, erotic, or religious. Some complaints seek redress for wrongs, but not all: a large body of early modern complaints simply amplify the speaker's grief, providing local narrative histories of events and enlarging on the affective impact of loss. As Wendy Scase comments, complaint "is a motile, slippery term, moving between legal, rhetorical, formal and generic applications" (Scase 2007, 1). Early modern complaint poetry takes a broad range of forms, but generally falls into three interrelated categories: erotic complaint, religious complaint, and political complaint directed against the times, each of which contains distinct subgenres that often emerge in response to charged cultural events, such as scandalous crimes or periods of political turmoil.

Complaint is an unusually permeable mode, open to generic mixing, and approaching at one extreme elegy and at the other satire. It is also unusually demotic, circulated both within elite coteries of the court and as popular ephemera in oral, manuscript, and print cultures, with complex histories of transmission where a single narrative of complaint can traverse between elite and popular readers in multiple redactions across decades. Complaint's distinctive blurring of boundaries—material, textual, rhetorical, and emotional—has meant that it is has not, until recently, gained great critical purchase as an analytic term. It has been understood as a "tone," an "attitude," a "vogue," or in terms of single categories, in ways that have diminished its centrality as a mode to early modern poetic practice (Schmitz 1990, 13; Kerrigan 1991, 52). Yet complaint offered a widely used, emotionally charged, nuanced vehicle for expressing powerlessness or protest in response to loss and grievance in the rapidly changing cultures of early modern England. As such, it is a crucial mode for the formation of the early modern political subject, in ways that privilege irresolution, dilation, and vulnerability rather than containment, control, and mastery.

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Medieval and Tudor Origins

Early modern complaint emerged from powerful, overlapping medieval traditions. Amorous complaint within French medieval love poetry, particularly the *ballade* and *virelay*, informed experiments with complaint by Chaucer, Lydgate, and others, as did Ovid's *Heroides.* Alongside this secular tradition flourished a rich medieval tradition of biblical plaint from sources as diverse as the Old Testament prophets and the Psalms, to lyrics in the voice of Adam, Christ, and Mary Magdalen. A constant theme in these laments is meditation on the world's vanity and human wretchedness, a theme that also appears in complaints against the times and in the category of popular, judicially structured "literature of clamour" that emerged alongside the medieval formation of legally admissible plaint and borrowed from its forms, topics, and language (Scase 2007, 83–136). Developed and transformed in the Reformation, clamor writing became a covert way of expressing heretical criticism of the clergy, by repackaging earlier peasant plaints within a new, sixteenth-century political and religious context. The medieval origins of complaint are grounded in the interlinked traditions of religion and protest, balancing a general, sober recognition of the vanity of worldly things with local, historical instances of injustice. This tension between resignation to loss and the possibility of redress continues to underwrite the mode throughout the early modern period, allowing carriage of a spectrum of emotions from despair to anger directed to both shared and intensely personal grievances: amorous, religious, and political.

Even more transformative of the medieval complaint tradition in the early modern period, however, was the widespread dissemination of Ovid's *Heroides*, a series of epistolary laments by abandoned women of the historical and mythical past to their absent lovers (see Naso 1990). It concludes with three pairs of letters (Paris/Helen; Leander/Hero; Acontius/Cydippe), in which the first letter, written by a male lover, is paired with a second, the female beloved's response. Translated into English by George Turberville, *The Heroycall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ouidius Naso* was first published by Henry Denham in 1567, with further editions in 1569 and 1570; it was then republished in 1584 by John Charlewood. Alongside its popularity in translation, the *Heroides* was also a central text in the humanist schoolroom, used as a model for the familiar letter, as well as a rich source for expressions of amorous emotion. The exemplary speeches of Ovid's female heroines were routinely imitated as prosopopoeia, providing a way for the student not only to frame and argue for a hypothetical proposition, but also to explore an emotional response to erotic loss, with its attendant questions of sexuality, emotion, and desire. As Lynn Enterline argues, this Ovidian material had the capacity to disrupt the plot of epic masculinity in favor of female characters, whose emotions demonstrate the "*cost* of civic duty" and undercut normative, teleological narratives of nationhood and masculinity (Enterline 2015, 207).

Yet the widespread transmission of the *Heroides* in translation meant that it was also available to readers and writers outside the humanist classroom. If primarily a text "written, translated and adapted by men for the consumption of men" (Clarke 2000, 61), the *Heroides*' voluble female speakers, stylistic virtuosity, and range of narrative and emotional possibilities also offered a site of possibility for women writers. Isabella Whitney's 1567 *The Copy of a Letter* directly references the *Heroides*, using selected histories as instructive examples, positive and negative, to shore up her female speaker's case for restitution to her

beloved, a man poised to marry another. The narratives of the *Heroides* provide a rich evidentiary resource to be exploited. The histories of Aeneas, Theseus, and Jason are used to amplify the speaker's despair at men's betrayal of women, then to point up her own modest constancy:

> For they, for their unfaithfulness,
> did get perpetuall fame:
> Fame? Wherefore dyd I terme it so?
> I should have cald it shame.
> (Whitney 2000, 31)

Whitney's speaker mines a further set of female classical examples, Helen, Penelope, Lucretia, and Thisbe, in order to appropriate their virtues of chastity, constancy, and truth: "Save Helens beauty, al the rest / the Gods have me assignd" (32). Whitney's popular poem combines material from the classical past with a very different tradition of complaint, driven by individual self-interest, preoccupied with the making and getting of everyday life, and spoken by a female subject in a curiously liminal position: neither wife nor beloved, seeking to regain her lover's attention through her rhetorical persuasion. It is the tradition of Jane Shore, the "first anti-political history, a commoner's history to set against the history of Richard III" (Helgerson 1999, 455).

Thomas Churchyard's "Shore's Wife" was first published in the second 1563 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, but was written much earlier "in King Edwards daies" (Campbell 1938, 41), reaching back to medieval complaints against the times. Alongside male-voiced narrative poems of kings and noblemen, it gives voice to a woman "made out of the meanest molde," who is seduced by Edward IV, escapes a forced marriage, and achieves political influence by becoming the king's "chiefest hand" (375, 379). The narrative of her rise, however, is balanced against the history of her fall: her persecution upon the king's death by his brother Richard III, leaving her "bare and poore … to beg from dore to dore," condemned and shunned by former friends and strangers alike as an example of folly and vice (385). Jane Shore's unframed, first-person narrative is packed with vivid material detail, from the king's "gyftes which were not small" with which she was seduced to the "ragged gowne that trayled on the ground" at her end (378, 386). Cumulatively, the narrative is built from the stuff of everyday life, mirroring the status of its commoner subject, and constructing a history of aspiration and mobility that exceeds the story's moralizing context. As Lawrence Manley argues, "Shore's Wife" belongs to a large body of early Tudor complaints that are expressions of a "nation in distress," of "decaying towns and deserted farms and villages, a nation swarming with vagabonds, masterless men, and starving wretches" (Manley 1995, 64). Within a culture in crisis, beset by economic, religious, and political instability, complaint takes on a new urgency and vitality: it registers "a decomposition and realignment of social myths and taxonomic structures and a recomposition of the effects of voice and address" (71). Its tropes (the ship of fools, the world turned upside down), structures (the list, repetition), and topoi (urban life, in contradistinction to an idealized countryside) are of a new, urban world of change, voiced by a new kind of mobile, displaced, and transgressive subject in multiple forms, from ballad through lyric and the letter to domestic drama.

Complaint's ubiquity as a kind of cultural expression is illustrated in its presence in Tudor poetry anthologies from Tottel's Miscellany (1557) onward, its continuing popularity testifying also to the form's malleability. The volume of complaints in these anthologies amplifies the responsiveness of the mode, creating a polyphony in which diverse speakers engage in conversations and appeals. *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576) concludes with a substantial section of complaints in which male voices are harmonized in their various grievances against women and Fortune, who is, after all, figured as a woman. These complaints, however, do not pass unchallenged, either in this anthology or others, but are typically accompanied by defenses of women that work to align the love complaint with the Tudor *querelle des femmes*: the praise and dispraise of women (Reid 2014, 99–104).

A subgenre of the political complaint, the prison poem, makes its first appearance in print in Tottel. In the complaint, "wiat being in prison, to Brian," the stasis which characterizes the Heroidean heroine is realized in the prison setting, and the deprivations of the Petrarchan lover made concrete:

> Syghes are my foode: my drink are my teares.
> Clynking of fetrers would such Musick craue,
> Stink, and close ayer away my life it weares.
> (Rollins 1966, 116, lines 1–3)

The prison complaints of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, "When Windsor walls" and "So cruel prison," similarly illustrate the complaint's permeability, in particular, its consanguinity with elegy. The topography of "So cruel prison" is carefully realized: Windsor, a royal palace, bears the memory of his friendship with Henry Fitzroy, Henry VIII's illegitimate son, and is now the speaker's prison. Fitzroy died in 1536, two months after the execution of Surrey's cousin, Anne Boleyn; the following summer, Surrey was imprisoned at Windsor. Complaint and elegy combine in this complex topography to give a personal calamity, the death of a beloved friend, a wider political resonance, figuring the brutal reversals of fortune at a king's court. Surrey's lament for the dead friend is remarkable for its impassioned homoerotic intensity, deriving in part from its Chaucerian echoes:

> O place of blisse, renuer of my woes,
> Geue me accompt, where is my noble fere:
> Whom in thy walles thou doest eche night enclose.
> (Rollins 1966, 15, lines 45–48)

Fitzroy takes Criseyde's place as Troilus-Surrey stands before her empty palace, once "Enlumyned with sonne of alle blisse," now "cause of wo" (Chaucer 1988, V, lines 548, 550; see also Sessions 1999, 137). Cross-gendering extends from the beloved friend to the imprisoned speaker for whom Echo both supplies his plaint and is his audience and confidante.

Surrey's complaints, because of these experiments with gender and voice, are some of the most innovative in the period. The paired complaints written in the voice of his wife, Frances de Vere, "O Happy dames" and "Good Ladies," are the first in English in which the heroine's primary audience is other women (Sessions 1999, 212). Surrey characterizes Frances as an impassioned, devoted Penelope. The speaker's invitation to other women to

join her in song, "help to fill my moorning voice" (Rollins 1966, 17, "O Happy dames," line 7) or dance, "Step in your foote, come take a place, & moorne with me a while" (19, "Good Ladies," line 2), locates these complaints in a feminized court characterized both by its stay-at-home dependency and a restless, creative energy articulated in the urgency of the lament. Both use dream visions of the absent husband-lover to attribute an impassioned eroticism to the marriage. Surrey's ventriloquizing of his wife could be said to act out an emergent ideology of the companionate marriage, which both appreciates and contains the wife's sexuality within the new intimacy of wedded love (see Harvey 1992, 12–14). That said, this particular act of prosopopoeia did not close off the verse to women's creative agency. When Surrey's sister, the recently widowed Lady Mary Howard, Duchess of Richmond, copied "O Happy dames" into the Devonshire manuscript, she made it into her composition in concert, and tension, with that of her brother (see Heale 1998, 61). Such openness to other voices and other hands results from complaint's echoic impulses and from its modes of transmission: both complaints were set to music (see Sessions 1999, 213–214). Musical settings intensify the complaint's *pathos* and drama through the sensory qualities of sound and performance. These paired complaints proved popular, spawning further imitations in Tottel, "Shall I thus euer long," and a pair of sea-parted husband-and-wife complaints in *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, "Imagine when these blurred lines" and "To thee I write whose life and death." The tradition of paired complaint evident here continued throughout the sixteenth century, in examples such as the Oxford/Vavasour exchange that was copied across multiple manuscript miscellanies in the 1580s (see Roberts 1998, 38–53). However, it is the coupling of complaint with the sonnet sequence that provided the mode's most generative pairing, contributing to the late sixteenth-century outpouring of erotic complaints in print.

Erotic Complaint in the 1590s and Beyond

The early Tudor experiments with complaint testify to the mode's breadth, flexibility, and responsiveness to cultural change. However, complaint is best known through its sudden intensification in the 1590s, a decade which included (among others) Spenser's astonishing anthology of *Complaints* (1591), Samuel Daniel's *The Complaint of Rosamond* (1592), Thomas Lodge's *The Complaint of Elstred* (1593; see Lodge 1963), Michael Drayton's *Matilda* and *Piers Gaveston* (1594), Richard Barnfield's *Complaint of Chastity* (1594), Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece* (1594), revisited a year later by John Trussel, *Raptus I Helenae: The First Rape of Fair Helen* (1595), Peter Colse's *Penelope's Complaint* (1596), and Thomas Middleton's *Ghost of Lucrece* (1600). As these examples indicate, multiple redactions of the same story were common, registering female-voiced complaint as a site for poetic rivalry and display. It also provided a platform for the exploration of new kinds of poetic subjects and readers, together with a range of "anti-heroic" emotions such as pity, grief, and fear (Lipking 1988, 3–4, 19; Schmitz 1990, 228).

Spenser's *Complaints* opens with *The Ruines of Time*, dedicated to Lady Mary Sidney, a poem that exemplifies many of the conventions of late Elizabethan female-voiced complaint. The poem opens with a framing male narrator chancing upon "A Woman sitting sorrowfullie wailing, / rending her yeolow locks, like wyrie golde" (Spenser 1989, 233); he becomes the audience for her first-person narration of the fall of the city that she embodies,

Verulamium, itself recalling fallen Jerusalem as the weeping widow in the biblical Lamentations. Her lament for "vaine worlds glorie, and unstedfast state / Of all that lives, on face of sinfull earth" (234) encompasses the fall of Rome as well as Verulamium, but dovetails this historical lament with a complaint against more personal losses of the more recent past: the deaths of Spenser's patrons Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, his brother Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Sir Philip Sidney. The speaker's sense of loss and grief is palpable in this poem, exploiting popular complaint's simple diction, taxonomies, and repetition to build a sense of overwhelming grief: "I saw him die, I saw him die, as one / Of the mean people" (241). Yet consolation is found through Petrarchan epideixis, "Thy Lord shall never die, the whiles this verse / Shall live, and surely it shall live for ever" (243); amplified by the plaints of others, poetry provides an immortality that monuments and things of the world can never achieve. The female complaint of *Ruines* is paired here with the narrator's dream visions that conclude the poem, contrasting the fallen city with a restored city in paired seven-line verses that together might be read to form 14-line sonnets (Kerrigan 1991, 139). Such proximity of complaint to the Petrarchan sonnet sequence in this period is found everywhere in this volume, which also contains a translation of Joachim Du Bellay's 1558 complaint *Les Antiquitez de Rome* ("Ruines of Rome: by Bellay") as a sonnet sequence and a concluding set of sonnets in *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*. The collection revivifies the late medieval *de casibus* tradition with both Tudor popular complaint linked to social change and local instances of injustice (see also *Mother Hubberds Tale*), humanist engagement with classical literary precedents, and a secular European literary tradition located in the writing of the French and Italian Renaissances. Spenser's anthology of different kinds of complaint expands the possibilities of the mode, and establishes it as a site for the exploration of poetics as well as for the expression of a broad range of types of protest.

Spenser's dedication of *The Ruines of Time* to Mary Sidney is apt, as not only is she from "that noble race" that he seeks to eternize in the poem, but she also employs the mode of complaint as a writer across multiple genres, from the *Doleful Lay of Clorinda*, which begins "Ay me, to whom shall I my case complain" to her complex psalm paraphrases. Mary Sidney is also the dedicatee of Samuel Daniel's 1592 *The Complaint of Rosamond*, printed at the end of the sonnet sequence *Delia*, which follows the complaint tradition of Jane Shore to record the ghostly voice of a king's mistress: here, Rosamond Clifford, seduced by Henry II. Ostensibly a story of negative exemplarity, a warning to sinners—"To teach to others, what I learnt too late" (Daniel 1592, Bb2v)—the material and emotional detail of this complaint produces a very different effect: protest against the speaker's manipulation by the powerful and wealthy, together with sympathy for her ethical struggles to maintain her honor—"Whether I yeelde or not I liue defamed" (Dd1r)—and for her visceral regret following her seduction: "my flesh gan loathe the new-felt touch of sinning" (Dd4r). Rosamond is poisoned by her jealous rival the Queen, hunted down in the labyrinthine palace constructed by the King to "safeliest keepe so rich a pray" (Dd3v), and her tale exemplifies the power of complaint to invest exemplarity with an unexpected volatility. As the speaker asserts, "fauourable lines / Reedified the wracke of my decayes" (Gg1r), transforming Rosamond from negative to positive exemplar. This re-evaluation is a process that invested a heuristic freedom with the reader to assess the speaker's case on its own terms, drawing on judicial processes diffused throughout early modern culture and common popular subgenres of complaint such as gallows confession (see Hutson 2007, 77–80; Smith 2013, 191–198). In the ballads that continue to recycle Rosamond's

narrative up to the late eighteenth century, she is represented at both extremes of exemplarity: a negative example to the virtuous—"wild, wanton Rosamond"—and a positive example of martial heroism and constant love, as in Thomas Deloney's *The Ballad of Fair Rosamond*: "Nay rather let me like a Page / thy Sword and Target beare / O let me in thy Royal tent / prepare your bed at night" (Anon 1601–1640?; Deloney 1620).

Revisited again in 1597 by Michael Drayton, Rosamond's narrative became increasingly detached from the exemplary morality of the *de casibus* tradition, drawing more directly from the *Heroides* by recasting the story as one of a pair of verse epistles. Written directly in the first-person voice of Rosamond to her beloved, Drayton's text dramatizes her shame at the same time as it evokes the reader's sympathy: "if euer pitty moou'd thee, / In this shewe mercie, as I euer lou'd thee" (Drayton 1597, B4r). Rosamond figures herself as the testament of her love in the poem, drawing an analogy between the "pure ground" of the paper and her own purity before her fall and the "marks, which taint this hatefull scroule, / Such the black sinnes, which spotte my leprous soule" (B1v). As is increasingly typical of female-voiced complaints at the end of the sixteenth century, the poem expands upon the abandoned woman's experience of loss without the potential for persuasive redress at work in earlier complaints such as that of Whitney. Here, the epistle and the abject epistolary subject is only made possible by conditions of irresolution—the beloved's absence—and the direction of Drayton's narrative is to amplify through multiple parallel examples the speaker's self-loathing: "A monster, both in body and kind," "hatefull to the light," "a blemish" (B4r). Prosopopoeia is deployed by the male author to enlarge upon the other side of the Petrarchan love plot—its cost for the woman seduced—in ways that embrace a masochistic indulgence in grief, shame, and pain and, as both Alison Thorne and Danielle Clarke suggest, can extend to a critique of the political ethics of a king who abuses his power, linking "aggressive wooing and political tyranny" (Thorne 2008, 382; Clarke 2008, 390). If elements of this self-destructive subject position are found in the Petrarchan male subject's painted "living hell," they are balanced by the sonnet sequence's emphasis on poetic mastery; in the late Elizabethan complaint, these balancing elements are submerged beneath the female speaker's amplification of woe. It immerses the reader in an affective narrative that colors their interpretation of that character outside the normative expectations of church and state, a form of Sidney's "lamenting Elegiack, which in a kinde hart would mooue rather pitty than blame" (Sidney 1961, 29).

These emphases on compassionate emotion, irresolution, and lack of control in the late Elizabethan female-voiced complaint have led to a critical discomfort with its forms, structures, and emphases. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the reception of *A Lover's Complaint*, published as the companion to Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in 1609, although its attribution has been disputed (see Vickers 2007; Craig 2012). A framing narrator overhears a tale twice removed, echoed within "the concaue wombe" of a cave in a "sistring vale," spoken by an abandoned female subject long past Rosamond's beauty; a living ghost, "the carkas of a beauty spent and donne" (Shakespeare 1609, K1v). In this version of the female complaint, however, it is the male object of desire who is described at length, rather than the speaker's own youthful identity, before or after her seduction. The male beloved possesses beauty and "qualities … beautious as his forme," including skill in horsemanship, social grace, and rhetorical skill, as well as widespread admiration (K3r). Yet to the speaker these superficial qualities are to be resisted, concealing as they do his "foule adulterat heart" (K4r). If Drayton's Rosamond tells a tale of shame, the

speaker here tells a tale of protest against the processes of seduction—visual, rhetorical, material, and anecdotal—that are at one stage doubly ventriloquized through the speaker's account of her male beloved's suit, told in his first-person voice. Her capitulation concludes the poem, a fall that occurs knowing all the while the artificiality of his love. Despite this, it is an act that the speaker claims she would repeat—her seducer "Would yet againe betray the fore-betrayed, / And new peruert a reconciled Maide"—generating a circular narrative that takes the reader back to the poem's opening (L2v). As many critics have commented, *A Lover's Complaint* can seem to allow a male-voiced rhetorical authority to overtake the female plainant's voice, in what appears to be a reinforcement of male poetic mastery. However, as Catherine Bates argues, this reading overlooks the elements of the poem that privilege female homosociality expressed through a shared textuality: the female speaker of this poem reads, interprets, and discards texts, tokens, and trophies of affection sent by other women to the young man (Bates 2007, 175–215). She is immersed in an identificatory, feminized world of desiring subjectivity expressed through textuality, in which she is schooled and to which she submits. Female-authored complaint here becomes a scene of generative textual agency, but in ways that are self-destructive and unresolved rather than uncomplicatedly recuperative, as that agency comes at the cost of social transgression.

As such, female-voiced complaint both provides a fertile mode for textual experimentation, and also complicates formations of early modern textual subjectivity through its exploration of emotions and actions that resist control, mastery, and triumph. Instead, they invite identification and sympathy, and are oriented toward the reader's ultimately volatile evaluation. This very heuristic openness to judgment, together with its masochistic speaker, may be why early modern women writers did not take up the subgenre of female-authored complaint in print in the 1590s. However, in 1621, Lady Mary Wroth incorporated multiple complaints into the *Urania*, including the sonnet sequence *Lindamira's Complaint*. Lindamira's narrative of erotic betrayal is first translated into verse by the *Urania*'s narrator, Pamphilia, because "her estate so neere agree with mine," and then related to a female audience in the form of Dorolina, who finds in it "some thing more exactly related than a fiction" (Wroth 1995, 502, 505). The entirely female frame for Lindamira's complaint here points a coterie reader to the text's autobiographical elements, compounded by Lindamira's name, an anagram of Ladi Mari. Wroth's complaint couples the generic speaking position of betrayed female plainant with strong elements of personal and political self-interest, using the sequence as a way to defend her "worth" in the "world-like change" of contemporary court culture in which the speaker, and shadowed behind her, the author, is overlooked in favor of others (503). Erotic complaint is merged here with complaint against the times, as worth and Wroth are intrinsically linked with Spenserian nostalgia for a Protestant golden age and a more active Sidneian political agenda that sought reinstatement to political centrality in the Jacobean court (see Smith 2001, 73–81; Crawford 2014, 177–120). Following her aunt Mary Sidney's example as exemplary Protestant plainant in the Psalms, Wroth's female-voiced complaint exploits the mode's multiple textual possibilities opened up by Spenser decades earlier: as erotic lament for the abandoned subject, as political complaint against the times, and as a persuasive platform for political redress for the ambitious, disenfranchised subject.

Religious and Political Complaint

Complaint's volatility and its increasing availability to the imagined voices of the culturally displaced subject throughout the sixteenth century may make it seem a surprising mode for religious expression. However, its multiple textual and tonal possibilities are amplified in the devotional poetry that emerged out of post-Reformation religious culture, and that shares much with both amatory and historical complaint. For instance, mid-sixteenth-century translations of the medieval complaint *Omelia Origenis* were direct models for Robert Southwell's 1591 prose treatise *Mary Magdalen's funeral teares*. Southwell's dedication to Dorothy Arundel presents his text as a redirection of erotic complaint to a better, spiritual path, drawing "this floud of affections into the right channel" (Southwell 1591, A3v). Southwell was imprisoned for high treason following its publication and executed in 1595, but his text generated multiple imitations in prose and poetry by both Catholic and Protestant writers, including Thomas Lodge, Nicholas Breton, Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, and possibly Gervase Markham, to whom the influential metrical complaint *Marie Magdalen's lamentations for the loss of her master Jesus* (1601, reprinted 1604) has been attributed. The Catholic Magdalens of Southwell and his imitator Markham draw heavily from the amatory tradition of complaint to amplify her grief and status as Christ's lover, whereas the Protestant Magdalen of Nicholas Breton in *The blessed weeper* (1601) emphasizes the speaker's penitence over her grief, her loss of grace over a loss of love, and minimizes her earthly and secular traits in the rhyme royal of the *Mirror for Magistrates* (see Schmitz 1990, 169–198). It forms part of an existing Protestant tradition of religious plaint scrutinizing the mind of the penitential sinner that might be traced from Katharine Parr's *A Lamentacioun or Complaynt of a Sinner* (1547) and Wyatt's versions of the seven penitential psalms.

Protestant imitations and readings of Robert Southwell's works emphasize the shared affective stance, as well as a shared readership, for Protestant and Counter-Reformation religious complaints. Southwell's *Saint Peter's Complaint*, published shortly after his death, was even more popular than *Mary Magdalen's funeral teares*, becoming the third most widely selling book of verse in the sixteenth century alone, and extending into numerous seventeenth-century editions (see Roberts and Roberts 1996, esp. 63, 65). The voluble penitential expression of such complaints, however, is arguably taken up with greatest verve in Calvinist devotions, grounded in a sense of the believer as an abject sinner lost to any certainty of God's love, engendering an anguished soul-searching that is articulated in a penitential poetry of plaint and supplication. Anne Lock's *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*, a series of sonnets paraphrasing Psalm 51, expresses "the passioned minde" of the sinner, convinced of her own "lothesome filthe," as "I in darke of everlasting night / Bewayle my woefull and unhappy case" (Lock 1999, 62–63, lines 18, 35–36). Lock's sinner "Poure[s] forth my piteous plaint with woefull sound" (line 76), her loneliness and abjection echoing the amplified woe of the secular speaker abandoned by her lover. It is no coincidence that the Petrarchan sonnet sequences (and their appended female-voiced complaints) of the late sixteenth century emerged at the same time as the burgeoning of Psalm paraphrases such as those of Wyatt, and Philip and Mary Sidney, and of original religious lyrics such as those of Henry Lock (son of Anne), Barnabe Barnes, and Scottish Presbyterian poets such as Alexander Hume, James Melville, and Elizabeth Melville. The "praying plaints" of the

Psalms are "almost indistinguishable from those of the disappointed lover," as Margaret Hannay has argued (Hannay 2006, 116), emphasizing the continuities between poetic expressions of secular and sacred love and loss in the period.

A theological and poetic figuration of Christ as a lover, deriving from the Song of Songs and interpretations of it, underpins the proximity of religious and amatory complaint in much seventeenth-century poetry. Via this lush and erotic biblical poem, Christ is the bridegroom for whom the bride, the faithful soul of the elect individual, yearns and laments. The absence of the lover and the bride's search for him, following Canticles 3:1–3 and 5:6, becomes a trope that figures the soul's desire and long wait for spiritual consummation (see Clarke 2011, 18, 114, 125). The speaking voice in the religious "lover's complaint" is also, therefore, implicitly female, a gendering which underscores the powerful and persistent religious poetic trope of the devout speaker as a bride—whether in the hands of a male or a female speaker-poet. The Scottish religious poetry that Jamie Reid-Baxter has attributed to Elizabeth Melville (Reid-Baxter 2005) exemplifies this iteration of the complaint mode: "O Pilgrime pure quhat mervell tho thou murne / Thy deirest spous hes now forsaikin thee," one long poem opens. The forsaken pilgrim (the believer on earth) is "most lyke ane wofull widow left alone" and her hoarse cries echo those of medieval and Shakespearean abandoned lovers: "The rockis resound at my most pitious plaint / Yit heiris thow not thy captivis cairfull cry" ([Melville], New College Library, MS Bruce 2, 170–172).

Religious complaint poems emphasize the experience of earthly life as vale of woe, but in looking to Christ and, ultimately, to the afterlife, they anticipate a final consolation that typically eludes the secular complainant. Christ may *feel* absent as the "restles mynd" of a troubled speaker is "tossed to and fro" (to continue with quotation from "O Pilgrime pure"), but devotional complaint turns inevitably and finally to the promise of heavenly love. "O Pilgrime pure" ends with a pledge to "Sing songis of praiss for thy returne againe," and the religious sonnets also attributed to Elizabeth Melville are redolent with a certainty that "if ye complaine he constant sall remaine" (Melville 2010, 67). The fickle earthly lover of amatory complaint, in other words, is displaced in religious applications of the mode by a divine love that feels absent but that is the very definition of constancy. Elizabeth Melville and her devotional poetic peers adapt the tortured lyric subjectivity of the secular complaint to express the tumultuous worldly experience of the devout soul, but turn to consolation in an elect certainty of divine reward.

Such certainty is far less evident, however, in political adaptations of the trope. The solitary and lamenting spouse of Christ is a figure of the true church in complaints such as *The Black Bastel, or, A Lamentation in the name of the Kirk of Scotland*, a bitterly satirical poem by James Melville, a Presbyterian poet-pastor (and associate of Elizabeth Melville) who wrote from exile in Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1611. Here, the "wofull woman" who laments "in her bitter passion" at the center of the poem is the Scottish kirk violated by "bastard Bishops," the episcopacy that had been reintroduced by James VI and I across the first decade of the seventeenth century. "I was of late a Queen of great renowne," she laments; "Consider, Lord, with pittie my complaint, / My glore is gone" (Melville 1634, ¶2v, 4r–v). Religious complaint fuses here with the political complaint against the times at its most satirical, and the two threads became inevitably more intertwined in English as well as Scottish complaints as religio-political conflict escalated into the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century.

Complaint's malleability and its distinctive emotional power in the expression of loss and dispossession lent it to being taken up with a renewed urgency in the Civil War period, from texts as obliquely allusive as Andrew Marvell's *The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn*, to the bluntly political allegories of royalist writers in the 1640s, as King Charles I suffered defeat, imprisonment, and execution. John Quarles articulates this urgency in his volume of royalist poems *Fons Lachrymarum; Or A Fountain of Tears*: "Never were *Complaints* more frequent, then they are in this age of obduracy and oppression; Nor *Lamentations* more requisite, then in these Lachrymable Times; Nor *Meditations* more commendable, then in these days of uncertainty" (Quarles 1648, ¶4r–v). *Englands Complaint*, the volume's central poem, is an extended complaint in the voice of a feminine England, whose "*body politick* / … is very sick" (14), the causes of her illness and woe as much religious as political: "want[ing] the hand / Of *soul-supporting faith*" she "forgets to stand," and will "lie and tumble in the shades of grief" (4). *Englands Complaint* is followed by a paraphrase of Jeremiah's lamentation, a series of religious meditations, and an elegy on the royalist hero Sir Charles Lucas, participating in the outpouring of partisan elegies that met his death in August 1648. The consanguinity of complaint and elegy is redoubled in Civil War writing; and just as the execution of King Charles I on January 29, 1649 naturalized the association of elegy with royalism in the period (Smith 1994, 291), so the complaint became a mode adopted for the requisitely exorbitant expression of royalist grief.

If *Englands Complaint* exemplifies the male-authored, female-voiced complaint against the times, the Civil War period produced at least one striking set of female-authored complaint poems, in the manuscript verse of the Hertfordshire royalist Hester Pulter. Pulter's "The Complaint of Thames, 1647" draws on multiple prior and contemporary influences, as the river Thames voices her woe at the imprisonment of Charles I and the ascendency of city parliamentarians. "Oft have I borne my sacred sovereign's barge, / Being richly gilt, most proud of such a charge," the river laments, "But now insulting on my billows ride / The kingdom's scourges and this city's pride" (Pulter 2014, 58–65). Pulter's fluvial complaint is powerfully nostalgic, echoing in tone and situation one of its clear touchstones, Spenser's *The Ruines of Time*, in which a framing speaker on the shores of the Thames comes across a wailing woman, "streames of teares from her faire eyes forth railing" (Spenser 1989, 233). Pulter's poem extends Spenser's engagement with the rivers of England as the locus of an historical nostalgia, but the unusual presence in Pulter's poem of an implicitly female framing speaker enacts a striking modulation of the complaint against the times. Spenser's plaining woman has no name "nor anie being" (234), and even after she has spoken and vanished the framing speaker describes her meaning as "aboue my slender reasons reach" (253). The Shakespearean and Spenserian complaint typically exploits such a gap in understanding between the framing male narrator and the woeful woman upon whom he chances, the "interpretative instability" of the woman enhancing her mythopoetic qualities (Kerrigan 1991, 12). Pulter's framing speaker, in contrast, walks out alone and dejected at the opening of the poem, and at the poem's conclusion, she sits "sadly down" on the banks of the Thames "and with her 'gan to weep" (Pulter 2014, 121). Pulter's complaint against the times enacts a striking female sympathy between the landscape, itself female, and the woman speaker-poet who occupies it: an emotional proximity underpinning a distinctively female use of the mode in a woman poet's articulation of herself as a political subject.

Conclusion

The discovery of a number of female-authored complaints in the early modern period means that a more complex history of this mode can be imagined than in its earlier constructions, where the lamenting woman was seen as the critically neglected mirror image of literature's male heroes, or, if authored by women, in terms of the "phobically imagined vocality" of the female-voiced complaint of the 1590s (Craik 2002, 439). Instead, drawing from classical and medieval precedents, institutionalized in the humanist classroom and widely circulated in manuscript, print, and oral forms, complaint might be seen to contain multitudes. In its various subgenres and forms, complaint was used by men and women writers in highly nuanced ways to address a range of topoi, often combining personal grievance with a broader cultural critique in ways that mobilized emotion as well as reason in its sympathetic readers. The mode's complex negotiations of gender, particularly in the prosopopoeiae contained within the subgenre of female-voiced complaint, allowed expressions of protest as well as loss, of power as well as powerlessness, sometimes simultaneously. This complexity attends complaints in their popular forms as in their elite manifestations and attests to the widespread penetration and significance of this mode in early modern poetic culture.

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26
Funeral Elegy

Andrea Brady

Renaissance funeral elegy had two primary functions: to remember the dead, and to console the living. As a work of persuasion (of the bereaved not to grieve, or of the reader to admire the dead), it drew on classical rhetoric for guidance in the gathering and disposition of materials and their effective delivery. But as a social action—an intervention at the scene of death—determined by its occasion, it can also be read according to contemporary formalist and poststructuralist theories of genre (Miller 1984). Todorov argues that "it is because genres exist as an institution that they function as 'horizons of expectation' for readers, and as 'models of writing' for authors" (Todorov 1976, 163). This essay will examine the interaction between elegy and other theological and social institutions which organized death. As an institution, elegy conforms strongly to traditions and reader expectations; but this implies a rigidity which is belied by elegists' radical disruptions of expectations in the pursuit of individual distinction, a practice which is itself generic. So, for example, elegies proclaim the obvious truths that death is universal and inevitable, or that the deceased exemplifies all the expected virtues: death is always the same. But they also commend the dead person's particularity, converting the duty to memorialize into an outburst of free admiration: this death, like this poem, is different.

This emphasis on the uniqueness of the subject and of the poem can make elegy—one of the most common forms of poetic expression in the early modern period, written by everyone from schoolboys to famous laureates—difficult for modern audiences to appreciate. Contemporary poetry is often valued for its innovative qualities and apparent authenticity: indeed, some critics have argued that the "lyricization" of poetry in modernity (the gathering of poetry's diffuse genres within a single category known as lyric) has led to an expectation that poetry consists only of the overheard utterances of a self-absorbed and sincere subject (Jackson and Prins 2014, 4). If that is the case, these thousands of elegies, all conforming roughly to the same pattern of figure and argument, the same

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tropes, the same grumblings about that repetitiveness, can seem less like "real poetry" and more like opportunism. Though there are admittedly very many bad elegies written in this period, reading across the genre—including school and university memorial collections (like *Iusto Eduardo King*, the Cambridge miscellany in which Milton's "Lycidas" was first published), manuscript poems for dead children, excerpts copied into commonplace books, volumes in which political confederates commemorate their dead heroes, and irreverent ballads and broadsides—can give us some important insights into the social functions of verse in this period. It also challenges us to examine the criteria by which we evaluate poetry: What, for example, would "sincerity" really look like in a public performance of intense emotion as a codified and predictable prosodic and rhetorical form?[1]

The sameness of elegies from this period does not just represent a failure of poetic quality, in other words: it is constitutive. Indeed, Peter Sacks has argued that *anaklisis* (repetition) is a key trope for elegy (Sacks 1985, 19–21). Elegy is shaped not just by the repetition of its occasion (death), but also by a double decorum, rhetorical and funereal. Like mourners whose behavior is guided by the occasion (even when that behavior can seem wild or uncontrolled), elegists must identify the situation and the audience's expectations, and match them, or, more artfully, violate them in ways which they can prove are acceptable. Decorum thus assigns the audience a determining role in shaping the poem (Imbrie 1986, 45–69). This essay, which will attempt to synthesize the genre of early modern funerary elegy, will also examine the way that modern poetic decorum might make our experience of reading these poems different from the way they were read by their contemporaries.

The elegist's pursuit of distinction—of an innovative image or form which will demonstrate that this death was *not* like any other—is not only a way of kicking out against generic and situational constraints, or a pitch for attention in a crowded commercial field, but also a strategy of consolation. It is not surprising that the best remembered elegies of this period—Milton's "Lycidas" or Donne's *Anniversaries*—seem to overthrow generic expectations. But the agonistic tendency of elegists to pursue distinction could also work to focus intense feeling. The funeral provides a temporary outlet for the passions of loss, anger, and bewilderment, attempting to contain them in order to restore society to its customary order; but sometimes the strength of those passions exceeds the ritual frame. Edward Muir has argued that "although rituals often appear to be conservative, preserving the most ancient traditions of a society, through liminality they can also make change possible and can even become the instrument of dramatic social reform" (Muir 1997, 20). Liminality—the between-space which ritual participants occupy—endows them with a kind of charismatic authority. Mourners are differentiated by their access to the transformative rite of passage of death. The irruption of difference in a form whose effectiveness relies in many ways on its sameness reflects this ritual distinction, and opens a socially approved space for revolutionary utterances: for example, the prophetic power "to foretell the ruine of our corrupted Clergy then in their height" which Milton's headnote retrospectively claimed for "Lycidas."[2] Awareness of the necessary interplay between sameness and difference, repetition and distinction, should also improve our ability to make critical judgments about these often formulaic poems.

Elegy is a hybrid genre, which incorporated elements of biblical lamentation, Menippean satire, Theophrastan characters, allegory, dream visions, and pastoral. Elegiac subgenres are defined by spatial and temporal proximities to the dead: the epicede was traditionally

performed in the actual presence of the corpse;[3] the epitaph spoke about the dead body it covered. In its ancient use, "elegiac" is a metrical term, referring to a distich composed of a dactylic hexameter line followed by a pentameter one. Funerary elegies were not conventionally associated with a particular meter in this period; while the poems in the memorial volume *Astrophel* for Philip Sidney reflected his versatile prosody through a variety of metrical forms, the majority of early modern elegies were written in heroic couplets (Turner 1975, 91).[4] To add to the confusion, "elegy" in the Renaissance could also refer to either a funerary or an erotic lyric. The Latin love elegy derived from Catullus, Ovid, and Propertius could also include lamentation or critique, but it is distinct from the funerary elegy, which can trace its roots to the mournful song called *elegos* (*έλεγος*) (Nagy 2010, 13). The early modern elegies which are most likely to draw this connection to song are pastorals, where (as in "Lycidas") the silenced piping of the lost shepherd represents the threat posed by death to poetry, as well as poetry's ability to overcome that threat. A poem in memory of Lady Katherine Paston, published in 1637, laments:

> Our sorrowes are prepost'rous, and we erre
> In offering pathetick songs to her,
> Whose vertues rare require a *Lyrists* quill,
> Or rather *Panegyrists* learned skill.
> (Knevet 1637, A3)

This reference to "panegyrists" recalls elegy's substantial debt to the conventions of epideictic; for example, many elegists follow the *Ad Herennium* which represents the topoi of praise as the goods of nature, fortune, and character (see Wallerstein 1950; Lewalski 1973, 72–107, 174–195; Sloane 1985, 93–94, 130–144; Kay 1990). In elegy, the dead are usually celebrated not for their individuality and distinction, but for their embodiment of very general virtues. The construction of their exemplarity seems intended to inspire the audience to emulate them, without provoking jealousy or resentment.

Complaint is, however, also a traditional part of funerary oration, where it is often staged in order to be moderated by consolation, taking the audience on a restorative journey from passionate grief to self-restraint and reconciliation through the ethical orthodoxies of epideictic (Hardison 1962, 115, 137). There are significant exceptions: Edmund Spenser's pastoral elegy "Daphnaïda" for Lady Douglas Howard transcribes the complaint of the bereaved Alcyon, who praises his dead wife, exacts tributes from nature, and declares his intention to wander the world in a state of perpetual alienation: "Hencefoorth I hate what euer Nature made," including day and night, time, the elements, humanity, and himself:

> I hate to speake, my voyce is spent with crying:
> I hate to heare, lowd plaints have duld mine eares;
> I hate to tast, for food withholds my dying:
> I hate to see, mine eyes are dimd with teares:
> I hate to smell, no sweet on earth is left:
> I hate to feele, my flesh is numbd with feares:
> So all my Senses from me are bereft.
>
> … So all the world, and all in it I hate[.]
> (Spenser 1999, 337)

The speaker cannot persuade Alcyon to moderate his grief or to take refuge; the poem constructs a narrative of extremity in order, paradoxically, to perform its own failure. As we will see, Alcyon's pathological grief has particular associations for early modern readers. This emphasis on the power of death to annihilate reason, self-love, sociality, and even language itself is also generic: the repeated performance of negation is central to elegy's claims for the endurance of poetic individuality.

Elegies echo the curses of the bereaved and the admonitions of the clergy. Spenser's poem is unusual in that it does not match this spectacle of lamentation with the solace of predictable motifs: the dead are not really dead but simply translated to heaven, death is universal, life is merely on loan from God, the dead person was too good for this world, immoderate mourning is unnatural or unchristian, and so on (Bennett 1954). Pathetic fallacies, inexpressibility topoi, doubts about the durability of art, reflections on the *contemptus mundi*, and assertions of communal grief are also significant parts of the elegist's consolatory repertoire. The elegy's authority to console derives in part from its participation in a tradition of memorialization encompassing memento mori literature, sermons, classical consolatory epistles, and biblical injunctions, all of which make the argument that death comes for everyone, that the dead will be remembered perpetually, and that grief can be overcome. This emphasis on persuasion also reveals elegy's debt to deliberative rhetoric.

As Paul Alpers has shown, in classical rhetoric the figure of apostrophe originated in a turn away from the judge toward the audience (Alpers 2013). In elegy, this turning also frequently includes addresses to the dead, who are literally or figuratively present: the poetic utterance is thus not only overheard by readers, but also by the elegy's subject. This practice of identifying, speaking to or about the dead, also draws on Protestant funeral customs and meditative tradition. Using the corpse as an aid to meditation is an ancient practice, but when it combined with the Protestant investment in textuality, the corpse could become a kind of book. Funeral sermons often declare that the bereaved had two texts before them: the scriptural text, and the corpse itself, both of which must be examined and understood as testaments to providence and human frailty. Some elegists took this textualization of death further: Margaret Cavendish, for example, transforms a funeral into a festival of paper:

> Her *Corps* was borne to Church on gray *Goose wing*,
> Her *Sheet* was *Paperwhite* to lap her in.
> And *Cotton* dyed with *Inke*, her covering black,
> With Letters for her *Scutcheons* print in that.
> *Fancies* bound up with *Verse*, a *Garland* made,
> And at the head, upon her *Hearse* was laid.
> And *Numbers* ten did beare her to the *Grave*,
> The *Muses* nine a *Monument* her gave.
> (Cavendish 1653, 84)

Cavendish's fanciful poem is typical of early modern elegy in its use of funereal imagery. Many elegies refer to the preparation of the corpse for burial, the wake, the funeral procession, the hearse (often decked with flowers), the Month's Mind requiem mass, "obits" and "anniversary" services. For example, in an elegy for Queen Elizabeth, Phineas Fletcher

apologizes that his Muse "With heavie pace bring'st forth thy lagging verse, / Which cloath'd with blackest lines attends the mournfull herse" (Fletcher 1909, 271). Mimicking the quality of foot-dragging sorrow in his prosody, Fletcher uses funeral iconography—a slow procession, black cloth, the hearse—to convey his proximity to the sacred body of the dead queen. Attired in blacks and included in the procession, Fletcher's Muse has an intimacy with the dead which is socially corroborated.

Elegies do not only use the religious and folk vocabularies of the funeral for symbolic purposes: they were also a significant prop within the ritual itself. Elegies were regularly pinned to the hearse cloth, dropped into the grave or festooned on the monument. These ritual uses remind us that early modern funerals operated as a gift economy, including charitable bequests (often in the form of mourning clothes, rings, gloves, and so forth) and hospitality given by the dead to the living in exchange for memorialization; life itself was also frequently represented as a "gift" of God which could be reclaimed at any time. Following the guidance of Proverbs 31:6 ("give wine unto them that have grief of heart"), funerals included a feast which was an important opportunity to affirm social cohesion. A ballad satirizing John Warner, late Lord Mayor, invites London merchants to "Shut up your shops, and to's burying goe":

> Here is no want of Sugar-plumbes, nor Sack:
> Nor need you here to cry, *What doe you lack?*
> Gentlemen, pray sit downe; Listen to mee,
> And whilst y'are serv'd, Ile read his *Elegy*.
> (Draper 1928, 52)

This gives us a view of the early modern funeral not as an occasion of dirge and solemnity, but as a festive pause in daily trade, with the elegiac ballad laid on as entertainment. Of course, elegists sometimes invoke this spirit of hospitality in order to revile it, painting themselves as outsiders whose difference—like Hamlet in his unseemly mourning clothes—testifies to their intensity of feeling. W. Towers begins an elegy for Lord Viscount Bayning with a drive to exclude those

> that have only chose
> To Mourn for Ribbands, & the sader Cloths,
> That Buy your Grief from th'Shop; & desperat lye
> For a new Cloak till the next Lord shall Dye;
> You that shed only wine, and think when all
> The Banquet's past, there's no more Funerall[.]
> (Towers 1638, 42)

While other mourners are motivated only by greed and materialism, this elegist claims to be genuinely inconsolable. The claim is, nonetheless, entirely generic.

Elegists' attempt to denigrate other elegists as hacks writing for pay, while claiming themselves to be motivated only by sincere affliction, may reflect an anxiety about the social incentives for elegizing. While no records show that elegists were paid directly for their poems, they do seem to have used the occasion to sue for patronage, advertising their

fidelity to the dead as a qualification for service in contrast to the corrupt motives of their competitors. At the same time, any suggestion that a poet stood to profit from the gift of an elegy also undermined the decorum of the funeral, and put the poet in the derided position of a hired mourner; the repressed instrumentality of elegiac writing is therefore regularly projected by elegists onto their competitors.

Ritual assertions of social cohesion are also recognitions that death within a highly stratified society could be disruptive: households must be dispersed, legacies divided. Another example of an elegy which makes use of the vocabulary of the funeral is Henry King's elegy on Lady Katherine Cholmondeley, who died in 1657. The speaker regrets that he had previously made a "Promise" to eulogize her, and promises to abandon "my now Loathed Pen" and never write another elegy. He presents his derogation of writing and his loyalty to his lady according to the conventions of the heraldic funeral offertory: as "The now unoffic'd Servants crack their Staves, / And throw them down into their Masters Grave" (King 1965, 133–135), so the speaker "resigns" this "last Office of my broken Verse" on her coffin. Grief is metaphorically manifested as the loss of a social role. The heraldic funeral King invokes was one spectacular way in which early modern hierarchies demonstrated their continuity in the face of death. Resentment about the cost of such funerals also led to private interments, often held at night, which further emphasized affective bonds over aristocratic rank.[5] This is not to argue, however, that affect was only expressible in private or domesticated rituals: Laertes' bitter reaction to his father Polonius's "obscure funeral"—"No trophy, sword, nor hatchment o'er his bones, / No noble rite nor formal ostentation" (*Hamlet* IV.v)—suggests that heraldic rites also functioned to assuage grief and anger.

However, the Reformation produced a much bigger transformation in the beliefs, attitudes, and social practices of dying than the privatization of heraldic rituals. The abolition of Purgatory and of institutions such as guilds and chantries eroded the active relationships between the living and the dead sustained in pre-Reformation communities. Many historians have argued that these doctrinal changes had far-reaching social, political, and economic consequences (see Houlbrooke 1989; Litten 1991; Duffy 1992). Mourners were denied the consoling beliefs that they could intervene in the fate of the dead or share space with them. According to Patricia Phillippy, "in the absence of corporate, active, external forms through which to mourn, post-Reformation grief is rendered individual, static, and internal by the acknowledged pointlessness of prolonged or repetitious commemorative acts and by the transgression implied by stubborn grief" (Phillippy 2002, 9). Traditional forms of honoring the dead through charitable bequests, the provision of a decent burial, aid to their posterity, moderate mourning, and the imitation of their virtues remained in the Protestant dispensation (Marshall 2002, 266). However, requiem masses and other traditional intercessory practices were discouraged; the funeral liturgy gave way to the funeral sermon (Llewellyn 1991, 81). The revised Edwardian Prayer Book of 1552 required that the minister speak of the corpse in the third person, making elegy the only space where it could be directly apostrophized. Eventually, the Puritan *Directory for the Publique Worship of God* outlawed prayers, Scripture reading, and singing at funerals, and instructed that the corpse be interred "without ceremony." Joshua Scodel's argument that this dissolution of the "sacred economy" led to a focus on the continuity of family and secular memory in monumental inscriptions could also apply to the secularization of elegy (Scodel 1991, 21).

Top-down injunctions could not entirely eliminate traditional rituals. Judith Maltby argues that there is little evidence that the *Directory* was widely purchased or used (Maltby 1998, 61). Parishioners' insistence on strict observance of the rites permitted by the Book of Common Prayer (including bell ringing, white vestments, and the funeral sermon) demonstrates the persistence of ritual expressions of love for the dead (56–63). According to Vanessa Harding, the Reformation did not change burial practices even though it challenged "the belief that holiness could have a physical location and that association with specific places conferred spiritual benefit" (Harding 2002, 52). Post-Reformation testators still requested burial in churchyards or *ad sacrum*, within the church. "Superstitious" observances such as "superfluous" bell ringing, burning candles in daylight, praying at crossroads, and the use of "metwands or memories of idolatry at burials" were prohibited, though many such practices did persist well into the seventeenth century; those which could be interpreted within a Protestant framework were especially durable. Thus, this was an era both of radical change and of continuity, of difference and sameness, which also affected the way that death was represented in elegy.

Historians have read these shifts, from public and bureaucratically managed heraldic funerals which emphasized social roles to private ones which provided outlets for emotional expression and the affirmation of kinship groups—and from the traditional regard for the dead as an age-group which must be sustained through regular ritual activity to an absence unreachable by prayer or devotion—as contributing to the emergence of individuality and the private sphere in the early modern period. Whether or not this thesis is accepted, these historical changes had profound effects on elegy. Elegies document the complex adaptations of individuals to historical change, particularly in the way that they articulate social roles and "private" feelings. Matthew Greenfield has claimed that in this period elegy began to distance itself from funeral ritual, as the latter became "less capable of organizing emotions and compelling belief," or to imagine those ceremonies as fragmentary and deformed (Greenfield 1998, 77, 84). But historians claim that it was not only the rituals which changed: so too did the feelings they were intended to organize. Other critics have read the seventeenth century as a period of newly emergent individualism (Ariès 1981; Gittings 1984), or a growing resistance to what G. W. Pigman III has called "rigorism," the Christian Stoicism which regarded passionate grief as antithetical to faith in the resurrection (Pigman 1985). For W. Scott Howard, resistance to consolation in the early seventeenth century marked "an epistemological break between the Renaissance and the early modern historical imagination" which he attributes to secularization, with elegies commemorating a heightened psychological experience of the mourning process and an awareness of the linguistic constitution of subjectivity (Howard 2003, 217).

These arguments for the changing nature of grief and its reflection in poetry reflect a historiographical claim that the public sphere began to emerge in the seventeenth century, formed by exclusion of "affective energies" to the private sphere (Greenfield 1998, 94). The elegy is thus typical in turning away from public memorialization toward an internalized and affective cult of intimate memory. Dennis Kay, for example, contrasts elegists who "confine themselves to a role that was essentially heraldic" by ensuring "a respectful celebration of the status the deceased had enjoyed when alive" with "more sophisticated writers" who "argued for the uniqueness both of the subject and of the elegy" (Kay 1990, 4). Kay suggests crude writers aligned themselves with the constrained social form of the

heraldic ritual—a reactionary sameness—while "sophisticated" writers were capable of producing difference ("uniqueness"). In this teleology, elegies which privatize those feelings previously managed by the public funeral are part of a broader social progress toward the separation of the public and private sphere. John Draper argued that the Romantic lyric is actually rooted in the early modern elegy, with the oppositional and isolated stance of the elegist—declaring his or her difference from a ritual, social, and memorial culture predicated on sameness—anticipating one of the most conspicuous postures of Romanticism (Draper 1967).

There are, however, many problems with this Habermasian model of a progressive distillation of elegy (or lyric more generally) into a formal public sphere, where emotions are predicated rather than authentic, and an affective private sphere, where emotion is sincere and enjoyed inwardly. One of those problems is with the way these spaces—or the work of mourning more generally—are gendered. In many cultures, ritual mourning was traditionally performed by women. From ancient Greece to early modern Ireland, in the New World, Russia, and Africa and among European Jewish communities, the bereaved would weep, dance, tear their hair or clothes, beat their breasts, and scratch their skin as part of a carefully calibrated ritual performance. They also performed improvisatory mourning songs, often antiphonal in structure, with the virtuosic verses of an individual singer giving way to a choral refrain mimetic of cries or moans.[6] These practices were roundly condemned by English commentators as "pagan" or occult, demonstrating a lack of faith in the Resurrection. The expression of severe grief was also considered dangerously "effeminizing." The French theologian Pierre Charron argued that the "strange and effeminate" habit of sorrow "taketh away whatsoever is manly and generous in us, and puts upon us the countenances and infirmities of women," and "makes men eunuches" (Charron 1608, 97). Spenser's poem represents the bereaved Alcyon as "Clad all in black," "His carelesse locks, vncombed and vnshorne / Hong long adowne, and beard all ouer growne" (Spenser 1999, 326); after his complaint is finished, he "Did rend his haire, and beat his blubbred face" (341). This attitude of masculine desolation was not totally unheard of in this period: Sir Kenelm Digby's melancholic attachment to his dead wife Venetia led him, according to Aubrey, to write multiple elegies, commission a deathbed portrait, and go about dressed in "a long mourning cloake, a high crowned hatt, his beard unshorne, look't like a Hermite, as signes of sorrowe for his beloved wife" (Bligh 1932, 185). However, Alcyon's disruptive inconsolability uproots him from his locality (he wanders perpetually), social ties (he abandons his promise to his dying wife to look after their daughter), and his gender: his commitment to enacting feminized mourning also makes it impossible to recuperate him to Christian fortitude.

Women and men had different roles to play, not only in mourning but also in the rituals of dying. While men generally acted as spiritual ministers and presided over the funeral, women washed the corpse and prepared it for burial. Thus, in his "funerall song" for his mother Anne, Nicholas Grimald describes the deathbed scene where

> Kinswoomen wept: your charge, the maydens wept:
> Your daughters wept, whom you so well had kept.
> But my good syre gave, with soft words, relief:
> And clokes, with outward chere, his inward greef[.]
> (Grimald 1925, 399)

These distinctions—roughly speaking, the care of the spirit and care of the soul, but also the masculine repression of intense feeling and the effeminate surrender to the passions—can also be reflected in the positions taken by male and female elegiac speakers. Grimald avers—after an extremely mournful opening four lines—"This harty zeale if any wight disprove, / As womans work, whom feeble minde doth moove," then they know nothing of nature's laws (398). Nonetheless, Grimald can only excuse his effeminate grief through comparison with classical heroes also undone by sorrow for their dead parents. By contrast, in Mary Carey's poem "Upon the Sight of My Abortive Birth," the speaker vehemently exhorts God to explain why she has been made to suffer the loss of her unborn child:

> I only now desire of my sweet god
> the reason why he took in hand his rod?
> What he doth spy; what is the thing amiss
> I fain would learn, whilst I the rod do kiss?

Embracing her chastisement, and resisting it in the same breath that she professes herself "pleased, completely happy still," Carey imagines God's response as an accusation:

> Thou often dost present me with dead fruit;
> Why should not my returns thy presents suit:
> Dead duties; prayers; praises thou dost bring,
> affections dead; dead heart in everything.
> (Carey 1988, 158–161)

This exchange, of the speaker's "dead heart" for her dead fetus, makes physical and spiritual reproduction identical, but in that respect also implicitly effeminizes God as someone who, like the desperate speaker, "presents dead fruit."

This elegy violates many generic expectations: it cannot linger on the social role of its subject; there is little evidence of poetic self-fashioning; it fiercely resists the consolation which treats all life as a temporary loan or offers the dead up as too good for this world. The speaker asserts herself through her abject female body, drawing an equation between her spiritual and physical fertility without reference to any male mate or advisor or wider social context. While she recognizes her utter dependence on God, this poem also attempts to substitute for the form-giving work of pregnancy. Read in secular fashion as a documentation of gift exchange—heart for baby, but also poem for baby—the poem displaces providential creativity with the private act of poetic production. Such a reading would, however, invert the poem's own explicit concern, which is the cession of the speaker's will entirely to providence.

Any attempts to synthesize an entire genre—to discern its qualities of sameness—will inevitably founder when confronted with specific examples. However, Henry King's "Exequy To his Matchlesse never to be forgotten Freind" could be said to demonstrates many of the features discussed in this essay, while also challenging contemporary reading strategies (King 1965, 68–72). The poem opens with a specification of its genre ("complaint" rather than "dirge") and its temporal and spatial relation to the corpse: this "strew of weeping verse" is given as substitutes for flowers on the hearse. The dead woman is "the Book, / The Library whereon I look," a textual focus of meditation which the grave

later in the poem will "write into thy Doomsday book." The poem consists entirely of an apostrophe, first to her, then to her shrine, complaining of her untimely death, the consequences for the speaker, and her utter abolition from the world—"Thou wilt never more appeare / Folded within my hemisphere," unlike the pre-Reformation dead who might be reached through prayer and offerings, or who visit the world as ghosts. He knows he will not see her again until "that Day come / Which shall the Earth to cinders doome." The poem tarries briefly with standard consolatory topoi—God "leant, / Not gave thee"—but it also testifies to enduring and irresolvable grief. Its largely secular orientation, its mercantile language of "right and Interest" and "Auditt" in the estimation of its claims of ownership over the dead, its focus on an intimate affective relationship rather than the wife's social body, perhaps attest to the privatization of feeling which historians believe coincided with the emergence of the public sphere. This last point must be moderated, however, by reading this poem in the context of King's many other more public and conventional elegies. Either the "Exequy" is evidence of an emergent lyric mode, a proto-Romantic private scene of intimate feeling, or it is a variation—a work of brilliant difference—within the sameness of King's more conventional, and larger, elegiac corpus.

Notes

1 I paraphrase Samuel Johnson's famous aspersion on Milton's "Lycidas": the poem, he said, "is not to be considered the effusion of real passion; for passion runs not after remote allusion and obscure opinions. … Where there is leisure for fiction there is little grief" (Johnson 1977, 426).

2 This note was added when Milton published the poem as part of his *Poems* in 1645. On the interplay of conservatism and innovation in genre, see Colie (1973).

3 On the ancient association between elegy and epicede, see Gentili (1988, 33).

4 David Norbrook agrees that "The elegies in *Jonsus Virbius*—and most of those in *Iusta Edovardo King*—indicate the growing hegemony of the closed couplet as a dominating metrical form" (Norbrook 1992, 54).

5 The rights of the heralds to organize funerals are asserted repeatedly; see Earl Marshal's Commissioners' Orders, 1618 (Squibb 1985, 106). For a range of cases against mourners who resisted the heralds, see Squibb (1956).

6 On the Greek context, see Nagy (2010, 21–22); on the Irish, see Bourke (1992), Ó Coileáin (1988), and Lysaght (1997).

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EPISTOLARY AND DIALOGIC FORMS

27
Letters of Address, Letters of Exchange

M. L. Stapleton

Joachim du Bellay (1549) and Ambrose Philips (1714), representing the approximate beginning and ending of the early modern period, held that there were two types of verse epistle a poet could write. Ovid provided one model in his amorous, histrionic *Heroides* and Horace the other in his wry, witty *Epistularum Libri*.[1] This unchallenged critical commonplace melded nicely with humanist educational theory. Erasmus and his acolytes championed Cicero as the nonpareil of style, rhetoric, and form, and believed the writing of prose epistles to be an indispensable method of training receptive young minds (Baldwin 1944, 1: 587–588). Exercises of this type had the felicitous secondary effect of reanimating Ovidian and Horatian models of poetical letter writing for authors such as George Turberville, Isabella Whitney, Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, Thomas Lodge, John Donne, and Ben Jonson.[2]

Turberville's translation of the *Heroides*, *The Heroycall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ouidius Naso* (1567) and Isabella Whitney's emulative *The Copy of a letter*, *lately written in meeter* (1567) and *A sweet nosgay, or pleasant posye* (1573) best embody the Ovidian verse epistle in the middle of the sixteenth century. Turberville's was the standard English rendition of the *Heroides* for 70 years, with four different printings in his lifetime, 1567, 1569, 1570, 1600. Its prosody, not always regularly iambic or contained by the pentameter line, attends minutely to sound. Its speakers deliver the equivalent of soliloquies in the vein of *Cambyses* or *Gorboduc* with its underrated fourteeners, poulter's measure, and blank verse. Florence Verducci's generous assessment of the *Heroides* can be applied in some ways to Turberville and to Whitney after him: "Perhaps the greatest, and surely the most original, achievement of Ovid's letters is the impression they create of psychological authenticity, of convincing fidelity to the private perspective of a speaker caught in a double process of intentional persuasion and unintentionally revealing self-expression." (Verducci 1986, 15).

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Turberville shrewdly conceived, composed, and published the *Heroycall Epistles*. Men like him keen to sell books began to cultivate a potentially lucrative readership, when the eroticization of women as readers, writers, and speakers in poetry manifested itself (Rowland 2013, 10). Humanists constantly emphasized that a writer should not distort or cheapen his translation of his source text with ragged rhymes, rhetorical howlers, and poor or unfamiliar diction. Therefore, Turberville tried to be familiar with the translation theory of his time and sought to create English versions of the heroines who sounded credibly like those of the *magister Amoris.* His proem to his rendition of the *Heroides* unsubtly reminded his peers how much labor it requires to turn an ancient text into unobjectionable English verse: "Well couched wordes, and feately forged phras, / Eche string in tune, no ragged ryme doth iarre" should complement carefully chosen rhetorical figures "So that it is a worke of prayse to cause / A Romaine borne to speake with English iawes" (Turberville 1567, x2^{v}). He felt that the explanation was necessary since the publication of translated Latin poetry was a recent development in 1567, the same year that Arthur Golding's influential *The xv bookes of P. Ovidius Naso*, *entytuled Metamorphosis* appeared.

Ovid's epistles embodied and parodied the Roman school exercises known as *suasoria*, an impassioned persuasive plea, and *ethopoeia*, the recreation of a historical figure at a decisive moment in her life (Verducci 1986, 158). Turberville created a like effect with a similar diversity of forms, prosodic devices, and formal eloquence, which his version of Helen's letter to Paris (*Heroides* 17.75–90) exemplifies:

> Sometime thou (wanton wight) dost cast a glauncing blinck
> With wrested looke, whereat well neare my daunted eyes doe shrinck.
> Againe you sigh as fast, another time you take
> The Cup, and where I dranck euen there you falced thirst doth slake.
> With fingers (Lord) how oft, and with a talking browe,
> Hast thou me giuen secret signes I wote well where, and howe.
> (Turberville 1567, 100v–101)

Here Ovid revisits a convention with which tradition has largely credited him. A lover and his married paramour gull her oblivious husband by writing blandishments to each other on the table in wine conveniently spilled for the purpose, a contrivance recommended in the *Ars amatoria* (1.569–574) and dramatized in the *Amores* (1.4.17–20). Turberville's lines above include verbal tics that emphasize the prolix Helen's breathy vocal style. Well-couched words and forged phrases make the rhymes appropriately jagged. Accordingly, this rustic Tudor incarnation of the world's most desirable woman, hardly the stuff of dignified Homeric epic, makes risible "matching" rhymes in her screed to Paris: "glauncing blinck" / "eyes doe shrinck"; "talking browe" / "why, and how." Her fourteeners produce some unusual epithets, such as "falced thirst" and "talking browe," so that the blink shrinks from eyes that glance. Turberville's use of different poetical forms and meters to imitate women's voices comprises an impulse garnered from the *Heroides* itself.

Isabella Whitney exemplified a Tudor *herois*, how a woman sounded to those who read her and imagined the timbre of her voice. This might have provided a masculine readership with a faint erotic charge, which could explain the phenomenon of men adopting female personae later in the century and marketing their publications accordingly.

Critics have granted an authenticity to earlier women poets that they have infrequently conceded to men who ventriloquized in female voices. Probably no early modern poet of either sex has been credited with quite as much genuineness as Whitney. Commentators as diverse as Wendy Wall (1991), Raphael Lyne (2004), Boyd Berry (2000), Paul A. Marquis (1995), and Danielle Clarke (2000) have written about the participation of her work in sixteenth-century literary controversies regarding imitation, humanism, female authority, and the struggle against patriarchy. She might have authored the two sides of her verse letters of exchange with a purportedly male author, T. B., in *A sweet nosgay*. In the poem from that publication that critics have most often studied, "A carefull complaynt by the vnfortunate Auctor," Whitney's speaker addresses Dido herself: "Yet greater cause of griefe / compells me to complayne." However, she does not explain precisely why her unhappiness should trump that of the deserted Queen of Carthage: "I vnhappy moste, / and gript with endles griefs: / Dispayre (alas) amid my hope, / And hope without reliefe" (Whitney 1573, D3, D3v).

The authenticity that recent critics have detected in Whitney originated in their appreciation of her singularity—and her artlessness. Her one verse form, English common meter, the humble prosody of Protestant hymns, resists sophisticated poetical utterances. Since these broken fourteeners tend to canter haltingly, a writer with the prodigious skills of an Emily Dickinson could deploy the line successfully without sounding dangerously like the rude mechanicals in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or the teenage translators of *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581). Whitney avoids such comic bathos with her consistency and fidelity to her aesthetic, embodied in her colloquial tone, simple diction, emotional intensity, classical references, and sparing use of metaphor.

Whitney's two neo-*Heroides* elegies that comprise most of her first book, *The Copy of a letter*, suggest her skills in attempting to create discursive verse in a form that does not often allow for it. "To her vnconstant Louer" and "The admonition by the Auctor, to all yong Gentilwomen: and to al other Maids being in Loue" avoid the trite and epigrammatic in their unpretentious diction and syntax. This simplicity makes her fourteeners flow more easily than those of her possible mentor Turberville. Her caesural cleaving of the seven-foot line gives special force to the shorter rhyming line that concludes her phrases. "To her vnconstant Louer" rarely employs a word of more than two syllables as its speaker pinions her betrayer for having fooled her into thinking that he had been directing his amorous efforts exclusively at her:

> Wed whom you list, I am content,
> your refuse for to be.
> It shall suffice me simple soule,
> of thee to be forsaken:
> And it may chance although not yet
> you wish you had me taken.
> (Whitney 1567, A3v)

The stanza-and-a-half suggests foreboding and quaintness in its conversational tone. Each line projects passive aggression, emphasized in "I am content, your refuse for to be," and the speaker's studied mischaracterization of herself as a "simple soule." Yet her final

expression provides a touch of pride after this feigned humility. This man may regret what she sees as a failure to have chosen her over the betrothed. And "not yet" further complicates her utterance. Her betrayer could eventually be regretful of his choice because the speaker will no longer be available to him. Or, she might remain open to him sexually with his fated nuptials serving as a date of terminus, whereupon he will be sorry indeed, knowing what he will miss: "you wish you had me taken." The projected attitude toward the wedded state in the poem remains unclear. Indeed,

> … yf that needes you marry must:
> then farewell, hope is past,
> And if you cannot be content
> to lead a single lyfe
> …
> then take me to your wife (A2v)

hardly endorses the sacramental institution. Togetherness and mutuality matter more to her than the last resort of marriage. Hence the closing lines of Whitney's two stanzas, "your refuse for to be" and "you wish you had me taken" would appear to be drolly ironic. The woman does not think of herself as refuse, rather worth significantly more than the man whose infidelity occasioned the expression of emotion that comprises the poem.

Whitney's speaker emphasizes her value and singularity by adopting the medieval Latin word *auctor* in some of her titles, forging her literary identity by imbuing herself with the customs of pseudo-antiquity like so many men before her. Its use in "The admonition by the Auctor" distinguishes her as an experienced and trustworthy counselor and author, an authority. The persona reconfigures the traditional maleness of the key term and extends its honors to herself. In this poem, Whitney's strategy works well in the employment of her most characteristic form of ornament—allusion—sometimes in unexpected ways. Amorous young gentlewomen and maids should "Beware of fayre and painted talke, / beware of flattering tonges," since men use crocodile tears to attract the naive by stimulating women's natural capacity for empathy. Treacherously, "yf they cannot alwayes weepe, / they wet their Cheekes by Art" (A5). Where would the prospective seducers learn such deceit? Naturally, "Ouid, within his Arte of Loue, / doth teach them this same knacke." In the *Ars amatoria*, the *praeceptor Amoris* first warns men that the *puellae* whom they chase employ this deceitful strategy to obtain gifts, and as a result, they should stimulate their tears as a method of enticing women into sexual liaisons (1.431; 659–662). The single English translation of any kind available in the sixteenth century—Wynkyn de Worde's *The flores of Ovide de arte amandi with theyr englysshe afore them* (1513), a school primer of brief excerpts from Ovid's comically didactic poem—does not include these passages. Whence Whitney, whom virtually all her commentators insist knew no Latin, retrieved this obscure information and reconfigured it so ably remains mysterious.

The verse epistle nearly vanished around 1580, and then re-emerged 15 years later in three notable instances. Thomas Lodge's *A Fig for Momus* (1595) and Samuel Daniel's diverse poetical letters share a Horatian orientation (Hunt 1941, 279–281). The third could arguably be classified as the most neglected major work of the sixteenth century,

Michael Drayton's *Heroides*-like *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597). Drayton's modest homage in his preface to "OVID (*whose Imitator I partly professe to be*)" (Drayton 1619, 102) associated him with his ancient predecessor. His admiring colleagues happily promulgated the idea by promoting him as such. William Alexander's commendatory "To M. Michael Drayton" makes a larger assertion: "Ovids *Soule reuiues in* DRAYTON *now*" (104). In complementary fashion, he worked in the Horatian tradition in his *Elegies upon Sundry Occasions* (1627).

Drayton was the first poet to create avowedly *Heroides*-like models in English as fictional correspondents, self-consciously literary with reference to the medium of epistolarity, each "a self-reflexive image of the process of making" (Ewell 1983, 250). Answers to each missive depend on the respondent for wholeness or completeness to be possible, since there would be two versions of reality. The idea of written correspondence as an acceptable form of familiarity in early modern culture had just begun to supplant the idea that face-to-face communication would suffice for the purpose, yet this relatively new awareness may have aided in the popularity of verse epistles such as Drayton offered.

Danielle Clarke and Alison Thorne situated Drayton's notions of women's voices and understanding of their subjectivity in early modern culture, evaluating Ovid's role in his creative process. Clarke read the *Heroides* in the *Heroicall Epistles* as part of "a highly productive and transformative relationship" between Drayton's reading of English history and his understanding of the feminine in the public sphere (Clarke 2008, 385–386). Women were apparently a target audience for this text and made it popular. They saw their marginality represented in the voices of the English heroines, manifest in their hesitations and doubt about expressing themselves, and their mostly helpless fury at rogue male behavior. Thorne invoked Efrossini Spentzou's Kristevan theory of the *Heroides* heroines' personhood, their peculiar voices inviting the reader to consider them as entities independent from the man who created them, and applied it to the *Heroicall Epistles* (Thorne 2008, 368, from Spentzou 2003, 21–24). In spite of their purported anxiety about writing letters, Drayton's Englishwomen establish compelling epistolary selves. As his Margaret of Anjou assures William de la Poole, "The truest loue is most suspitious" (Drayton 1619, 196); that is, the most constant and reliable love is solicitous and of questionable character.

In emulating Ovid, Drayton streamlined the apocryphal "Sabine" tradition of the *Heroides*, in which men read and answered the laments of the women with whom they were associated.[3] His *Heroicall Epistles* consists of 24 paired letters between notorious, sometimes scandalous lovers in English history. Oddly, neither the author nor the publisher attempted to arrange the missives chronologically, though the earliest in time comes first, Rosamond to Henry II, and the latest concludes the collection, Lord Guildford Dudley to Lady Jane Grey. Generally, the groups of letters alternate in gender order. If one set begins with a woman's speech complemented by a man's answer, the next presents the obverse. For an obvious reason, each letter and pair is naturally mimetic of the verse form in which Drayton wrote the letters. And just as all distichs are not metrically regular and self-contained—rather, featuring enjambment and appropriately reversed feet, thereby confounding predictability—so the couples' relationships that the author so skillfully portrays in their exchanges are equally variegated.

Though Drayton accords equal space to each gender's perspective, the women tend to be more credible as representations of human consciousness. They are better realized, superior

in articulation and descriptive ability, and therefore more effective in enunciating their grievances compared to their male counterparts. For example, no man in the *Heroicall Epistles* appears capable of the clarity that Alice, Countess of Salisbury uses to describe the hypocritical dynamics of her relationship with Edward, the Black Prince. Her punning couplet gendering male and female notions of strength and responsibility emblematizes every liaison, consummated or otherwise, in the poems: "It is your Vertue, being men, to trie, / And it is ours, by Vertue to denie" (Drayton 1619, 146). In spite of the men's equivalent space and billing, and in some cases their privilege of enjoying the final word about the affair in question, the English heroines prove themselves to be superior poets. If the man speaks first, his lover never discredits herself by her follow-up commentary, just him. If the woman provides the initial account, Drayton designed her paramour's response to sound peevish, cheap, or mean spirited, such as the author's self-deluded male speaker in the great sonnet, "Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part," and Henry II's appeal to Rosamond: "One Accent from thy Lips the Bloud more warmes, / Then all her Philters, Exorcismes, and Charmes" (113). That king's son, John, relays an acrid comment to the unfortunate and unwilling Matilda, one of two women by that name whom the historical ruler oppressed, and about whom Drayton had already written: "Fie peeuish Girle, ingratefull vnto Nature" (118).[4] Drayton's English sonnet that serves as an index or concluding table of contents following the epistles, "A Catalogue of the Heroicall Loves," emphasizes this feminocentric of view. With a few exceptions, it generally describes the men in negative terms: "HENRIES frosty fire, / IOHN's tyrrany," "furious MORTIMER, / The scourge of *France*." Edward IV, Charles Brandon, the Earl of Surrey, and the good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester are simply named. He praises the women: "The World's faire Rose," "his chaste Loue," "chaste MATILDA'S wrong," "faire KATHERINE," "graue spiritfull Queene," "delicious *London* Dame," "faire Paragon of Fame," "vertuous GRAY" (250). As these heroines articulate their unhappiness in original, salient detail, they prove their poetical superiority.

As one who sought to imbue his poetry with colloquial and emotional verisimilitude, Drayton helped establish the credibility of his female speakers with a simple device. He imagined them as writers, infusing their speeches with the language of writing, thus empathetically fashioning them as extensions of himself. Each work seamlessly and simultaneously utilizes three major modes of his time: discursive poetry, the epistle, and dramatic speech. Rosamond the miserable sexual captive might describe herself as a "vile" and hated concubine, an infectious purveyor of "tainted Lines, drawne with a Hand impure" (105), but her eloquence and authority as a writer countermands this corrosive self-assessment. Her use of the imperative implies that she expects her royal seducer to peruse her lines: "Reade them for Loue, if not for Loue, for Hate." She despises him, and views him as an inferior author, corruptive: "So pure was I, ere stayned by thy Hand" (105–106). Matilda's letter similarly invalidates John and foregrounds her skills as a writer. In one bravura display, she pairs 11 uses of the first-person pronoun with 18 mostly transitive verbs in flawless iambic pentameter: "I write, indite, I point, I raze, I quote, / I enterline, I blot, correct, I note, / I hope, despaire, take courage, faint, disdaine, / I make, alledge, I imitate, I faine." She discusses the process of revision with rapid and intuitive decisions for changes in her elaboration on technique: "Now thus it must be, and now thus, and thus, / Bold, shame-fac'd, fearelesse, doubtfull, timorous." Matilda illustrates how an engaged author like Drayton practiced his craft, willing himself to experience the feelings and colorations

of a character in monologue such as she. The regularity of her couplets contrasts with the discordant and turbulent emotions throughout the passage. "From eu'ry word strange Passion still proceeds" (123) states the motif of the collection.

The Anglo-Welsh historian James Howell described the ideal for early seventeenth-century epistolary correspondence: "we should write as we speak; and that's a true familiar Letter which expresseth one's Mind, as if he were discoursing with the Party to whom he writes, in succinct and short termes" (Howell 1655, 1). This statement could be applied to the adherents of the Horatian verse letter, who had begun to prefer this mode over the Ovidian in the 1590s. The first English translation of the *Epistularum Libri* had been Thomas Drant's *Horace his arte of poetrie, pistles, and satyrs Englished* (1567), the author an acquaintance of Sidney and Spenser. Daniel and Drayton composed in this manner in the 1590s, spurred by their quest for patronage interlinked with their desire to advance the profession of poet. So naturally Donne and Jonson favored this re-emerging tradition over the *Heroides* model, the former's "Sapho to Philaenis" notwithstanding.

Scholars subdivide Donne's 43 verse epistles into a tripartite group of addressees: friends and contemporaries (1592–1595); moral meditations to great men (1597–1608); and the late mannerist phase, to aristocratic women (1609–1614). These last puzzled his early twentieth-century editor, Sir Herbert Grierson, who surmised that he "delighted and perhaps bewildered his noble lady friends and patronesses with erudite and transcendental theory" (Grierson 1912, 2: xiv), the poems' occasional "scholastic theology … made the instrument of courtly compliment and pious flirtation" (1: xx). For such reasons, R. C. Bald claimed that "crudity and conventionality" marred these (Bald 1951–1952, 83). Jonson composed a dozen poetic letters, uncontroversial and lauded, two in *The Forrest*, included in *Workes* (1616), and the remaining 10 in *Underwood* (1640–1641). Well-known works not explicitly titled as epistles, such as "To Penshurst," "Inviting a Friend to Supper," and *Horace His Arte of Poetrie*, partake of the verse letter.

Donne and Jonson reconfigured the epistolary Horace according to their respective poetics. They learned to use the value of the addressee to exalt themselves. As J. Arnold Levine observed a half-century ago, protestations of humility slyly elevate the poet (Levine 1962, 662). To sound sincere without unctuousness proved a difficult task. Such verse must be personal and genteel, constructed as public utterance decorously underwritten with humor, gravitas, and charm. Having to address patronesses who expected a touch of deferential gallantry without condescension—or what we would now refer to as sexism—comprised a difficulty for the two poets that their ancient predecessor, blessed as he was with Maecenas (and Augustus behind him), never had to experience. These considerable skills can be seen and are best displayed in Donne's "Elegie to the Lady Bedford" (1633), Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford, and Jonson's "Epistle: To Elizabeth Countesse of Rutland" (1616), Elizabeth Sidney, the sole surviving child of the great poet.[5]

The two authors modify some of Horace's structural conventions for the epistle, the exhortatory opening and the advisory conclusion, each particular to the addressee (Moul 2010, 111, 195).[6] Donne's opening address to Bedford, brief, personal, and blunt bordering on tactlessness, constitutes a strange way to console her at the death of her unnamed close friend, likely her first cousin, Bridget Harrington, Lady Markham: "You that are she, and you that's double she, / In her dead face half of yourself shall see" (lines 1–2). The unexpected epithet "dead face" begins the conceit of doubleness to explain the relationship, appropriately in a series of tightly wound, epigrammatic distichs. Jonson's poem to

Rutland builds itself on the *radix malorum* topos, beginning with the first couplet's impersonal tone: "Madame, Whilst that, for which, all vertue now is sold, / And almost euery vice, almightie gold" (lines 1–2). This *exordium* continues damning riches and greed for 16 more lines, then delivers its main burden: "I, that haue none (to send you) send you verse" (line 19). In another pattern of doubleness, the frequently enjambed couplets mimetically overflow their measure of instruction and praise in straining the normal fabric of the verse form itself, and emphasize the epistle's twofold discursive message. Jonson implies that the very gold he has been excoriating nevertheless comprises the great lady's patronage, therefore essential to his existence as a poet. He inserts this part of his advice most piquantly in the middle of the text, a bid for support and money: "With you, I know, my offering will find grace" (line 30). He understands this for what he asserts should be an obvious reason:

> For what a sinne'gainst your great fathers spirit,
> Were it to thinke, that you should not inherit
> His loue vnto the Muses, when his skill
> Almost you haue, or may haue, when you will?
> (lines 31–34)

That Elizabeth's father was Sir Philip Sidney amplifies the force of the utterance, since to "inherit / His loue vnto the Muses" and that she "may haue" his gifts as a poet "when you will" unambiguously claims that the rich Countess could match Sir Philip's skills, and therefore Jonson the poet deserves her largesse. The unconventional Donne's conclusion to the Bedford letter waxes more conventionally Horatian in its mild didacticism. It concerns a different type of legacy than a father's formidable talents and coin: "Seeke not in seeking new, to seeme to doubt, / That you can match her, or not be without" (lines 41–42). Elizabeth's search for a new belle companion should not imply that this successor could replace the departed or salve an inconsolable loss. However, an extraordinarily faithful friend, though not her predecessor, might possess some of Markham's qualities: "But let some faithfull booke in her roome be, / Yet but of *Iudith* no such booke as shee" (lines 43–44). Again, couplets are remarkably apt for such a series of binaries and dichotomies.

In this Horatian fashion, Donne and Jonson avoided overt flattery, retained their independence, and spoke in their distinctive voices to demonstrate their good faith as poets. And, like their ancient forebear, they were gentlemanly, courting, manipulative, self-promoting, and self-negating in their subtle attempts to educate their patrons and promote themselves. In their equipoise between praise and instruction, they implied that they had standards for patronage that they expected to see fulfilled. In an excellent point, Colleen Shea observed that Jonson "actively constructs and insistently pushes his addressees" into patronage (Shea 2003, 198). The Rutland epistle illustrates this point. It may be enviable to be among the great, but without a poet celebrating them, "when they were borne, they di'd, / That had no *Muse* to make their fame abide" (lines 47–48), the rhyme illustrating the antithetical states by sound, abiding preferable to dying. In theory, "onely Poets, rapt with rage diuine" had the power to make Ajax, Achilles, Hercules, and Jason actually transcend time. "And such"—that *furor poeticus* Jonson assured his Countess he possessed—"or my hopes faile, shall make you shine" (line 64). Though some have

argued that Donne, unlike Jonson, dulled his observations by gratuitous obsequiousness to his betters, the Bedford verse letter suggests the opposite. His risky version of patroness-training assured his audience that in spite of earthly diffusion, all things "Shall re-collect, and in one All unite." This would be true, then, of Markham:

> So madame, as her Soule to heaven is fled,
> Her flesh rests in the earth, as in the bed;
> Her vertues do, as to their proper spheare,
> Returne to dwell with you, of whom they were. (lines 27–30)

The poem echoes Donne's more celebrated "A Valediction," "The Extasie," and "The Sunne Rising" that detail the inner workings of metamorphic hypostasis, with its references to alchemy, contraction, expansion, Indias of spice and mine, and airy thinness. In a different context, Margaret Maurer argued that an examination of Donne's other poetry best aids readers in comprehending what he thought appropriate to the verse epistle as a form (Maurer 1976, 235). This sensible reflection could be applied to all writers mentioned here, whose work testifies that even in this specialized mode, poetically speaking, they remain themselves.

As the Horatian mode gained ascendancy, the *Heroides* paradigm became distinctly unfashionable. A different sensibility became operative. The witty, urbane, and satirical displaced the dramatic, emotional, and sentimental. Feminocentric Ovidian epistles may have receded in favor of the Horatian because there were other outlets for women's voices: opera; drama with actresses; prose fiction that delineated women's consciousness, such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), an epistolary novel, at that; and women themselves writing poetry, albeit conscious of "sexual self-display" (Mermin 1990, 335–355). The sister monarchs Mary and Anne continually encouraged the retrenching of the rogue male libertine ethos, which might have been another factor. Imitations of the *Heroides* sometimes commented negatively on women's behavior, honor, and anxiety about authorship (Wiseman 2008, 300). For one to express her feelings as frankly as the *Heroides* heroines had dared, such as Aphra Behn—who turned her hand to the verse epistle in her paraphrase of Ovid's "Oenone to Paris"—could have appeared most unseemly in its references to "one soft hour with thee" and "our dear stol'n Delights" shading into erotic frankness: "uncontroul'd we meet, uncheck't improve / Each happier Minute in new Joys of Love" (Behn 1680, 113, 107, 101).

Notes

1 Du Bellay argued that epistles were worth writing if "tu … les voulois faire à l'immitation d'elegies, comme Ovide; ou sentencieuses & graves comme Horace" ("you want to make them in imitation of elegies in Ovid's mode, or moral and dignified like those of Horace") (Du Bellay 1904, 216). In the November 10, 1714 issue of *The Spectator*, Philips made a virtually identical observation about verse letters: "In the one I shall range Love-Letters, Letters of Friendship, and Letters upon mournful Occasions: In the other I shall place such Epistles in Verse, as may properly be called Familiar, Critical, and Moral; to which may be

added Letters of Mirth, and Humour. Ovid for the first, and Horace for the Latter, are the best Originals we have left" (Philips 1729, 8: 235).

2 Clay Hunt listed several pre-Elizabethan examples of the Horatian epistle: Surrey's "Martiall, the thinges that do attain"; Wyatt's "Mine owne John Poins"; Jasper Heywood's "My freend, yf thou wilt credit me in ought"; George Gascoigne's "Councell given to master Bartholomew Withipoll"; and Barnabe Googe's "To Mr. Edward Cobham" and "To Alexander Nevell" (Hunt 1941, 273–301).

3 Critics sometimes refer to the Sabine letters as the "double epistles" because they feature replies by some of the men to the women who address them, such as Ulysses, Demophoon, and Paris to Penelope, Phyllis, and Oenone, respectively. Renaissance editions of Ovid usually call this subset the *Epistulae tres ad Ovidianas epistulas responsoriae*, although there are seven masculine replies rather than the three implied by this title. As for "Sabine," modern consensus holds that the author of these letters was Angelus Sabinus (i.e., Angelo Sabino), a fifteenth-century Italian scholar-poet who helped introduce them as genuine classical artifacts. He was able to create such confusion because Ovid had a friend by the same name, Aulus Sabinus, whom he said wrote seven epistles (*Amores* 2.18.27–35). Though modern editors generally do not include the Sabine Epistles with the *Heroides*, it was standard Renaissance practice to do so. Turberville faithfully translated them since the unimpeachable Aldus Manutius included them in his edition of Ovid (Venice, 1502).

4 Drayton's historical poem, *Matilda*, *The faire and chaste Daughter of Lord Robert Fitzwater* (1594), commends the same heroine for her chastity. The other Matilda, known as Maud de Braose, was imprisoned with her son at Corfe Castle and starved to death. This injustice allegedly inspired clause 39 of Magna Carta, which hints at the prehistoric versions of habeas corpus or due process of law (Appleby 1958, 172–173).

5 For the texts of the poems, I use the original publications (Jonson 1616; Donne 1633), with standard modern line numbers in parentheses for the reader's convenience.

6 Maurer defines the Horatian epistolary persona as "the image of a poet whose integrity depends on his ability to present the union of poet and patron as dignified and meaningful to their society" (Maurer 1977, 425).

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28
Answer Poetry and Other Verse "Conversations"

Cathy Shrank

Answer poetry and other "conversational" poetic forms were a staple of Renaissance verse. Steven May and William Ringler list, for the Elizabethan period alone (1558–1603), 253 answer poems (including verse epistles), 219 verse dialogues, 21 echo poems, and 77 eclogues (a form of pastoral poetry which, as in Virgil's *Eclogues*, usually takes the form of a conversation between shepherds) (see May and Ringler 2004). Arthur Marotti attributes this "large number of answer poems" and other "forms of verse exchange" to "the socially dialogic context of the manuscript miscellanies and poetic anthologies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Marotti 1995, 159). Others relate this discursive impulse to the humanist education that early modern boys received, with its emphasis on dialectic and exercises designed to train pupils in the art of arguing *in utramque partem* (for and against a given issue) (see Panofsky 1975; Downs-Gamble 1996). Dialogic forms also came to be freighted with ideological resonance, with verbal exchange recurrently depicted as the best manner of "for bolting out [i.e., sifting] of the truth" (Smith 1969, 13), or even as the glue that binds society together. As George Pettie writes in *A Civile Conversation*: "The tongue serveth us to teach, to demand, to confer, to traffic, to counsel, to correct, to dispute, to judge, and to express the affection of our heart: means whereby men come to love one another, and to link themselves together" (Pettie 1581, B4).

This conversational turn permeates the poetry of the period, as well as its prose, found not only in obviously dialogic forms (verse dialogue, answer poem, eclogue), but also in the interplay between text and margin, as in Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579), and it is present in the early modern predilection for rhetorical features such the apostrophe (directly addressing the audience) or prosopopoeia (where the speaker ventriloquizes another person or thing). It even infiltrates lyric forms like sonnets, a poetic mode frequently associated with inwardness and introspection (Ferry 1983). Some answer poems are sonnets, and the composition and circulation of sonnets as a means of establishing and

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consolidating (male) friendships is evident from their Italian origins, as seen in Dante's *Vita Nuova*, in which the sonnet "A ciascun' alma presa" ("To every captive soul") is written to "a number of poets who were famous at that time," asking them to interpret his dream: "amongst those who replied was someone whom I call my closest friend; he wrote a sonnet beginning: *In my opinion you beheld all virtue*. Our friendship dated from the time he learned that it was I who had sent him the sonnet" (Alighieri 1906, 9–11). Few sonnets endeavor quite so explicitly to elicit an answer in poetry, yet even the most seemingly introspective of them are driven by a desire for a response (not least from the intransigent beloved).

This essay explores the different uses to which Renaissance poets put answer poetry and other dialogic forms. In defining the material for discussion, it departs from Hart's categorization, which distinguishes "poetic replies" and "mock-songs" from the "answer proper in which the theme or arguments of a poem are criticized … or (more usually) refuted" (Hart 1956, 22). Hart excludes the former because they do "not employ the close verbal parallelism of the answer poem" (20); the latter, for their habitually satiric tone and purpose (27), which he finds antithetical to the "intimacy of tone and delicacy of workmanship" that characterize the answer poem, as he defines it (21). In contrast, this essay is very much interested in the "poetic replies" that Hart disregards, and less concerned with the looser responses—the "imitations" and "extension poems [that] develop or amplify some idea, image, or characteristic feature of rhythm or style of the original" (24–25)—that he allows as subcategories of the answer poem, because they do not breach his requirements for parallelism and decorum.

The verse exchanges found in early Elizabethan printed miscellanies, such as those by Barnabe Googe and Thomas Howell, strike a very different note from the courtly examples favored by Hart, for example. They adopt an often moralistic tone, discussing topics such as the pros and cons of service, the value of hard work as a prophylactic against the travails of love, money, and friendship, a topic which preoccupies Howell's collections in particular, as can be seen in his titles: *The Arbor of Amitie* (1568) and *H. His Devises* (1581), written, the title page tells us, "for his friends' pleasure." The homosociality of these mid-Tudor volumes can be illustrated by a poetic exchange from *The Arbor* (C7v–C8v). Like many of the paired poems found within their pages, Howell's response (in cross-rhymed pentameters) ignores the form of the original, penned by his friend and long-term poetic correspondent John Keeper, in couplets of poulter's measure. Nonetheless, Howell's poem still responds to the language and style of Keeper's verse, in which he expresses his fear that Howell will "clean forget" his former friend. Just as Keeper invokes the relationship between his name and the verb "keep" ("Why should'st thou Keeper keep?"), so too Howell puns on his name in the final line: "Thy Howell holds whilst limb & life shall last" (the pun is clearer in the original spelling "howldes"). A friend was commonly held to be a second self in the period. Picking up on a strain of wordplay present in the original, Howell here turns Keeper and himself into linguistic doubles: synonyms, and bywords for fidelity.

Through their collections, writers like Howell or Googe displayed, and preserved in print, their social networks (see Shannon 2009). Their pages are inhabited by a stable and fairly intimate set of interlocutors responding to each other's offerings. As such, these volumes work to recreate (or create) the sense of a like-minded coterie. Whilst, as we have seen, the poetic forms of their responses frequently differ from their original, they nonetheless mirror its sentiment, reinforcing, rather than contradicting, the opinions or lessons

propounded. So, for example, Googe's cousin and fellow Innsman, Alexander Neville, endorses the former's assertion that "If thou canst banish idleness, Cupido's bow is broke" (one half of a heptameter couplet) in a poem of cross-rhymed octosyllabics, the moral of which is evident from the opening lines: "The lack of labour maims the mind / And wit and reason quite exiles" (Googe 1563, G3--G3v).

That these authors should place such onus on intimate circles of friends is unsurprising. Howell's *Devises* (1581) is his third and last collection, printed over a decade after his first, *The Arbor*. When he and Googe initially allowed their lyric poems into print in the 1560s, they were doing something fairly new and daring: the first successful collection of secular vernacular verse, *Songes and Sonettes* ("Tottel's Miscellany"), was little over five years old when Googe's *Eglogs, Epitaphes, and Sonettes* was printed in 1563. Moreover, unlike Tottel's Miscellany, Googe's work—like Howell's—was primarily single-authored and the work of living, not deceased, poets. As these innovative collections venture into print, they are thus bolstered by being situated within networks of respectable friends and correspondents. The pages of Googe's collection bear testimony to his friendships with fellow Innsmen such as Neville and his university friend, Laurence Blundeston, with whom he also exchanges poems; Howell's main interlocutor is Keeper "of Oxford" (Keeper was a student of Hart Hall), although the pages of the *Devises* are also punctuated with the initials of six other correspondents.

The use of answer poems to (re)create supportive communities of readers in these early Elizabethan printed miscellanies is also reflected in the recurrent deployment of this mode of poetry in prefatory material. Robert Tofte's 1598 *Alba* is indicative here. After a series of prefatory poems to Mistress Anne Herne, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, and Sir John Brooke (all members of the same aristocratic family), there follows a sequence of poetic exchanges: with "Richard Day, Gentleman," "I. [or J] M., Gent," "Master R. A." Their titles, denoting their respectable social status, are carefully noted. The volume is further promoted by the fact that amongst these correspondents is a pseudonymous stranger ("Ignoto"), who is so struck by Tofte's verses that he is moved—as in Dante's *Vita Nuova*—to use the poetry as an occasion for initiating contact:

> When I by chance to read thy dulcet Verse
> I cannot (though a stranger, yet thy friend,
> Thy passions be so pleasing, and so pierce)
> But give thee due, and them (of right) commend.
> (Tofte 1598, A6)

Whereas the (unanswered) addresses to various aristocratic patrons lend a certain prestige to the volume, these actual exchanges with less elite but nonetheless reputable correspondents help embed the collection more firmly within a network of reciprocal relationships, as each writer strives to surpass the others in praise of the collection (and Tofte, with suitable humility, demurs).

Indeed, such is the apparent impulse toward polyvocality in these sixteenth-century collections that, when friends cannot be summoned, poets ventriloquize other voices. Walter Haddon even ends up addressing his own bed ("the rest of all my cares, the end of toiling pain"), requesting that it "yield … slumber sweet" and "Cause carking care from

sobbing breast / to part" (Kendall 1577, M5). Insomnia is recurrently used as a manifestation of unrequited love in the poetry of this period: Petrarchan-style lovers typically retire to bed to toss and turn sleeplessly. But Haddon's bed is having none of that: in its response, it doles out some comically pragmatic advice, which punctures the histrionics of the initial address: "That I may be a rest of cares, an end of toiling pain: / See stomach thine be not surcharged, when sleep though wouldest gain" (M5v). Love is here not so much the product of an idle brain (as in Googe's exchange with Neville) as the symptom of an over-full stomach. Elsewhere, we find Howell writing a poem "H. to himself," in which he advises himself to be more Stoic:

> Whom destiny shall deny
> A happy life to find:
> Why should he wailing lie,
> With pensive heart and mind.
> (Howell 1581, E4)

Alternatively, like many poets in these collections, he uses self-generated responses to examine an issue from various perspectives, as in a series of five poems on the subject of the golden mean, entitled "In mediocrity, most safety," "To the same," "That valiant hearts are desirous to aspire," "Answer," and "Another way" (G3v–G4).

Howell's sequence on moderation and ambition highlights the recurrent use of answer poems (whether single-authored or actual exchanges between different poets) to argue *in utramque partem*, a mode of analyzing an issue taught in the humanist schoolroom and which can be found permeating various forms of discourse produced in adult life, from political dialogues to private memoranda. The ability to argue both sides of the question can, however, become destabilizing, leading to a sense of impasse. This is particularly apparent when using proverbs, those transferrable chunks of moral authority. That these were seen as portable and recyclable is evident from the vogue for printed books of commonplaces and other such *sententiae*: publications such as John Bodenham's *Bel-vedere*, Robert Allott's *Englands Parnassus* (both 1600), or, earlier, Erasmus's *Adages* (translated into English in 1539) and William Baldwin's immensely popular *Treatise of Moral Philosophy*, which went through 25 editions between 1547 and 1620. As Baldwin explains to the reader in the "third" book of "proverbs and adages":

> such things as I thought most proper, I have drawn into meter, and joined with them diverse other, by other men done already, to the intent that such as delight in English meter, and can retain it in memory better than prose, might find herein somewhat according to their desires. (Baldwin 1547, M8)

That sense of these sayings being there for readers to appropriate as they will is still more pithily expressed in one of the prefatory sonnets to *Bel-vedere*: "Here take such flowers as best shall serve thy use," it states (Bodenham 1600a, π4v).

In his sequence on ambition and moderation, Howell ultimately endorses the message that "The golden mean gives quiet rest / Who lives between extremes doth best" (Howell 1581, G4). However, the argument in this type of proverbial poem is not always so

obviously weighted: few would refute the wisdom of the golden mean, but other snippets of axiomatic wisdom are more open to question. Take the following exchange (also from Howell's *Devises*, and—since no other name is attached—presumably both self-authored):

> *A Poesy*
> The valiant mind by venture gains the goal,
> Whiles fearful wights* in doubt do blow the coal. *people
>
> *Answer*
> But wary wights by wisdom shun the snare,
> When venturous minds through haste are wrapped in care.
> (Howell 1581, F3)

Aside from the order in which they appear, it is much less apparent here which viewpoint triumphs: reverse the sequence, and it would advocate boldness.

Competing proverbs are deployed in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* to similar effect, as the eclogues periodically end with a pair of contradictory mottoes (on which E.K. then reflects, a process which draws further attention to them). These contrary mottoes are indicative of the stalemate that a number of these verse conversations reach, as in "February," when Cuddy remains unmoved and unreformed by Thenot's defense of old age, even though it was told "so lively, and so feelingly" through the tale of the oak (representing age) and the briar (youth) "as if the thing were set forth in some picture before our eyes" (Spenser 1579, A3v). In his closing motto, "the old man checketh the rash-headed for despising his grey and frosty hairs"; Cuddy proves that Thenot's words have had no impact by embodying that same youthful rashness, as he "counterbuffs" his companion "with a biting and bitter proverb, spoken indeed at the first in contempt of old age generally" (B3v–B4). Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* here demonstrates one of the crucial features of dialogue (in verse or prose): that as well as imparting information or ideas, it also provides positive or negative models for their reception. In the process, it also raises the troubling possibility that poetry can fall on deaf ears; however moral or eloquent, it does not inevitably "lead … to virtue," as Philip Sidney would have it (Alexander 2004, 14).

Spenser frames the verse exchanges in the *Calender* as dialogues between two (or more) people physically present to each other. The evocation of an oral setting, in which the exchange takes place within "real time," has obvious use when it comes to ostentatious displays of wit (a function for which the answer poem is well suited). In his *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian recognizes the witty riposte as a useful weapon for the would-be orator: "much … may depend on some previous remark made by another which will provide opportunity for repartee," he observes (Quintilian 1921, 6.3.13), before regretting that "occasions of festive license," which might "afford a most useful training," habitually lack the necessary "season[ing]" of "a slight admixture of seriousness" (6.3.16). That type of unseasoned, unserious banter can certainly be found in works such as George Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, in a sequence introduced as "certain verses written to a gentlewoman" (Gascoigne 1573, O2). The dalliance between the woman and her poetic suitor is mostly conducted through the scribal medium: his initial overture is made through verses "wrot in a book of hers"; their eventual falling out caused by an exchange of notes in which

a pun on lemon (the fruit) and leman (paramour) proves rather ill judged. Much is made of the woman's "quick capacity" and "understanding" (O2v, O3), and at the height of their flirtation she gets to demonstrate this through an oral exchange of riddles in which she and her lover appear all the more witty because of the impression of spontaneity. In the interaction between Gascoigne's young blade and the woman he hopes to seduce, the woman is an equal partner. Whilst in the sequence she is always put in the position of replying, rather than initiating, in this situation, this does not render her passive, but in fact shows her to advantage: as Quintilian noted in the *Institutio*, "wit … appears to greater advantage in reply than in attack" (6.3.13).

As displays of wit, answer poems frequently feature as part of courtship, be it fictional (they recur throughout pastoral romances such as Bartholomew Yong's 1598 translation of *Diana*) or in "real life," as in Thomas Whythorne's autobiography (see Whythorne 1961), his *Songes and Sonettes*, written in the 1570s, in which he remembers an exchange of verses, left under the strings of his gittern, between a female admirer and his younger self, or the oral exchange with a widow who rejects him. In bawdier texts, the "wit" displayed is often tinged with a sense of sexual prowess, or availability, connotations of wit glimpsed in Desdemona's exchange with Iago in Shakespeare's *Othello*:

> DESDEMONA: … How if she be black and witty?
> IAGO: If she be black, and thereto have a wit,
> She'll find a white that shall her blackness fit.
> (II.i.131–133)[1]

Certainly, Gascoigne's witty gentlewoman is no ingénue: she has both a husband and at least one other former lover, in front of whom she and the young blood flirt.

As both the homosocial exchanges of Howell and Googe, and the heterosexual repartee of Gascoigne's *Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* indicate, answer poetry (be it scribal or purportedly oral and spontaneous) is frequently motivated by self-display, whether a desire to show one's connections, or intellect. This "competitive versifying" (Marotti 1995, 161) is illustrated by one of the most famous poetic exchanges from this period: Christopher Marlowe's "Passionate Shepherd" and the "Answer," attributed to Walter Ralegh. Marlowe's poem, which invites its addressee to "Come live with me and be my love," seems designed by its very nature to provoke a response, since it is written as a direct request in a fairly simple, and therefore imitable, verse form (octosyllabic couplets). Ralegh's "responsion" (as it is known in some manuscripts) artfully reworks lines, rhymes, key images, and the verse form of the original. The earliest complete versions of the two poems appear in *Englands Helicon* (Bodenham 1600b, P3v–P4v). As poems of six quatrains, they each have twelve rhyme-pairs. Of these, Ralegh reproduces five verbatim (move/love (twice); buds/studs; rosies/posies; fields/yields); three pairs make full rhymes with Marlowe's original (cold/gold for Marlowe's fold/cold; move/love for Marlowe's love/prove; gall/fall for Marlowe's falls/Madrigals); one, a part-rhyme (young/tongue for Marlowe's sing/morning). Within this tight formal structure, Ralegh's response echoes, but also rewrites, the original, as his female speaker systematically deflates the "hon[eyed]" promises of her would-be lover by resituating his eternal summer in a temporal time frame (a similar intrusion of the prosaic into the romantic found in the response of Haddon's bed, discussed earlier). Previously

unthreateningly "shallow rivers" consequently "rage"; the "rocks" they would sit on "grow" realistically and uncomfortably "cold," whilst his promised gifts—beds of roses, caps of flowers, myrtle-leaf kirtles—are made subject to the ravages of time: we see them withering, rotting. Ominously, the "melodious birds" are also redefined as "Philomel," summoning the threat of male violence through evoking one of the most well-known incidents of rape and mutilation described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and further depriving Philomel of the comfort given her by the gods after her transformation (namely, the ability to sing) by once again rendering her "dumb," as her violator, Tereus, had done when he cut out her tongue. The return to Marlowe's final couplet in the last two lines of the response, however, qualifies the woman's refutation of the proffered idyll. Without that final stanza, the poem would read as the worldly-wise woman exposing the emptiness of the lover's promises; but as Ralegh's final stanza revisits his opening lines (and Marlowe's closing couplet) it also introduces a note of yearning. In the first stanza, Ralegh's iteration of Marlowe's couplet introduces a note of realism; in these final lines, the woman acknowledges the appeal of the vision, even as she recognizes its infeasibility:

> But could youth last, and love still breed,
> Had joys no date, nor age no need,
> Then these delights my mind might move,
> To live with thee, and be thy love.

The sardonic tone of the answer thus transmutes, in the final stanza, into something more melancholic.

Ralegh's response to Marlowe's original is a "social act" (Marotti 1995, 135), here used by Ralegh as a display of wit and poetic virtuosity: the audience does not even need to contain Marlowe for it to have the desired effect. The competitive versifying found in the Marlowe–Ralegh pairing, is evident—in a more extreme fashion—in the quarrel between Julius II and Louis XII, as reported by Thomas Danett in 1600:

> Between this King Lewis and Pope Julius the 2. … was deadly hatred, … so far forth that they pursued one another not only with arms but also with gibes & scoffs. The pope accused the king of sacrilege …. But the French partly to requite this scoff, & partly to content the king, made these verses of the pope … which you may thus English:
>
> > Whose country is Liguria, whose dam of Greekish blood,
> > Whose cradle is the surging seas, can ought in him be good?
> > Ligurians are counted vain, Greeks liars so I find,
> > The sea inconstant: all these three hath Julius by kind.
>
> But these verses are answered thus on the Popes behalf … which you may thus English:
>
> > Out of the sea Dame Venus sprang; with learning Greece is clad;
> > Ligurians are full of wit: how can he then be bad,
> > Whose birth is like a goddess', whose learning is of Greece,
> > Whose wit is of Liguria? Jack Giber, hold thy peace.
> >
> > (Danett 1600, 38–39)

The Louis–Julius fracas is revealing for a number of reasons: first, embedded in a prose history of France, it shows the ubiquity of verse exchanges and the often unexpected places in which they occur or are recorded. Second, it exemplifies the potentially collaborative, anonymous, almost institutional production of verse (neither Louis nor Julius author the verses; they are made on their behalf). Third, it highlights the fact that many of these putative exchanges are not in fact exchanges, or even answers. The primary audience here is not the author of the original poem, but the people around its respondent. Such answer poetry is about being seen to have had the last word—a performance, in which the respondent outdoes someone else's wit.[2]

The combative edge found in Danett's anecdote also surfaces in many of the answer poems associated with courtship, as in the anonymous and apparently unique exchange in the Blage Manuscript (Trinity College Dublin) between a frustrated lover and the woman he feels has disappointed him, which begins with the demand:

Madame, I you require
No longer time detrack.* *detract (i.e., withdraw)
Let truth in you appear
And give me that I lack.

Within the response that follows, the female voice adopts the form and structure of the original, each stanza answering and recycling phrases from the initial address. As in many of the printed miscellanies, however, there is a nagging sense that this female response is ventriloquized. As the woman resists the man's importuning ("I must have that I lack"), her resistance plays directly into familiar stereotypes of female fickleness:

I wot* as ye shall find: *know
The promise I did make
No promise shall me bind.
(Muir 1961, 41–42)

The seeming interchange of "male" and "female" voices—the impression of opposing camps being drawn up—makes answer poems a recurrent mode for interventions in the "battle of the sexes" and related debates about marriage. Perhaps the most infamous of these exchanges is that between John Harington the Younger and Mary Cheke, initiated by Harington's "There was, not certain when, a certain preacher" (May 1999, 245–246). Harington's preacher is patently incompetent and his exposition of the biblical phrase "*era quidam homo*" ("there was a certain man") is clearly designed to be provocative: "But yet I think in all the Bible no man / Can find this text: there was a certain woman." Lady Cheke was not known for her docility, and—as Boswell notes (2003, 264–265)—she duly rose to Harington's bait, attacking the original: "That no man yet could in the Bible find / A certain woman argues that men are blind." As she produces a list of "certain" women who, despite their anonymity, play vital roles in biblical narrative, she arguably falls into the trap that Harington has set, responding to the preacher's literalism with literalism of her own.

However, for the most part, as with the Blage poems, the degree to which we hear genuine female voices is questionable. Take "Precepts of wedlock" in Timothy Kendall's

Flowers of Epigrams. The husband's pompous list of instructions begins "My wife, if thou regard mine ease: … / Displease not me (for anything)," and continues in that vein for a further 36 lines (Kendall 1577, M2v–M3). It receives a robust response, in which the husband is reminded of his own obligations: "Thou said'st much when thou wast a woer: / Now (we are coupled) be a doer" (M3v). A different version of this exchange appears in *Nugae Antiquae* (Harington 1775, 259), transcribed from the Arundel Harington Manuscript. From this we can see that the manuscript contained a leaf (now missing) on which the husband's requests were headed "John Harington to his Wife, 1564." Nonetheless, this is as staged a debate as the Marlowe–Ralegh exchange, or that between the fictional characters Troilus and Cressida in the revised edition of Edwards' *Paradyse of daintie devises* in which Cressida defends herself from accusations of "gadding" (Edwards 1580, K4–K4v). As Hughey notes of the paired poems in Arundel Harington, "The style [...] is so like that we may reasonably conclude they were the work of the same person" (Hughey 1960, 2.31). Further to that, both the Arundel Harington exchange and that in the *Flowers of Epigrams* are translations of poems first printed, in Latin, in Walter Haddon's *Poemata* (1567), a provenance that Kendall's anthology acknowledges. When Harington translated these lines, he was not speaking in his own voice, therefore, but performing the roles of both domineering husband and his un-cowed wife.

To some extent, then, these debates about marriage—the obligations that it imposes, and the expectations it raises—can be seen as belonging to the same homosocial culture as the poems of Howell and Googe examined earlier. These answer poems might invoke oppositional and apparently female voices (unlike the mutually reinforcing exchanges of male friends in Howell's and Googe's collections), but it is male perspectives that dominate, as in "The commodities of Marriage" (almost certainly single-authored) in H. C.'s *Forrest of fancy* (1579, C3). The topos of an argument *pro* and *contra* marriage is an ancient one, and the two poems have clearly been conceived as a unit: it is only after the response "In contrarium" that the poem is deemed complete and "finis" is inserted: "The commodities of Marriage" consequently works both as a title for the first part (in favor of marriage) and as a more ironic heading for the pair as a whole. The order in which the arguments are given, moreover, means that it is the opinions in favor of bachelorhood that have the last word.

As these poems about gender roles reveal, poetic replies can be contentious as well as civil. This more fractious vein of answer poems can be found in the bouts of cheap-print flytings that periodically erupted. At times, these controversies seem almost concocted. Thomas Churchyard's *Davy Dycars Dream* (1552?) is a fairly conventional list of complaints, decrying social vices such as greed and injustice, but one line—"And Rex doth reign and rule the roost, and weeds out wicked men" (line 26)—plunged Churchyard and his supporters into a protracted quarrel with a man named Thomas Camell, who objected to the perceived slur on the regency government during Edward VI's minority. The subsequent furore spawned no less than 15 additional poems and drew in at least seven other interlocutors, some (but not all) of whom are fictional (Shrank 2008). In his later career, Churchyard certainly seems to have embraced controversy: he may have been behind the reissuing in 1560 of the "collected" Davy Dyker controversy, printed as *The Contention betwixt Churchyard and Camell*, and in 1566 there was another outbreak of cheap-print flyting, exchanged between Churchyard and various other writers (some—like Ralph Smart and Clement Robinson—identifiable), which purportedly stems from objections to the sincerity, or not, of Churchyard's alleged rejection of court life in three verse satires.

Churchyard may have been in the vanguard of this opportunistic kind of publishing, but he was by no means alone. As Rollins observes:

> When one press turned out a ballad that met with popular approval, rival printers, eager to share in the profits, at once imitated, moralized, answered, or attacked it. … Printers often contented themselves with ordering balladists to write replies, devoid of piety or moralizing, to some ballad issued by a rival. … Occasionally a wide-awake stationer would print both a ballad and an answer. (Rollins 1919, 292–293)

Verse, in other words, formed an important part of public discourse. Whilst profit might be a driving force here, it nevertheless resulted in a vigorous culture of printed poetic exchange.

The earlier citation from Pettie's *Civile Conversation* drew attention to the sociable function of speech, as the "means whereby men come to love one another, and to link themselves together" (Pettie 1581, B4). However, the actions he lists immediately beforehand give a less uniformly amicable picture. The "tongue" might serve "to teach …, to confer, to counsel, … [and] to express the affection of our heart," but it is also used for sterner and more confrontational purposes: "to demand, … to correct, to dispute, to judge." Verse in this period functions as just another form of speech, covering varying topics, in varying tones, and with varying amounts of sincerity and conviction. It is notable, for instance, that verse dialogues and poetic exchanges cover exactly the same kinds of diverse terrain as prose dialogues: we find them, for example, discussing topics such as the position of the exiled Mary Queen of Scots (Hughey 1960, 1: 179–182), or funding the English navy (Wye 1580). Verse exchanges also deploy similar techniques to their prose counterparts, as can be seen in the use of answer poems in religious controversy, where texts such as "A pretty fine Answere to a Romish Rime" (Rhodes 1602) and Thomas Knell's *An answer to a Papisticall Byll* (Knell 1570) reprint the original offending piece in chunks in order to refute it, just as prose controversies do. John Awdely, the printer of Knell's *Answer*, even enterprisingly publishes the text in two different versions: as a single-sheet folio and—in an expanded form—as a 12-leafed quarto pamphlet, which ends with a direct challenge to the pseudonymous author of the original: "*Veritas non quaerit angulos* [Truth does not seek corners], Show thy face." Presumably, it will be good for business if he provokes a response, a technique of baiting the opponent found in the earliest extant cheap-print flyting: the Thomas Smyth–William Gray contention that followed the execution of Thomas Cromwell in summer 1540 (Shrank 2008). The place of answer poems within the polemicist's toolkit is further demonstrated by the Armada pamphlet *An Answer to the Untruthes, Published and Printed in Spaine*, printed by John Jackson for Thomas Cadman in both Spanish and English versions in 1589. Here answer poems join a variety of other "dialogic" forms: refutations of Spanish newsletters (reprinted in full) and querulous marginalia, which takes issue with Spanish claims from the borders of the page, even before they are contested in the extended prose "answers" that follow.

Answer poetry and other dialogic verse forms pervade the literary culture of early modern England. It is not simply that they can be found in a range of modes and tenors, and put to an array of different purposes (from the moral or satiric to the frivolous and comic): they are not confined to poetry books either. They are found etched into glass windows (as with one of Ralegh's alleged exchanges with Queen Elizabeth; May 1999, 261), in pictures, and even

in historical catalogues of bishops: the entry for "Ralph of Shrewsbury" in Francis Godwin's 1625 catalogue devotes a considerable portion of the bishop's brief biography to describing a wall painting commemorating the foundation of the Vicars' Close in Wells. In this image, the vicars are depicted kneeling before the bishop, and "seem to request … in these words," "Dispersed about the town, we humbly pray, / Together, through thy bounty, dwell we may." Bishop Ralph answers: "For your demand, deserts do plead, I will do that you crave: / To the purpose established, here dwellings shall you have" (Godwin 1625, 2B2).

The sheer frequency (and, as here, sometimes dubious aesthetic quality) of answer poems—along with the range of topics they deal with—suggests the early moderns' ease and acquaintance with the "poetic": versifying was part of their everyday culture and a quite normal way to dispute, seduce, befriend, or show off. It was not something rarefied, but something that belonged in both domestic and public realms, and was a form of discourse that could be used to speak about a great diversity of topics as easily as prose. "The social embeddedness of verse" (Marotti 1995, 166) is further indicated by the variety of people whom we find engaging in these exchanges. The pages of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century print miscellanies are peppered with the names of writers (such as Keeper, Neville, and Blundeston) who could not themselves be categorized as "print" poets, that is, they only appear in print through their interactions with another more prolific versifier. As such, through answer poems, we gain a valuable glimpse of a more "amateur" verse culture, in which clever wordplay or the desire to express urgent personal, religious, or political opinions are motivating factors.

Notes

1 Compare the description of the adulterous Tamora as the "witty empress" in *Titus Andronicus* IV.ii.29.

2 Compare the habit of answering poems by dead authors, as in M. S.'s response to "M[aster] Edward's 'May'" in the 1580 edition of *The Paradyse of Dainty Devises*: since the answer poem does not appear in the first (posthumous) edition (1576), it would seem to have been composed after that, and therefore over a decade after Richard Edwards' death.

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SATIRE, PASTORAL, AND POPULAR POETRY

29
Verse Satire

Michelle O'Callaghan

Renaissance verse satire is a suspect literary form. Once one of the most popular verse forms in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, verse satires now find little or no representation in modern anthologies of English Renaissance literature, with only a few exceptions. Such comparative neglect may be due to satire's self-consciously rough aesthetic, which is difficult to reconcile with literary values that privilege a mellifluous lyric style, an Orpheus over a satyr. Hence, examples of Donne's "Songs and Sonnets" are frequently anthologized, but rarely his satires. Or it may be that satire is deemed "too obviously historical" (McRae 2004, 4), and therefore unable to pass the "test of time" as a standard of literary value.

Satire was valued in the Renaissance precisely because of its outspoken topicality. In *The Art of English Poesy* (1589), George Puttenham identifies roughness and didacticism as the distinctive features of satire: the first satirists "intended to tax the common abuses and vice of the people in rough and bitter speeches" (Puttenham 2007, 116). Satire's mode of public invective was equated by humanists with the frank speech necessary to ensure the health of the commonwealth. Erasmus defends satire on these grounds in an epistle before *Praise of Folly*:

> If you think that no one should ever speak freely or reveal the truth except when it offends no one, why do physicians heal with bitter medicines and place *aloe sacra* [holy bitters] among their most highly recommended remedies? If they do so in healing the ills of the body, is it not much more fitting for us to do the same in curing the diseases of the mind? (Erasmus 1979, 147)

Characteristically figured as purges, bleedings, and other cathartics, the medical efficacy of satire is understood in the Renaissance in terms of ethical health: self-discipline.

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Satire provided poets with the opportunity to experiment with fashioning voices and rhetorical effects and to imagine subject matter worthy of a satirist's recriminations. The healthful effects attributed to satire derived from the speaker's ability to incite the reader to virtuous action by appealing to particular emotions, such as shame, or even indignation, resulting in the avoidance of the abuse. Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* imagines satire's curative powers acting on contemporary ills through an image that is itself repellant: "O what dry braine melts not sharp mustard rime / To purge the snottery of our slimie time?" (Marston 1961, 2, lines 70–71). While bitter words are intended to work on readers' "diseases of the mind," they also testify to the state of the speaker's own moral health. Anger is one of the most unstable emotions. Even the righteous anger often claimed by the satirist potentially destabilized the ethical self, miring man in the world of passions. The rhetoric of anger therefore provided an opportunity to explore intentionality: how could a reader trust that the intentions of the satirist were healthy and not themselves dangerous? By the late 1590s, satire was a highly fashionable genre, closely associated with elite urban youth and unruly masculinity. Many of these books played dangerous interpretive games, both censoring and encouraging reading practices that invited libelous identifications with individuals. This proximity between libel and satire shapes its use in the early seventeenth century.

Satire, Satyrs, and *Satura*

Although verse satire is not a fixed genre, because of its diversity, it does have a distinct "modal repertoire" (Fowler 1982, 110). The first English translator of Horace's *Satires*, Thomas Drant, provides a taxonomy at the start his book, beginning with the association between bitterness—it "is a tarte and carping kynd of verse"—and the punitive instrumentality of satire, which "doothe signifye a glaue," that is, a sword (Drant 1566, A4v). The analogy between the satirist's *stylus* and a sword derives from Horace's *Satires* (2.1.39–40), although Horace insists that satire's role is defensive. Satiric aggression is associated with Juvenal, the "biting" satirist, and figured in the popular analogy between satire and the scourge. Books produced from the late 1590s promised their readers such a beating in their titles. Joseph Hall's *Virgidemiarum* derives from a Latin jest word (*virgidemia*) for a "rod-harvest," in other words, a good beating. When defining satire in his second book of "*byting Satyres*," he turned *stylus* into a quill pen, hence "The *Satyre* should be like the *Porcupine*, / That shoots sharpe quils out in each angry line" (Hall 1969, 5.3, lines 1–2). Marston's second book of satires is called *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), and whips proliferate in book titles well into the seventeenth century: I. W.'s *The Whipping of the Satyre* (1601), the *Whipper Pamphlets* (1601), John Davies of Hereford's *The Scourge of Folly* (1610), and George Wither's *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613).

Drant, like many others, gives a mistaken etymology for satire in "*Satyrus*, the mossye rude, / Uncivile god," to explain why those who "write / With taunting gyrds & glikes [jests] and gibes" must "Strayne curtesy" (Drant 1566, A4v). Puttenham also traces satire's origins to ancient poets who disguised themselves as satyrs, donning masks and animal skins, because these "base" gods of the woods were "spyers out of all [man's] secret faults … and desired by good admonishments … to bring the bad to amendment by those kind of

preachings" (Puttenham 2007, 121). Rather than simply a mistaken etymology, this common confusion of satire with the satyr must have made literary sense. The "satyre" makes "uncivil" speech or invective, a rough style, and, significantly, the wearing of a mask or *persona* defining features of verse satire. Satirists were keenly aware that they were creating a character through the speaker, albeit one whose potential confusion with the author could become a source for discomfort. Donning the satyr's mask carried with it the danger of "going native," of undergoing a metamorphosis, and turning into a beast. "Kinsayder," Marston's persona in *The Scourge of Villanie*, pronounces that "*beastly shape to brutish soules agree*" (Marston 1961, 8, line 137), yet introduced himself to the reader in *Certaine Satyres* as one who had turned into "a barking Satyrist" ("The Author in prayse of his precedent Poem," 46).

Finally, Drant arrives at the derivation of satire from the Latin *satura*, meaning "full," "sated," typically applied to verse satire in the form of *lanx satura*, a dish of various ingredients, a medley. Drant, however, defines *satura* as virtuosity: the satirist must be "full / Of fostred art" (Drant 1566, A4v). Despite this limited definition, Drant's own translation illustrates satire's capacity for absorbing a variety of literary material, as its full title indicates: *A medicinable morall, that is, the two bookes of Horace his satyres, Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of saint Hierome. The wailyngs of the prophet Hieremiah, done into Englyshe verse.* This is godly Reformation satire, in which the pagan Horace is taught to speak English like a good Protestant, and constitutes a distinct strand within the tradition, notable in the frequent homiletic description of satires as "preachings." Despite their disagreements, both Hall and Marston recognized satire's instrumentality as a scourge to chastise the ungodly, and sought to reconcile classical pagan texts with Protestant humanism (see Cousins 1980, 517–529; McCabe 1982, 32–33). George Wither in the early seventeenth century fashioned himself as an avowedly English Protestant satirist by aligning the satiric voice with the righteous who cry out in the wilderness and with David of the Psalms (O'Callaghan 2000, 26–62).

In his *Defence of Poesy*, Sir Philip Sidney distinguished between two types of satire: "the bitter but wholesome Iambic" and "the satiric," which uses the forms of laughter, rather than gall, to regulate behavior, and is identified with Horace (Sidney 1973, 95). *Iambic* or insult poetry is thought to derive from the ritualized forms of abuse, aimed at the elite, fostered in the aristocratic symposia of ancient Athens (Worman 2008, 2–3, 8). Horace tends to be the dominant Latin influence on Renaissance satire until the sharpness of Juvenal became fashionable in the late 1590s. Yet, in practice, poets often drew on both Roman satirists (Manley 1995, 379–381). Hall appears to make a clear distinction between his two volumes of *Virgidemiarum*, with Horace presiding over his first Book of "Tooth-lesse Satyrs" and Juvenal his second Book of "Byting Satyres" (McCabe 1982, 42–46). The pattern of borrowing is, however, more complex. Loose imitations of passages from Horace coincide with those from Juvenal in the "Byting Satyres," hence the motto to Satire 6, "*Quid placet ergo?*" comes from Horace's *Epistles* (2.1.101), and its opening lines echo the satires of both Horace (1.1.1 ff.) and Juvenal (10.1 ff.).

Since imitation of classical models was part of the humanist curriculum at grammar schools and universities, the Roman satirists were available for intellectual self-display. Marston begins "Satyre 2" in the *Scourge of Villanie* with an apt motto from Juvenal Satire 1: "*Difficile est Satyram non scriber*" ("It is difficult not to write satires"). Yet this is a satiric

prompt and, rather than provide a slavish imitation, Marston improvises on Juvenal. For the theme of the abuse of "faire Religion" (line 73), the speaker turns to the laughing satirist of Juvenal's Satire 15, who mocks fantastic Egyptian religious practices, but he cannot sustain this "Sport" and is quickly overtaken by his rage at Puritans, "lewd Precisians" (line 93), compelled by his fury "To see th'immodest looseness of our age" (line 105). The sheer rhetorical and imaginative energy of satire offered poets a mode to display their skill in handling sharp, often jolting transitions and highly impassioned rhetoric, while fusing images drawn from a variety of sources. The result was verse which wore its learning lightly, so that the imitation of classical models appeared unstudied and extemporized.

Anti-Court Satire and Verse Libels

The satirist's prerogative of frank speech was assimilated to notions of counsel both at the private level of advice to friends and at the public level of state and religion. When offering satire as counsel, poets often turned to a native complaint tradition. Hall's "Biting Satyres" combine Juvenal with grievances traditionally voiced in complaint, such as the social effects of enclosure on poor tenant farmers "turned out of doore" (Hall 1969, 2.1, line 102) or absentee landlords, who have exacerbated rural poverty, since "the hunger-staru'd Appurtenance [dependents] / Must bide the brunt" of the resulting decline of hospitality (2.2, lines 89–90; see McCabe 1982, 53–72; Manley 1995, 402–404). The medicinal properties attributed to satire similarly sanctioned the mode as a means of purging the body politic of corruption. Anti-court satire is a complex amalgam of classical satire, native complaint, and epideictic rhetoric, which encompassed praise and blame. As Thomas Wilson pointed out in his *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553): 'If any one shall have iust cause, to dispraise an euill man, he shall sone doe it, if he can praise a good man" (Wilson 1909, 17).

Sir Thomas Wyatt's "Mine own John Poins" illustrates the generic complexity of anti-court satire. Native modes of medieval satire and complaint are assimilated to topoi drawn from the Roman satirists, while its mode of address locates it within a tradition of epistolary satire deriving from Horace's *Satires* or *sermones* ("conversations"). By turning the familiar epistle into a vehicle for satire, Horace identified the friend as the ideal satirist since the friend is morally obliged to provide virtuous counsel (Shelburne 1994). The speaker of "Mine own John Poins" gives his friend an account of why he has returned to "Kent and Christendom" (Wyatt 1969, line 100) and left "the press of courts" (line 3). One of his difficulties with court life is its perversion of the epideictic dynamic of praise and blame underpinning healthy frank speech. He cannot dissemble and, rather than exhorting others to virtuous action by revealing abuses, will "cloak the truth for praise, without desert, / Of them that list all vice for to retain" (lines 20–21). Writing frankly and satirically is only possible within the safety of friendship, which provides surety in corrupt times. The closing invitation to Poins to visit the speaker in retirement so "Thou shalt be judge how I do spend my time" (line 103) acknowledges the role of the friend as the arbiter of virtue within the epideictic structure of anti-court satire.

The representation of the court as inimical to frank speech in "To mine own John Poins" is a recurring theme within anti-court satire. The country estate is claimed by the speaker as a privileged place of "liberty" (line 84), that, in turn, is associated with a political ethos

that accords with classical republican values and so cannot "allow the state / Of him Caesar and damn Cato to die" (lines 37–38). If frank speech is the idiom of liberty, flattery is the discursive mode of tyranny, since it is the means by which the citizen enslaves himself. The court in "Mine own John Poins" is not, therefore, simply corrupt but tyrannical.

In the late 1590s and early seventeenth century, anti-court satire assumed a troubling proximity to verse libel. In June 1599, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London prohibited the printing of books of satires and epigrams and ordered the burning of particular books, including those of Marston, Everard Guilpin, Thomas Middleton, Sir John Davies, and Hall, although *Virgidemiarum* was saved from the fire. Cyndia Clegg has argued that this extraordinary act of censorship resulted not simply from the content of these satires, but from politicized modes of reading emerging in the late 1590s, changing the way in which satire was interpreted and its mode of address (Clegg 1997, 198–217). The Bishops' Ban was therefore an attempt to close down a satiric public sphere born out of the intense factional fighting at court in 1599, in which verse libels were used to damage reputations (McRae and Bellany 2005, Section A).

The conventional distinction is that satire castigates the general vice, whereas libel attacks the particular individual. Marston, somewhat disingenuously, placed the blame on readers, who, not respecting the "nature of a Satyre," either through ignorance or "priuate malice," apply the general vice to "some greater personage," thus injuring the "guiltlesse" satirist (Marston 1961, 176). Yet, in doing so, he implies that such a libelous interpretation is possible. Later, in the early seventeenth century, Wither similarly claimed to be a victim of readers on the hunt for libel when his satire on a "man-like monster," used to figure corruption at the Jacobean court in his *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), was read by contemporaries not as a satiric portrait of a general vice, but as a libelous attack on a "great man," and he was duly imprisoned. Yet, when defending the satirist's public office in *A Satyre* (1615), Wither engaged in rhetorical sleights of hand designed to appeal to readers skilled in deciphering encrypted political satire (O'Callaghan 2005, 146–169), perhaps sharing the opinion of Donne, who justified verse libels as a sometimes necessary form of ethical and political satire, because "there may be cases, where one may do his Country good service, by libelling against a live man, for where a man is either too great, or his vices too general, to be brought under a judiciary accusation." This argument for the satiric corrective power of libel implies "the existence of a *critical public*," hence verse libels, like political satire, could claim to function as a mode of counsel, albeit unofficial and anonymous (Colclough 2006, 204–205; Bellany 2007, 156).

Libels make an appearance in Donne's "Satire 4," set in the dangerously febrile world of the late Elizabethan court, where the speaker encounters a courtier reminiscent of "The friendly foe with his double face" (Donne 2008, line 65) from Wyatt's "Mine own John Poins." The rhetorical and political problem posed by this figure is not simply flattery, but a linguistic shiftiness so contagious that it can "Make men speak treason" (line 46), which is identified specifically with libel. The satirist's own ethical subject position is compromised from the outset, given that he has gone to court against his better judgment. The dangerously protean courtier-libeller "names" (line 49) and "chooseth" (line 50) him, presumably as one of his own nature: a malcontent. When the speaker listens to this man's "libels … 'gainst each great man" (line 120) he is therefore already open to infection, and undergoes a metamorphosis into a Circean beast, "Becoming traitor" (line 131) and taking

on such guilty speech as his own. Even listening to a libel is dangerous because its point of view is so contagious, turning an auditor into an author. Like many of his contemporaries, Donne's attitude to libels was ambivalent: libels may be a necessary corrective, but they are also a suspect form, both offering a critique of the court and a symptom of its viciousness.

Satiric Communities

Many of the books of satires and epigrams prohibited by the Bishops' Ban took part in a game of serial satire that ran from 1597 to 1601 and made innovative use of print. Hall's *Virgidemiarum* (1597) challenged others to respond in print, "*I first aduenture: follow me who list*, / *And be the second English Satyrist*" ("Prologue," lines 3–4), and ended prophesying his book's success in inciting a pamphlet war: "I well forsee in the timely publication of these my concealed Satyres, I am set vpon the racke of many mercilesse and peremptorie censures" ("Postscript," 6–8). Marston announced that he was taking up the gauntlet in his *Certaine Satyres* (1598). In *Skialetheia* (1598), his friend and kinsman Everard Guilpin imagined contemporary literary culture as consumed by this battle of the satirists, with "*Englands* wits" engaged "in ciuill warres *Abismes*, / Seeking by all meanes to destroy each other" (Guilpin 1974, 1.9, lines 12–13). Marston was similarly keen to advertise these pamphlet wars. He drew attention to Hall's inventive use of the printed book by including an epigram in the second 1599 edition of *Scourge of Villanie*, explaining that its "Author, *Vergidemiarum*" (Hall), had it "pasted to the latter page of euery *Pigmalion* that came to the stacioners of Cambridge" (Marston 1961, 10.47–49). John Weever's epyllion, *Faunus and Melliflora* (1600), metamorphoses into a satire on the satirists that praises the "sharp quills" of Hall's "Satire Academicall" (Weever 1600, F3r) and accuses Marston of hypocrisy: "What beastlinesse by others you haue showne, / Such by yourselues tis thought that you haue knowne" (I4v). Weever is probably the 'W. I.' of *The Whipping of the Satyre* (1601), which scourges Marston, the satirist, and Guilpin, the epigrammatist (Hall 1969, xxviii–xxxiv).

Given that these poets sought to make a name as satirists, it is perhaps surprising their books use the forms of anonymity. Only the title page of the second 1599 edition of the second book of *Virgidemiarum* bore the author's initials, "I. H." Marston's *Certaine Satyres* similarly appeared anonymously, as did his *The Scourge of Villanie* ("W. Kinsayder" is introduced in the epistle), Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, and *The Whipper of the Satyre his Pennance* (1601). Satiric anonymity has a variety of functions: it signifies the "unsafeness" of satire, hence, anonymity provides protection from the offended, and a coterie identity, in which the author is known to a privileged "in-group," and kept from a wider public (North 2003, 65).

In the late 1590s, satire was the genre of choice for young men at the universities and the Inns of Court. All those involved in the battle of the satirists were connected with either Cambridge or the Inns, or both. Flyting was integral to the aggressively homosocial culture fostered at these all-male institutions, functioning to establish educational privilege. The late 1590s books of satires are belligerently dialogic, adopting modes of address that demand a reaction and characterized by practices of imitation and intertextuality that veer between the emulative and aggressive. Hall's "Poeticall" satires provocatively

transform the satirist into a Horatian literary arbiter who speaks to and for a humanist community while holding an English literary tradition to account. Marston duly responded to the newness and presumption of this "moderne *Critticks* envious eye" (line 83) with his satire "Reactio," which accuses Hall of sucking "the soule from Poesie" (line 99), yet ends by offering a satiric truce: "Lets not maligne our kin. Then Satyrist / I doe salute thee with an open fist" (lines 169–170). *The Scourge of Villanie* is in constant conversation with *Virgidemiarum*: Marston's preface responds to Hall's postscript and this dialogue is continued through satiric portraits, such as the "Academick starued Satirist" (3, line 111). Marston claimed Guilpin as an ally against Hall and his "pure fraternitie" at Cambridge (*Scourge of Villanie*, 2.9, line 40) in the epistolary satire he addressed "To his very friend, maister E. G.," where the friendship of "good *Ned*" is part of satirist's defense. Guilpin's own expression of literary friendship tends to be imitative: he borrows phrases and figures from Marston, and imitates Donne's "Satire 1" in his "Satire 5" (Shelburne 1994, 140–141).

One of the most sociable satiric forms in this period was the epigram. For Puttenham, the "short and sweet" epigram is perfectly suited to its place of composition in "taverns and common tabling houses, where many merry heads meet and scribble with ink, with chalk, or with a coal such matters as they would every man should know, and descant upon" (Puttenham 2007, 142). Epigrams move between oral and written cultures and are akin to the ancient *iambos* through their association with scenes of male sociability. The classical model was Martial, whose epigrams were admired for their "brevity, inscriptional precision, and rhetorical pointedness" (Smith 1974, 97). Martial's epigrams are epideictic, balancing praise and blame; epigrammatists of the 1590s, by comparison, typically concentrate their energies on satire. Puttenham acknowledged that "these days the best Epigrammes" are satiric, and like the pasquils, libels, posted on statues in Rome (Puttenham 2007, 142). Brevity, wit, and pointed particularity made satiric epigrams highly collectable in printed books and manuscript miscellanies (Doelman 2006, 31–45).

Sir John Davies's epigrams circulated in manuscript at the Inns of Court for many years before being published with Marlowe's *Elegies* in 1599. The collection begins with the conventional teasing satiric disclaimer that if any "thinke I do to privat Taxing leane," then they misunderstand the epigram "Which Taxeth under a particular name, / A generall vice that merits publique blame" (Davies 1975, 1, lines 10, 13–14), and ends by lamenting that his fame as an epigrammatist is such that "ech bastard cast forth rime / Which doth but savour of a Libel vaine, / Shal call me father, and be thought my crime" (48, lines 14–16). Davies uses personification and topographical devices to place and to individuate social types—gallants, whores, merchants, returned soldiers, students, and poets—within a social landscape, which may draw its contours from Martial's Rome, but is recognizably London. Epigram 41, "In Paulum," is pointedly particular in its "taxing" and shares its name and subject with Sir John Harington's epigram "Of Paulus, the Flatterer." Both mock the fall of Sir Walter Ralegh following the discovery of his secret marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton in 1592, discernible in Davies's extended punning on Ralegh's association with "the Ocean" (line 3), crudely concluding that "on the land a little gulfe there is / Wherein he drowneth all the wealth of his" (lines 5–6). Ralegh was a fellow of Middle Temple, like Davies, which may be one of the reasons why Davies was himself mercilessly libeled in epigrams posted "in all of the famous Places of the City" during the 1597–1598 Middle Temple Christmas revels (Manley 1995, 417–418). Other Inns of

Court satirists joined the attack: Davies is thought to lie behind the "Coscus" of Donne's "Satire 2" and Guilpin and Marston's "Curio" (Guilpin 1974, 128).

When Jonson published his collection of epigrams in his *Workes* (1616), he restored the epideictic complexities of the form. His laudatory epigram to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, encapsulates the epideictic mode: "I do but name thee, Pembroke, and I find / It is an epigram on all mankind, / Against the bad, but of and to the good" (Jonson 1985, 102, lines 1–3). Jonson's satiric temper is Horatian, discernible in his investment in friendship. His epigram "To Lucy, Countess of Bedford" (apparently sent with a copy of Donne's satires, which circulated as a little manuscript book) makes the Horatian point that "Rare poems ask rare friends. / Yet satires, since the most of mankind be / Their unavoided subject fewest see"; those that both "ask and read, / And like them, too, must needfully, though few, / Be of the best" (94, lines 6–8, 12–14). Horace's "Satire 2," argues Shelburne, presents satire epideictically as "a natural extension of virtue, part of the same ethos" (Shelburne 1994, 135). Only the virtuous few can recognize viciousness of the many, and they must be "rare friends," since friendship is only available to "the best." The circularity of this epideictic argument locates the satirist within an exclusive community bound by a shared ethos expressed through the appreciation of satire (Donaldson 2000, 121–124).

Like his fellow satirists, Jonson offers the conventional disclaimer in the epistle before his *Epigrams*, playing with the ambiguity of his fear "that the vices therein will be owned before the virtues (though there I have avoided all particulars, as I have done names)" (Jonson 1985, 19–21). Avoiding names implies that there are names to avoid. For Jonson, naming does not simply provide an identity, it confers distinction. Naming Pembroke, for example, performs a civic duty that looks to the epigram's origins in inscriptions on public monuments, hence Jonson's description of his laudatory epigrams as "pictures," that is, portraits (17; Smith 1974, 103–104). Jonson insistently names the "virtuous," and just as insistently denies his victims a proper name. The pair of epigrams addressed "To Person Guilty" (30, 38) and Epigram 77, "To One that Desired Me Not to Name Him" function as rituals of public shaming, not through naming and shaming, but through the refusal to name, since this act would confer a social value on the victim. Instead, these epigrams condemn the nameless to social death, to the nothingness of the "it" that is the "Something that Walks Somewhere," cursed by the satirist to "walk dead still" (11, line 8).

Writing Men and Writing Women

The classical satirist is characterized by an "excessively masculine voice" (Henderson 1999, 178), while scenes of satiric composition, from exclusive circles of friends to the tavern, are similarly predominantly male. Although Jonson could imagine Lady Bedford as an ideal reader of satire, women are more frequently scripted as a "negative measure in the regulation of male behaviors, especially those involving the appetites" (Worman 2008, 3). And yet, since the mode of masculinity which the satirist embodies is itself excessive, it is capable of turning on itself, and so can function negatively to question the civic duty and shared ethos traditionally attributed to satire.

Marston's Kinsayder, for example, is dogged by his inadequacies. "Satyre 2" of *Certaine Satyres* opens by announcing his transformation from effeminate love poet to brutish satirist: "I that euen now lisp'd like an Amorist, / Am turn'd into a snaphaunce Satyrist" (Marston 1961, 2, lines 1-2). Kinsayder, equating the satirist with the Roman citizen, would ideally offer himself as a candidate for this public office, "intreate *Plebeians* fauour" and "shew to be / *Tribunis plebis*" (lines 7–8). Instead, he discredits himself, representing this failure to embody a shared satiric ethos as a debased masculinity, be it lisping effeminacy or beastliness. In "Satyre 2" of *Scourge of Villanie*, Kinsayder raves uncontrollably, seemingly without the approbation of a supportive community—"Who'le coole my rage? who'le stay my itching fist" (line 9)—and is finally rendered womanish by his invective, having made "his shamefac'd Muse a scold" (line 143).

Like women, young men are ubiquitous figures in satire, and similarly function negatively to regulate male behavior. Given their precarious state at the threshold of manhood, youths were at particular risk of becoming beast-like or effeminate if ungoverned and exposed to luxury. This is Luscus's state in "Satyre 3" of *Scourge of Villanie*, driven by his "*Priape*" to an excess that transforms him into an effeminate "monster of a man" (line 44). His "old Cynick Dad" tries to contain his son's errant masculinity, but is defeated by Luscus's indiscriminate Priapus which easily turns from his "Pickhatch drab" (line 36) to "his *Ganimede*" (line 39), and finally, deprived of his boy, takes its pleasure in autoeroticism, "the Cynick friction" (line 52).

Typically in satire, it is the "monstrous feminine" which is used to encode threats to masculinity, and the objectification of women is commonplace. That said, the scripting of women within satire is often complex. Marston's portrait of Brutus, in "Satyre 1," who forces his wife to take "All Protean forms … in venery" (line 81), effectively cuckolding himself, is expanded in Jonson's epigram "On Sir Voluptuous Beast." While this may suggest an awareness of the objectification of women in these satires, it is illusory. The function of the brutalized wife is not to critique her status as a projection of male sexual fantasies, but to define the perverse masculine subjectivity of beastly men, who foul their own marriage beds. The satirist derives his right to speak from the objectification of women. Jonson's praise of Barbara Gamage's "noble, fruitful, chaste" womb in "To Penshurst" (line 90) in *The Forest* finds its counterpart in the verbal violence directed at "Fine Lady Would-be," which asserts epistemological control over woman, the right to "Write, then, on thy womb: / Of the not born, yet buried, here's the tomb" (lines 11–12).

A misogynist mode of invective, which "founds civic solidarity" in the social control of women (Henderson 1999, 181), characterizes verse libels directed against female courtiers. Libels can be more explicit in their language of abuse because they circulate anonymously in manuscript. Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset, was the object of numerous verse libels, including a ballad epitomizing women's representation as leaky vessels, in this case, a ship:

> Weake was shee sided, and did heele,
> Butt Sum-ar-sett to mende her keele,
> And stopp her leake, and sheath her port
> And make her fit for any sport.
> (McRae and Bellany 2005,
> F4, lines 11–14)

The bawdy punning relies on a shared satiric laughter to bond the audience. In these misogynist satires and verse libels, masculine civic and political subjectivities are formed, in part, through the objectification of women as signifiers for court corruption.

If the poetic voice is naturalized as masculine within classical traditions of satire, how readily can a woman writer appropriate the form? It may be telling that there are very few examples of verse satire within the extant body of poetry attributed to women in Renaissance England. Isabella Whitney's "Will and Testament" has its origins in Menippean satire, in particular, the mock-will (Ingram 2006). It is a rare example of a satiric poem in which the authorial voice is gendered feminine, notable in the framing verses, written in the style of the female-voiced complaint. Whereas the male satirist is often characterized by his indignation, the female speaker of "Will and Testament" insists that she is "in no angry mood" (Travitsky 1981, 27). The decision to eschew anger may be determined by considerations of gender, the need to avoid negative associations with figures of unruly female anger, such as the scold. Or it may be an issue of genre, given that Whitney's choice of play over anger is appropriate to the ludic genre of the mock-will.

Lady Anne Southwell, writing in the early seventeenth century, engages creatively with a male-voiced satiric tradition. Toward the start of her commonplace book, she copied Ralegh's "The Lie," an anti-court satire in the complaint tradition (Southwell 1997, 2–4). The structuring principle of this oft-copied verse is "giving the lie," a verbal challenge within the male honor culture of dueling, which results in a series of anaphora, the repetition of "Go tell" or "Tell," and encouraged readers to become authors, adding their own injunctions to report abuses. Southwell added at least one stanza to her version, "giving the lie" to beauty, time, thoughts, and fortune (lines 43–46), and made the verse her own by signing her name at the end.

Among Southwell's own compositions are a set of satiric epigrams and devotional satires, which adopt a distinctly godly cast in their moralizing contemplation of fallen humanity. In "Come forth foule Monster, at truthes barr to stand," the analogy between satire and the law court provides the rhetorical structure of the poem. "Enuie" is placed on trial, and his nature revealed through anthypophora, a question-and-answer session (33–34). The unfinished poem "Only eight soules, the waued tost Church did keepe" similarly speaks to and for the godly. While the verse is rhetorically assertive, the speaker is gender neutral, identified with the righteous as a wider community, rather than assuming the voice of a specific biblical prophet, be it a Jeremiah or a Deborah. Southwell's devotional satires, like those of Hall, belong to a homiletic tradition that traces its origins to the scriptures and is invested in a godly community.

Conclusion

The argument is often made that Renaissance verse satire declines in quality after the late 1590s, partly because the Bishops' Ban drove the most skilled practitioners, such as Marston, out of print and into writing for the stage (Jensen 2007, 115). Yet, books of satires were still published immediately following the ban, and poets in the seventeenth century continued to experiment with the mode, exploring its affiliations with verse libel,

the pamphlet, and the epigram, as well as its godly uses. Recent editions and studies of early Stuart political satire and verse libel have significantly expanded the body of texts traditionally considered within the mode (see McRae 2004; McRae and Bellany 2005; O'Callaghan 2005; Colclough 2006; Doelman 2006; Bellany 2007). There is more work to be done on the various milieu and media in which verse satires were composed and circulated, particularly since it is a mode that traveled across manuscript, print, oral, and performance cultures. Scholarly work on eighteenth-century satire continues to flourish. What the Renaissance needs is a comprehensive study of the practice of satire to chart its remarkable diversity.

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30
Proper Work, Willing Waste: Pastoral and the English Poet

Catherine Nicholson

Writing—not to mention reading—is work that looks like idleness. In her 1955 address to the American Academy of University Women, Rosamond Tuve identified this as the central challenge faced by defenders of scholarship in the humanities:

> [I]t can be very annoying when the intellectual, the scholar and artist, has this seemingly irresponsible attitude toward getting the work of the world done … "Oh, I haven't got time." This is part of the price. If society wants to see farther than its own nose, it has to value and support those who "haven't got time" to do what looks like their duty, because they are hell-bent on finding out what exactly Abraham Fleming said about Virgil's Eclogues in his translation of the mid-1500s. (Tuve 1970, 32)

Tuve may have chosen her instance of apparently aimless academic inquiry at random, but it has an interesting bearing on her subject. Fleming's 1575 and 1589 translations of Virgil's *Bucolica* appeared at a time when the anxiety of indolence was, for English poets, particularly acute, and they mediated that anxiety through a classical poetics of ease and ambition. Virgilian pastoral is shaped by its contradictory commitments to amusement and emulation (Patterson 1987), and that tension had special significance in a culture that accorded neither imaginative literature nor vernacular verse the dignity of what one early sixteenth-century English pastoralist termed "proper warke." Paradoxically, adopting the attitudes of unsophisticated idlers helped vernacular versifiers lay claim to their craft: pastoral was both playground and proving ground for sixteenth-century poets, facilitating the casual efforts of amateurs and sanctioning the striving of would-be laureates. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the sheepcote had become a privileged locus of linguistic innovation: so much so that the publishers of the first print anthology of vernacular pastoral verse, *Englands Helicon* (1600), could boast that each of the volume's contributors,

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whatever his social standing (and whether or not he had consented to his inclusion), was "graced with the title of a Poet" (Bodenham 1600, A4–A4v).

This sense of graceful entitlement depended on a double recognition: of the vernacular poem as work of art, and of the work of art as *work*. The latter recognition has sometimes proved difficult for Renaissance pastoral's modern readers. Raymond Williams's notorious dismissal of sixteenth-century pastoral poetry as "an enamelled world" (Williams 1973, 18) remains a critical stumbling block, and subsequent studies have tended to downplay its pretty trappings, either by anchoring Renaissance pastoral in a more realist medieval tradition (see Cooper 1977; Little 2013) or by emphasizing its allegorical elasticity. Pastoral has the knack of what William Empson called "putting the complex into the simple" (Empson 1936, 23), and as Louis Montrose, Richard Helgerson, and Paul Alpers have shown, naive simplicity and idle pleasure are convenient covers for social ambition and ideological sophistication (see Montrose 1979, 1980, 1983; Helgerson 1983; Alpers 1985, 1996). But pastoral's prettification of hardship was central to its interest for English Renaissance poets: precisely because pastoral misrepresented effort as idleness and labor as recreation, it foregrounded the predicament of writers whose painstaking art was broadly construed as play. In this sense, pastoral offered no escape to vernacular poets; rather, it confronted them with the weakness of their own position. After all, most contemporary readers of English Renaissance pastoral regarded it as mere entertainment: as Shakespeare's Celia says of the rustic environs of the Forest of Arden, "I like this place, and willingly could waste my time in it" (*As You Like It* II.iv.93–94; Shakespeare 2006). Like Celia in her "poor and mean attire" (I.iii.108) or the members of Duke Senior's courtly entourage, poets who posed as country swains knew themselves to be "mere usurpers" (II.i.61) of rural life, their sheepcotes, flocks, and fields props in an allusive, aristocratic game. But they also knew that the fiction of vernacular poet as rustic layabout was, in many ways, too plausible altogether; the enticements of *otium* were shot through with the anxieties of wasted time. For idleness and pleasure, the seductive hallmarks of pastoral existence, were the bugbears of contemporary literary theory. According to the most severe accounts, poetry was not simply a willing waste of time; its idle satisfactions threatened to waste poets and readers alike, converting discipline and diligence into prodigal pleasure. Poetry and playing, writes Stephen Gosson, are a "falling from iuste labour to vniuste idlenesse, … which bringe[s] vs too pleasure, slouth, sleepe, sinne, and without repentaunce to death and the Deuill" (Gosson 1579, 24v–25). Or, as Philip Sidney has it, "before Poets did soften vs, we were full of courage, giuen to martiall exercises, the pillers of manlyke liberty, and not lulled asleepe in shady idlenes with Poets' pastimes" (Sidney 1595, G4). Sidney is parodying detractors like Gosson (who made the comical miscalculation of dedicating the first edition of *The Schoole of Abuse* to him), but his own *Apologie for Poetrie*, which he calls "this inkewasting toy of mine" (L2v), is hardly immune to the rhetoric of idleness. Indeed, Sidney claims inertia as the engine of his own poetic productivity, presenting himself as one "who (I knowe not by what mischance) in these my not old yeres & idelest times, hauing slipt into the title of a Poet, am prouoked to say somthing vnto you in the defence of that my vnelected vocation" (B1v).

But idleness need not be opposed to intent; it can also signify energy held in deliberate reserve. By the same token, a "waste" is not simply a fruitless expenditure; in sixteenth-century usage it also denotes a plot of uncultivated ground: the sort of field in which sheep

are allowed to graze; the sort of field that might, with effort and attention, be put to other uses as well (*OED* s.v. "waste," n.). In his *Apologie* Sidney implies that English itself is such a waste: "That poesy, thus embraced in all other places, should only find in our time a hard welcome in England, I think the very earth lamenteth it, and therefore decketh our soil with fewer laurels than it was accustomed," he writes, but insists that the defect is not in the mother tongue, which is "a fit soil for praise to dwell upon; and what dispraise may set upon it, is either easily overcome, or transformed into just commendation." "[L]et us," he concludes, "plant more laurels for to engarland our poets' heads" (I2, I3). Planting, of course, is not the province of pastoral; it belongs to georgic. But in sixteenth-century England the boundaries between genres were not especially well fenced (see Fowler 1986), and as a space for the exercise of poetic creativity and the cultivation of the mother tongue, pastoral was implicitly, incipiently georgic, every shade tree potentially a laurel. The proximity of idyll to idleness and idleness to idolatry made pastoral retreat perilous for an English poet, but it also marked pastoral as ideal ground for the revaluation of vernacular verse.

"Well to endyte": Barclay and the Labor of Writing

The eclogue form entered the vernacular at the beginning of the sixteenth century by way of a poet who insisted on defining both shepherding and writing verse as serious labor. The protagonist of Alexander Barclay's *Boke of Codrus and Mynalcas* (1521), the poor but witty Mynalcas, ekes a bare living under stormy skies from a flock whittled by predators and disease to 14 hungry ewes.[1] His companion, Codrus, has enjoyed better luck, and, like many beneficiaries of fortune, he regards his success as the natural reward of virtue. The poem consists largely of Codrus's efforts to persuade Mynalcas of the virtues of pastoral life and of Mynalcas's stubborn refusal to be so persuaded. But Barclay is not simply invested in a realistic account of shepherding; in the course of debating the rigors of pastoral existence, the two shepherds find themselves in a heated dispute about the rigors of poetic composition. The argument begins when Codrus, following a well-worn pastoral convention, invites Mynalcas to pass the time by performing some "of thy olde balades" (Barclay 1521, A4). But Mynalcas declines, saying that the "pleasure and delyt" of poetry belong to its audience and not to the maker, whose pains are rarely compensated:

> Than laude ye songes and balades magnify
> If they be mery or written craftely
> ye clappe your handes and to the makyng harke
> And one say to other, lo here a proper warke
> But whan ye haue said nought gyue ye for o payne
> Saue onely laudes and plesaunt wordes vayne
> All if these laudes may wele be counted good
> yet the pore shepherde must haue some other fode. (A4)

Codrus counters that he merely wants to do Mynalcas good: "sometyme … at leysar," he urges, "Dispose thy wyttes to make or to endyte, / Renounsyng cures for tyme whyle thou dost write" (A4v).

At this, Mynalcas loses his temper entirely, although, to be fair to Codrus, we should note that the conversion of suffering into song is a traditional affordance of pastoral life. See, for instance, the final lines of Barnabe Googe's fourth eclogue (modeled on the conclusion to Virgil's first eclogue), in which a shepherd named Coridon invites another Menalcas to renounce his cares:

> *Menalcas* best we nowe departe, my Cottage vs shall keepe,
> For there is rowme for the, and me, and eke for all our sheepe:
> Som Chestnuts haue I there in store with Cheese and pleasaunt whaye,
> God sends me Vittayles for my nede, and I synge Care awaye.
> (Googe 1563, B2)

Of course, Codrus is *not* offering to share his home or his dinner with Mynalcas, which is part of the problem in Barclay's poem, but Mynalcas also takes umbrage at the very notion of singing or writing care away. To begin with, he points out, there is little "leysar" in a shepherd's day:

> Nedes must a shepherde bestowe his hole labour
> In tendyng his flockes scant may he spare one hour
> In goyng, comyng, and often them to tende
> Full lightly the day is brought vnto an ende.
> (Barclay 1521, A4v)

Even if he had an hour to himself, Mynalcas continues, "mak[ing]" and "indyt[ing]" are no way to renounce "cures," or cares. On the contrary, poetry *is* care, work every bit as arduous and absorbing as keeping sheep:

> But well to endyte requyreth all the brayne
> I tell the Codrus, a style of exellence
> Must haue all labour and all the dilygence
> Bothe these two warkes be great nere importable
> To my small power, my strength is moche vnable
> The one to entende, scant may I byde the payne
> Than is it harder for me to do bothe twayne … (A4v)

"To entende" is to tend, attend, intend, *and* apprehend: it implies strain and stress (see *OED* s.v., "intend"), a watchful discipline of "all the brayne," "all labour," and "all the diligence." According to Mynalcas, neither the tending of sheep nor the making of poetic meaning are idle pursuits, and the man who proposes to do both must have little experience of either.

For a poet in Barclay's position—writing pastoral verses in English at the beginning of the sixteenth century—this is an extraordinary position to take. For many of Barclay's contemporaries, the very phrase "a style of excellence" would have had an oxymoronic force relative to both English and pastoral, which classical and Renaissance theorists identified with a "low style" (see Wilson-Okamura 2010, 73–76); more typical is Googe's apology for "the groseness of [his] Style" (Googe 1563, A5), or George Turberville's anxiety that he

had "wronged" the Italian pastoralist Baptista Mantuanus by "forcing him to speake with an English mouthe" (Turberville 1567, A2). Barclay's *Codrus and Mynalcas* is also based on one of Mantuan's neo-Latin eclogues—although it is much expanded—but Barclay displays no reverence toward his original; indeed, he never mentions him. In doing so, he neglects an obvious source of external authority for his poem: "Good Old Mantuan," the favorite of Shakespeare's pedant Holofernes (*Love's Labour's Lost* IV.ii.93; Shakespeare 1998), was a mainstay of the English grammar school curriculum, his pastorals favored above even Virgil's for their allusive density and reliably Christian moralizing (see Watson 1908, 375–377; Baldwin 1944, 1: 643–652; Cooper 1977, 108–111). But Barclay presents *Codrus and Mynalcas* as the work of an *English* author—a learned one, to be sure, as the title page engraving of a robed figure writing in a library suggests—and the poem's economy of literary value is emphatically local. As Helen Cooper observes, in their landscape and language, "Barclay's eclogues are more purely English than any other eclogue cycle of the century" (Cooper 1977, 121): thus Mynalcas likens his poetic gifts to Cornish tin, fenland fish, London scarlet, or the red dyes of Bristol, while Codrus asks for a song as savory as "bentleys Ale … or sauce of Wilberton" (Barclay 1521, B1, C3v). The songs with which Mynalcas finally favors Codrus are, in fact, Barclay's own creations. The first is a "ballade extract of sapyence" (C4), modeled on the biblical sayings of Solomon, but the second is something more idiosyncratic: an allegorical elegy, complete with woodcut illustration, for Edward Howard, son of Barclay's patron, the Duke of Norfolk, which ends with a promise that Howard's "worthy name shall last parpetuall / To all his nacion" (D5). *The Boke of Codrus and Mynalcas* is in many respects unrepresentative of the tradition it founds—few of Barclay's contemporaries or successors shared his commitment to pastoral realism—but it illuminates the genre's radical potential. Taking shepherding seriously is a way for an English poet to take writing seriously, reclaiming the empty plaudits of others—"lo here a proper warke"—as the merest truth.

"Worthy … travaile": Fleming and the Value of Difficulty

In actual fact, most vernacular pastoral verse written in the sixteenth century was *not* the work of "proper" poets; it was produced by schoolboys tasked with rendering Virgil's or Mantuan's Latin into English lines of their own, or vice versa. Little of that material survives, but it is worth recalling the energy expended in producing it, for on that expenditure depended the most elevated hopes of English humanism: hopes of cultural uplift, religious reform, perfect Latinity, and a classically refined vernacular. And it was in the context of schoolroom translations that English writers began to reformulate the relationship between ease, difficulty, and vernacular style. In *The Boke named the Governour*, Sir Thomas Elyot advocates beginning the study of Latin by reading Virgil's eclogues aloud and inviting children to translate them into their own words: "For what thing can be more famyliar than [Virgil's] bucolikes? nor no warke soo nyghe approcheth to the commune dalyance & maners of chyldren" (Elyot 1531, 32v).

Elyot's choice of pastoral as the foundation of his pedagogical program is by no means accidental: work that "nyghe approcheth" common dalliance is the ideal to which that program aspires, the reason Elyot includes hunting and dancing as essential

elements of his curriculum. For Elyot, pastoral is a synecdoche for an entire philosophy of cultural, educational, and linguistic reform, in which distance and difficulty are overcome by gentle approximations of learning to leisure and one tongue to another. If Latin verse can be made to seem like pleasure reading and the controversies of ancient shepherds recited to the delight of English children, then the arduous work of bridging the gap between classical civilization and modern barbarism might be accomplished in the guise of recreation.

Of course, the fact that Virgilian pastoral depicts ease is no guarantee that English schoolboys will find it easy to read, as Abraham Fleming points out in the dedicatory epistle to his 1575 translation of the *Bucolikes*:

> Taking a view … of Virgils Bucolics and finding therein many difficulties and obscurities, as well for th'interpretation as for the construction, I addressed my penne to wade throughe that worke, that by mine endeuour & trauaile, in the translation thereof employed, some commoditie might redounde to weaker wittes, which cannot comprehend (for want of vnderstanding and perseuerance) the Poets phrase, nor the statelines of his stile. (Fleming 1575, A2)

Fleming's dedicatee, Peter Osborne, was Keeper of the Privy Purse under Edward VI, and his dedication seems calculated to appeal to frugal sensibilities: the "commoditie" of an Englished Virgil is a matter of convenience and economy, not primarily of pleasure. Indeed, in his letter "To the indifferent Reader," Fleming cites "a mitigation of expence" as the primary "aduantage" of his volume, since it "containeth an abridgment of a Commentary or Dictionary, which being bought alone … exceedeth the price of this libell by pence, groates, and shillings" (A4). But in promoting his translation as a "commoditie" for weak students, Fleming is hampered by a tension in the word itself, between convenience and advantage. Still a student himself when he undertook his translation, he claims to have begun it "as a preservative against idlenes, rather than a preparatiue for gaine and profite." Nonetheless, he sees in the completed text a doubling of the invested effort, both for himself and for his readers:

> I count the worke worthy my travaile, and I perswade myself of a sufficient recompense by the measure of that knowledge which I have reaped in this English conversion, for after I had traced through thick & thinne, through deep and shallow, through rough and smooth, and what not? I obtained in the end such familiaritie and acquaintance with Virgil's verse, that such thinges as appeared at a sudden blush to surmount my capacitie many degrees, by earnest perusing and serious searching out of the sense, (which sometime lay secret and hidden), offered themselves plaine, open, and (as I may say) naked to my understanding. And now at the length I haue broken the bone that others may taste the marrow, I haue cut the yse that other may wade in the water, I haue cracte the shell that other may eate the kernell, I haue preste the grapes that other may sucke the iuyce, I haue reaped the wheate that other may enioy the haruest. (A2–A2v)

The two parts of this justification—the "recompense" to Fleming himself and the advantage to his reader—cancel each other out. If the travail of translation, the "earnest perusing and serious searching out" of sense, was good for Fleming, yielding "in the end … familiaritie and acquaintance" with what would otherwise have surmounted his capacity, how can his

readers expect to reap the same rewards from a text that has been, as it were, worked in advance? Fleming nonetheless insists that difficulty and obscurity are barriers to Virgil's pastoral landscape, not features of it. Itemizing the varieties of bad pedagogy in English schools, chief among them the "wrest[ing] awrie [of] maine things with oblique and crooked interpretations," he objects,

> these are not path wayes to treade to Virgils poetrie but rather stoppes and impedimentes. These are not keyes to open hard and obscure clauses but barres and bolts to shut them up closer. These are not stiles and bridges to pass over into the plain fieldes of the Poets meaning, but hedges and ditches to compass them in. (A2v)

The translation of Virgilian pastoral out of Latin into English thus becomes a kind of anti-enclosure act—a restoration of "the plain fieldes of the Poets meaning" to general access and common profit—and, in that sense, a reclamation of georgic purpose to the otherwise idle ground of classical pastoral.

Fourteen years later, in 1589, Fleming issued a new translation of the *Bucolikes*—together this time with the first English translation of the *Georgics*. The presentational rhetoric of the new volume is strikingly skewed from ease and accessibility to intricacy and hidden wit. The translations are dedicated to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fleming is at pains to assure Whitgift that a text initially intended for the aid of feeble Latinists is not beneath the dignity of a former vice-chancellor of Cambridge University:

> It may seem at first blush (I confess) too too base for you (in respect of your grauitie, of your eminencie, of your employments) too looke into, to reade, too like, too allow: but sundry circumstances, not obvious to all, do so countenance and dignify the same, as it may well beseem a personage of estate. (Fleming 1589, A2)

Those circumstances concern the poems themselves, whose meaning Fleming no longer characterizes as "plaine" and "open," as he did in 1575, but as shrouded in secrecy: "the matter or drift of the poet is meere allegoricall," he asserts, "and carieth another meaning than the literall interpretation seemeth to afford." He beseeches Whitgift not to be put off by the homely personages and rustic matter of pastoral verse, but "to esteem it as it is, even a perle in a shell, diuine wit in a homely stile, shepherds and clownes representing great personages, and matters of weight wrapt up in country talke" (A2v). In 1575, Fleming had worried that the virtues of Virgilian pastoral had been hedged by "difficulties and obscurities"; by 1589, he seems anxious that the poems not appear less difficult or obscure than they are. The marginal annotations that in 1575 had served merely as glosses of untranslatable proper names become, in 1589, an elaborate commentary on the poems' political and moral subtext.

This new emphasis on allegorical concealment is accompanied by a claim for the formal sophistication of Fleming's own verse (see Cummings 2010). As he announces in the preface, the new eclogues are written "not in foolish rime … but in due proportion and measure" (A4v). This attempt at metrical refinement permits Fleming to advertise the new translation as an introduction not simply to Latin but to poetry itself: "such as meane to be acquainted with poetrie, let them begin with these Pastoralls," he writes, "as the *Italians*

doo, whose youthes or grammar boyes doo learne these said Pastoralls perfectly, and thereby prooue learned yoongmen, wittie and rare poets, daintie in deuise, abounding in matter, neat in words, and curious in order" (A4–A4v). By "these said Pastoralls," Fleming presumably means the Virgilian originals and not his English verses, but the distinction hardly seems to matter. Indeed, nowhere in the prefatory material to the 1589 *Bucolikes* does Fleming suggest, as he did in 1575, that readers take his book and "confer it with the Latine, to increase their knowledge in that whereof they are ignorant" (Fleming 1575, A3v). On the contrary, the 1589 text elides the difference between Virgil's Latin and Fleming's English, concluding simply that "these Pastoralls (the beginning of Poetrie) being understood and learned, the entrance and proceeding in greater matters will have the lesse hardness" (Fleming 1589, A4v). In 1575 proceeding in greater matters would clearly have indicated mastery of Latin, but by 1589 such proceeding might well include the composition and consumption of vernacular poetry.

"O carefull verse": Spenser, Sidney, and the Making of the English Poet

As Fleming's epistle to Whitgift suggests, allegorical doubleness is one time-honored way of redeeming pastoral ease from the charge of idleness. Indeed, this is the strategy used by Sidney in the *Apologie for Poetrie*, when he notes that the "poor pype" of pastoral "sometimes, vnder the prettie tales of Wolves and Sheepe, can include the whole considerations of wrong dooing and patience" (Sidney 1595, F2v), and by George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie*, which asserts that poets devised pastoral "not of purpose to counterfait or represent the rusticall manner of loues and communication: but vnder the vaile of homely persons, and in rude speeches to insinuate and glaunce at greater matters" (Puttenham 1589, 30–31). But the shift in Fleming's attitude toward his translation is also the product of a dramatic rise in the reputation of English verse: the years between 1575 and 1589 saw the (anonymous) publication of Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), heralded by William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* as "inferiour to the workes neither of *Theocritus* in Greeke, nor *Virgill* in Latine" (Webbe 1586, B3), as well as the manuscript circulation of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, quotations from which served alongside extracts from Homer, Virgil, and Ovid as the foundation of Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588). In little more than a decade, vernacular pastoral had gone from imitative to exemplary, and it had done so on the basis of poetic craft.

To be sure, veiled insinuation played some part in establishing the consequence of Spenser's pastoral eclogues, whose glossator, E. K., claimed in his prefatory epistle to be "priuie to" the anonymous author's "counsell and secret meaning" (Spenser 1579, ¶3). But E. K.'s efforts to disclose that meaning are half-hearted at best: of the "September" eclogue, the *Calender*'s most overtly political, he observes, "This tale of Roffy seemeth to coloure some particular action of his. But what, I certeinlye know not" (38v). Instead, in both in his annotations and his preface, E. K. is more concerned with surface than subtext, "for," as he says, "what in most English wryters vseth to be loose, and as it were vngyrt, in this Author is well grounded, finely framed, and strongly trussed vp together" (¶2v). The remarkable achievement of Spenser's verse resides, he writes, in "the words them selues": "the which of

many thinges which in him be straunge, I know will seem the straungest, … being so auncient, the knitting of them so short and intricate, and the whole Period and compasse of speache so delightsome for the roundnesse, and so graue for the straungenesse" (¶2). E. K. is a notoriously awkward guide to Spenser's elegant verse; his gloss is often pedantic and more than occasionally obtuse. But his insistence on the interest and value of "the words them selues" is both perceptive and illuminating: *The Shepheardes Calender* stakes its ultimate claim to significance not on the "greater matters" of politics, faith, or morals, but on the intricacy and difficulty of its making: on the grounding, framing, trussing, and knitting of one English word to the next.

In this respect, Spenser's Colin Clout is the successor to Barclay's Mynalcas: a shepherd-poet for whom both shepherding and poetry are conspicuously hard work. Colin appears in the "Argument" to the "Januarie" eclogue in the midst of his "winterbeaten flocke," "very sore traueled" with his unrequited affection for Rosalind and exhausted by "his carefull case" (1). That care is Colin's defining attribute, the signal quality of both his love and his verse—"May seeme he lovd, or else some care he tooke: / Well couth he tune his pipe, and frame his stile," the narrator observes (1v)—and Rosalind's indifference is as much an insult to his poetry as to his person. Colin himself makes no distinction between the two:

> I loue thilke lasse, (alas why doe I loue?)
> And am forlorne, (alas why am I lorne?)
> She deignes not my good will, but doth reproue,
> And of my rurall musick holdeth scorne.
> Shepheards deuise she hateth as the snake,
> And laughes the songes, that *Colin Clout* doth make. (2)

Rosalind may be unmoved by Colin's efforts, but E. K. is not: "a prety Epanorthosis in these two verses," he remarks of the parenthetical rejoinders in the opening lines, "and withall a Paronomasia or playing with the word, where he sayth (I loue thilke lasse (alas &c" (2v). It is this ponderous sort of remark that has made E. K. notorious, but here his pedantry has a point, serving as recompense for Colin's otherwise unregarded care. E. K.'s approval may mean no more to Colin than Hobbinoll's "cracknelles" or the mute sympathy of his sheep, "whose hanging heads did seeme his carefull case to weepe" (2), but it models for Spenser's readers an attitude of watchful appreciation, an attentiveness to the minutiae of poetic workmanship. Colin claims to be above such regard—"Not weigh I, who my song doth praise or blame, / Ne strive to winne renowne, or passe the rest," he claims, unconvincingly, in the "June" eclogue, and adds, "I know my rymes bene rough, and rudely drest: / The fytter they, my careful case to frame" (24)—but such self-deprecating asides are merely another means of inviting scrutiny. In fact, the rhymes in "June," though hardly the most intricate in the *Calender*, are superbly neat, and the unusual *ababbaba* pattern of each stanza produces a medial couplet that is the forerunner of the hinge-like *b*-rhyme in *The Faerie Queene*'s nine-line stanzas. When Cuddie recites a sestina of Colin's devising at the end of the "August" eclogue—the first sestina printed in English—Perigot exclaims, "O *Colin*, *Colin*, the shepheards ioye, / How I admire ech turning of thy verse" (34). This is to grant English versification an etymological sense of the turning of sounds, words, and phrases into lines and stanzas. The mournful refrain of Colin's elegy for Dido

in the "Nouember" eclogue—"O carefull verse" (45v–46v)—is also the triumphant refrain of Spenser's self-commentary, and the crucial term in the poem's Ovidian *envoi*—"Loe I have made a Calender for euery yeare …" (52)—is the homely "made": the verb of vernacular poesis.

The deliberateness with which *The Shepheardes Calender* stages the recognition of poetic making—both in the responses of Colin's fellow shepherds and in E. K.'s gloss—suggests that such recognition could not be taken for granted; rather, it had to be taught. In her graceless inattention to Colin's careful case, Rosalind is a type of the ordinary reader, for whom, as E. K. warns, "many excellent and proper deuises both in wordes and matter would passe in the speedy course of reading, either as vnknowen, or as not marked" (¶3); the aim of the oddly fashioned text is to slow that speedy course, making Spenser's English verse visible to readers in all of its strange and labored art. A similar impulse is evident in the framing of the pastoral eclogues in Sidney's *Arcadia*, manuscripts of which began to circulate not long after the publication of *The Shepheardes Calender*. In these early versions of the text, known as the *Old Arcadia*, the making of English verse is accorded the dignity of a full-fledged art and the weightiness of a profession. Sidney's shepherds are, he insists, "the very owners of the sheep themselves, which in that thrifty world, the substantiallest men would employ their whole care upon" (Sidney 2002, 42)—a description in which it is hard not to hear Sidney's defensiveness about the employment of his own care in the making of verse. In fact, Sidney's shepherds do very little shepherding, but they address themselves to the cultivation of the vernacular with unapologetic energy and ingenuity: the eclogues that serve as interludes between sections of the prose narrative are proving grounds for a dazzling range of experimental forms and techniques.

As in *The Shepheardes Calender*, those forms and techniques are not assumed to be immediately legible to the English reader. The brief bits of prose that introduce each eclogue thus double as a scholarly apparatus, drawing attention to each poem's signal technical features. Iambs are distinguished from hexameters, sapphics from elegiacs, Anacreontics from phaleuciacs and asclepiadics. Similar attention is granted to stanzaic form and rhyme scheme: the narrator points out an echo poem, a double sestina (the first in English), a rhyming sestina, and a corona. In one of the surviving manuscripts, this ongoing commentary is supplemented by a marginal note spelling out the "rules observed in these English measured verses" (62). The note acknowledges the difficulties of importing classical and continental verse forms into English, with its clotted consonants and abundant monosyllables, but also credits the vernacular with a distinctive power of assimilation: "For the words derived out of Latin and other languages, they are measured as they are denizened in English and not as before they came over sea, so our language hath a special gift in altering them and making them our own" (62–63). Like E. K.'s commentary, the value of the note inheres in its illumination of "the words them selues": the note is a call to attention, an invitation to admire the *Arcadia*'s special gift of assimilation. Sidney's eclogues test the vernacular's capacity to absorb not only foreign words but metrical feet, rhyme schemes, stanzas, and entirely new poetic forms; they are models of what it might mean for a vernacular writer to make both English and poetry his own.

But the *Arcadia* is not triumphalist in tone. Like Colin Clout and Mynalcas before him, Sidney's pastoral persona, Philisides, is a melancholic outsider; unlike Colin or Mynalcas,

Philisides' poetic offerings are never quite what his audience expects or desires. The awkwardness that attends his performances is a function of their internal flickerings of doubt: for Philisides, poetry remains both labor and self-indulgence (see Haber 1994). Indeed, like Stephen Gosson, Philisides represents versifying as a kind of original sin, a lapse from Edenic innocence into unceasing and unproductive strife:

But when I first did fall, what brought most fall to my heart?	Art.
Art? What can be that art which thou does mean by thy speech?	Speech.
What be the fruits of speaking art? What grows by the words?	Words.
O much more than words: those words served more to me bless.	Less.
O when shall I be known where most to be known I do long?	Long.
Long be thy woes for such news, but how recks she my thoughts?	Oughts.
Then, what do I gain, since unto her will I do wind?	Wind. (92)

At the song's conclusion, the narrator tells us, "Philisides was praised for the placing of his echo" (93)—not, pointedly, for his theme—and in fact, the echo's redoubling of sound undoes the poet's efforts at self-assertion, exposing his artful meaning as mere breath, an airy nothing. Sidney's narrator describes the song as "an eclogue betwixt himself and the echo," "kindly framed [as] a disputation" (91), and Philisides' echo-song offers a key to pastoral's dialogic form: the eclogue is an echo chamber of writerly ambition and insecurity, of pride and self-doubt.

Pastoral has always flirted with the charge of narcissism, its idyllic enclosures and finely wrought stanzas haunted by the ghost of a consuming solipsism. Thus Colin Clout addresses his first eclogue to the "barrein ground, whome winters wrath hath wasted, / Art made a myrrhour, to behold my plight" (1v): in January, at least, barrenness and waste are the sole fruits of pastoral self-reflexivity. But there is creativity and vitality here, too; at least, there is if we allow "art" to stand as noun as well as passive auxiliary verb. Art *made* the mirror in which the pastoral poet recognizes himself and his craft, and that making is work as real as any other sort. Indeed, it might be a life's work: although E. K. makes much of the fact that the "New Poet" is beginning his career in pastoral, before moving on to greater tasks, Spenser never really leaves pastoral behind. In the final years of his life, he returned to it repeatedly, most famously in Book VI of the 1596 *Faerie Queene*, but also in a pair of poems printed together in 1595, *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and *Astrophel*, "a pastorall elegie" for Philip Sidney (Spenser 1595, E3). Appearing nearly a decade after Sidney's death on the battlefield, *Astrophel* memorializes the fallen hero not as soldier or statesman, but as pastoral poet, "the pride of shepheards praise" (E4v), with all the ambivalence that identity entails. Recalling Astrophel's passion for Stella, the speaker laments, "His thoughts, his rime, his songs were all on her … For all the rest but little he esteemed" (F1v). Here again is the familiar note of regret at the waste of a life in verse, and the speaker moves quickly to counterbalance it, adding,

> Ne her with ydle words alone he wowed,
> And verses vaine (yet verses are not vaine)
> But with braue deeds to her sole seruice vowed,
> And bold atchieuements did her entertaine. (F1v)

Even in death, it seems, Sidney cannot escape the association of words with idleness and vanity. But E. K. would want us to note that pretty epanorthosis: "(yet verses are not vaine)." Perhaps, as Jonathan Lamb has suggested of Sidney's parentheses in the *Arcadia*, Spenser's parentheses are way of transforming opposition to apposition: reconciling idle words and vain verses to brave deeds and bold achievements (Lamb 2010). If so, they accomplish in miniature the rhetorical work of pastoral, defining a space in which linguistic labor can be recognized and valued as such.

Note

1 Barclay is the first English author to publish poems called "eclogues" or "eglogs." His *Egloges*—published as a group in 1530—were likely written in the early 1510s. *Codrus and Mynalcas* is termed the "fourth eclogue," but it is his second to be printed; the *Fyfte Eglog* was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1518.

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31
Digging into "Veritable Dunghills": Re-appreciating Renaissance Broadside Ballads

Patricia Fumerton

> *The immense collections of Broadside ballads, the Roxburghe and Pepys, of which but a small part has been printed, doubtless contain some ballads we should at once declare to possess the popular character, and yet on the whole they are* veritable dung-hills*, in which, only after a great deal of sickening grubbing, one finds a very moderate jewel*.
>
> Francis James Child, writing to Svend Gruntvig, August 15, 1872
> (cited in Hustvedt 1930, 254)

This essay is about what Francis James Child, an influential nineteenth-century folklorist, would have called "veritable dung-hills": English Renaissance broadside ballads. Only around 11,000 to 12,000 broadside ballads printed pre-1701 survive, mostly in named collections such as those cited by Child above. But copies of broadside ballads likely circulated by the end of the sixteenth century in the millions (Watt 1991, 11). Printed in London, sold at printers' and publishers' shops, hawked on street corners and at open-air assemblies (from markets to executions) as well as in enclosed public gathering places (such as alehouses), sung in more private spaces, from workplaces to homes (in the latter perhaps by wife or maid as she spun her wheel), pasted up on street posts and walls, and carried far into the countryside in the packs of chapmen for rural circulation, broadside ballads were the most disseminated form of literature in the English Renaissance. They were mass marketed: aimed at all classes but especially the low. They were cheap—sold for the same price as a pint of beer, or around a penny toward the beginning of the seventeenth century and a halfpenny by its end—and they could also be bought at bulk rates (see Watt 1991, 11; Fumerton 2013, 16, n.6). And yes, they were ephemeral, as ephemeral as dung (or, to use a more savory metaphor, as fruit sold on the streets), which is evident in their poor survival rate. Yet these cheap and transitory artifacts were treasured by the masses and by collectors, who considered them *mostly*, not rarely, "a very moderate [and here I would

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interject a reinterpretation of Child's wording to mean 'moderately priced'] jewel." This essay aims to situate historically and define the Renaissance broadside ballad, which, as we shall see, is a most difficult task given its constitution in changing market conditions and in multiple media—both features that made it immensely mobile and ephemeral but also immensely popular.

Kinds of the Popular: Broadside Ballads versus Traditional Oral Ballads

By "popular" I mean something very different from "the popular character" that Child refers to in the above quotation. "Popular character" is a phrase oft repeated by Child and his followers. The phrase is typically aligned with the terms "traditional ballad" and (what might seem odd, given its imagined oral origins) "literary ballad." By "popular," "traditional," and "literary," Child is referring to an oral culture of the "folk" (see Child 1965). His thinking has a pre-history in the antiquarian scholars of the eighteenth century, especially Thomas Percy. In this imagined tradition, oral song was an "authentic" and "pure" balladry sung in the vernacular by a highly esteemed bard, who functioned as the cultural repository of his community. As the folklorist storyline goes, this pure oral form of community became contaminated with the advent of print, and revered balladeers descended in status by the end of Queen Elizabeth I's reign to poor itinerant minstrels equivalent with "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars" (Percy 1996, 1: xlix). In an effort of "reclamation," eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars sought out traces of the originary traditional ballad in the undeveloped highlands of Scotland or the American Appalachians or among marginalized groups like Gypsies—that is, in places and persons not likely to have been exposed to print culture—where song would have been passed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. As a distant second best, they looked to manuscripts, where traditional songs might have been copied out by hand (thus bypassing the press). But in actual fact, as Mary Ellen Brown astutely notes, Child relied heavily on broadside ballads for the sources of what he declared were the only 305 extant traditional ballads, which he published—listing every variant he found—in his influential 10-volume edition, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882–1898). It is significant, though, that Child suppressed his broadside ballad sources (Brown 2010).

So, how did Child and the antiquarians and folklorists who preceded and followed him know that a particular ballad was "pure" other than by its geographical, sociological, or non-print source? As Brown observes, some aesthetic values were at play in what Child privileged as purely "traditional," though he never came out with a clear and singular definition; the aesthetics he valued can only be gleaned from evaluative comments scattered throughout his corpus. Taking them together, Brown finds that "Child preferred short, lyrical narratives, with their elliptical way of telling or referencing a story, beginning in the middle of things, using formulaic language and narrative tropes, being impersonal, and frequently employing a great deal of repetition." By contrast, she says, "Many of the broadsides … seem to have a fuller narrative approach—at least those which tell a story—producing lengthy versions, influenced by the demands of the print media, which may have encouraged greater regularity, a more linear way of telling the story, and sometimes

updated language forms." Brown recognizes, however, that despite Child's privileged aesthetics, "there is no hard and fast distinction between the so-called 'popular ballads' and the broadside ones: many Child ballads were printed on broadsides, some in the 'popular' style, some in the broadside style" (Brown 2010, 65–67). I would add that even the more narrative broadside ballads, like Child's dubbed "traditional" ballads, favor repetition, evident in their frequent use of recurrent phrases and refrains.

So, returning to my introductory paragraph of this section, what do *I* mean by the popular? I mean that broadside ballads were the most liked form of print (if consumption is any indication of appreciation) and the most mass marketed, extending their appeal, as noted above, to include all of the populace, both high and low, even the poor (some of whom might still occasionally afford the halfpenny or penny or pint of ale to buy a ballad). Aspiring authors of the High Renaissance (*c.*1590–1620), whose goals were to raise English literature and themselves as authors to a status equal to the French and Italians, may disparagingly say, as Ben Jonson did, that a broadside ballad was good for nothing but lighting a tobacco pipe (and even then caused ringing in the head). Contemporaries who were of the upper sort, such as Sir William Cornwallis, might dismissively point out that broadside ballads made good bum-wiping paper after reading them in the privy (Marsh 2016, 233, 263). But we must recognize that all such comments were in an effort to distance the speakers precisely from the mass-marketed popular appeal of the broadside ballad (notably associated by Cornwallis, as if foreshadowing Child, with dung). Such aspiring literary authors and critics might claim that, unlike "high" literature, broadside ballads were unsophisticated in what they described, and decried, as plodding measure, predictable rhymes, and lewd (meaning both bawdy and ignorant) topics. But that did not mean that these same literary aspirants were not intimately familiar with ballad culture and that they did not listen to, view, and read—dare I say enjoy?—such ballads (as Cornwallis himself admits he did) and even capitalize upon them (as Jonson certainly did in his plays, evident below). It would have been impossible not to absorb broadside ballads in some form in the period because simply walking from point A to point B on the streets of London one saw and heard them hawked, pasted up, and passed around just about everywhere.

Tripping on Meter: Ballad Measure

The rhythms and rhymes of the texts contemporaries read and heard are themselves contested subjects by musical scholars. Traditional literary scholars would strictly define "ballad measure" (also referred to as "ballad meter" and "ballad stanza") as four-line stanzas usually rhyming *abcb* with the first and third lines carrying four accented syllables and the second and fourth carrying three. Those slightly more liberally inclined might more broadly declare that ballad measure consists of quatrains with either four or three stresses in each line and with either an *abcb* or *abab* rhyme scheme. The urge to extend the definition of ballad measure, even by traditionalists, is telling. As William Gahan notes, citing both the limited and more liberal definitions stated above, the *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* restricts both designations to those Scottish and English ballads compiled by Child in the nineteenth century (Gahan 2013, 17). The *Encyclopedia* then proceeds to focus on contentious disputes about ballad measure, which center on whether it is accentual or

accentual-syllabic. The position that ballads are accentual verse is favored by folklorists like Child, who privilege song. They focus on the stresses in the lines, as do scholars of the Anglo-Saxon oral tradition. The position that ballads are accentual-syllabic verse is favored by those who view ballads as poetry. They focus on both the unstressed and the stressed syllables within each line of verse, which is divided into metrical feet. George R. Stewart, who advocates the latter position, still notes a change occurring over time in the character of the metrical feet, most dramatically marked, Stewart says, around 1700 when ballads "had by then reached a pivotal point of regularity," whereas "previously ballads generally exhibit more variety" (Gahan 2013, 18). Though Stewart's declared pivotal date might be disputed, as well as the need to categorically oppose accentual and accentual-syllabic verse, I wholeheartedly agree with his characterization of the earlier period of printed broadside ballads. "More variety" of metrical feet, indeed, might be an understatement.

My personal confession and backstory is that I am Founder and Director of the English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu), which is dedicated to creating citations, facsimiles, transcriptions, and recordings precisely of pre-1701 printed ballads. When starting the project in 2003, I had intended to include among the archive's citations a record of meter and rhyme. But within six months, this cataloguing line broke down. The problem was not that the EBBA team was unskilled in rhyme or scansion (whether accentual or accentual-syllabic) but that we could not agree on the rhyme schemes and scansions we were looking at. Part of the problem in defining the rhyme scheme of printed ballads lies in the especially irregular spelling of street language and its unfamiliar use—to our ears, at least—of colloquial terms. But, even taking that into consideration, we found that ballad rhyme schemes seem to be promiscuously inconsistent. Furthermore, we found the same problem with the measure. Sometimes the meter would begin as a highly regular 4-3-4-3 measure, then would veer if only momentarily into a 4-3-3-3, or into a variation of poulter's measure, 3-3-4-3, or even occasionally into iambic pentameter, or a mixture of all of the above, or more. Music critics, such as Stewart, may argue that print mostly regularized ballad verse, with its emphasis on poetical feet and rhyme, as opposed to just accentual scansion. But in another way, it could be argued, and as I and my EBBA team personally discovered, print also *de*-regularized ballad rhyme and especially ballad measure as traditionally defined.

Due to the abilities of the author to play with the lines of a written text, the "traditional" rhyme and rhythms of 4-3-4-3 (or its "accepted" variants) often dissolved or wobbled. The problem would have been more of an issue if the author as composer of the poetry did not have a specific tune in mind when composing the ballad. Such would seem unlikely, at least pre-1701. But, as Erik Bell points out, even if an early modern author had a particular ballad song in his head, and text and tune began as joined, "the two would quickly separate during the processes of publication and circulation. From the moment a ballad's author sold his work to a printer and/or publisher, he gave up his 'ownership' of the ballad" (Bell n.d., paragraph 4). This transfer of ownership allowed printers and compositors to set different words than were written by the author, whether in order to fit the text into the available space for a line or column on the sheet, or because the compositor's mind wandered in typesetting (resulting in added, fewer, or more irregularly spelled words than usual). Loss of authorial control, Bell notes, extended to the ballad's performance: neither author, nor printer, nor publisher had "any control over how people would sing that ballad, such as

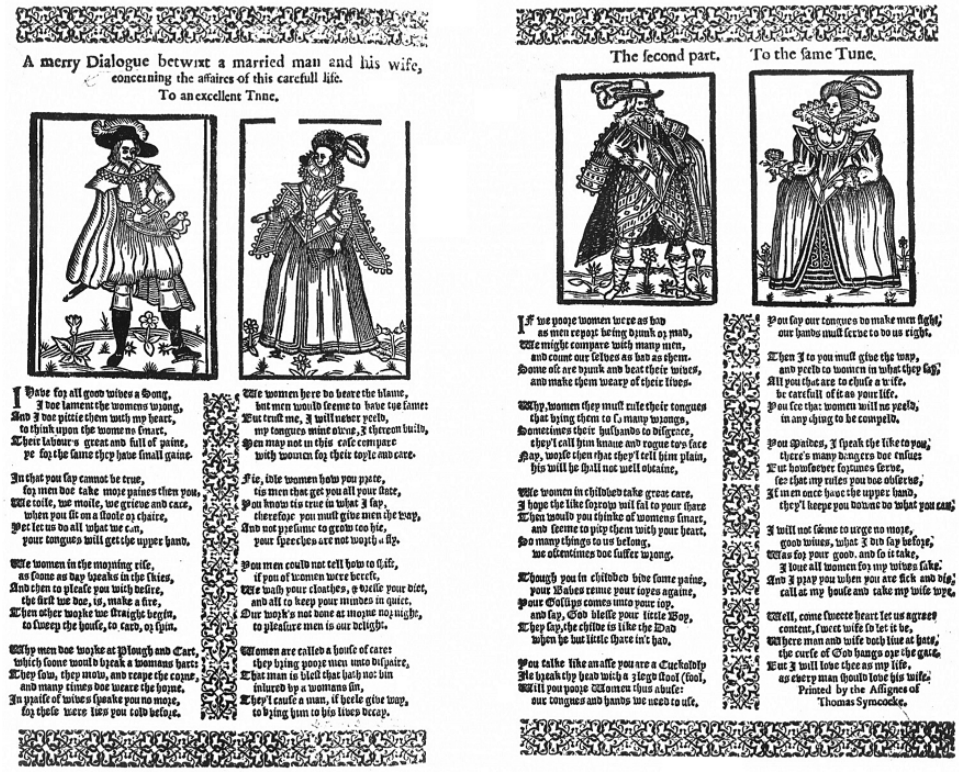
which variant of the specified tune would be used, and how exactly text and tune would be fit together when ballad sellers and their customers sang the ballad" (Bell, paragraph 4). Singer and audience would have to deal with irregularities when meter and their applied melody seemed not to fit. I've sat in on sessions of EBBA singers recording broadside ballads a cappella—as they would have been sung on the streets of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and I have watched the singers trying to wrangle the verse to fit the designated tune printed on the ballad sheet. Such wrestling of text to tune (and vice versa) is as much a process of meaning-making as it is one of accommodation, often requiring elongation or contraction of a word—and which word one chooses to stress or finagle can be very significant to the ballad's interpretation—so that the stress doesn't fall on a "little" word or so that all the words of a line can be sung.

In this sense, Paula McDowell's argument that the eighteenth century only inconsistently and only gradually developed the opposition between oral and printed ballads, as advocated by the likes of Percy (and later Child), puts more pressure on any oppositional thinking by scholars of Renaissance broadside ballads as well (see McDowell 2010). It is more than likely that Renaissance contemporaries saw no opposition at all between text and tune, snatching up printings of "New Ballads" (whether re-issuings of old ballad texts or not) and singing them to familiar or new songs, and as likely singing printed texts as oral songs long after the broadsheet on which the text was printed had disintegrated at the bottom of a water closet or bird cage or was whitewashed over in its position of honor on the milk-house wall. Accommodating text to tune and vice versa would not have been seen as unusual or problematic but rather as an expected and almost automatic process: a process of everyday adjustment and perhaps also of liberation on the parts of the participants, allowing for extemporaneous *play*. Author, printer, publisher, ballad-monger, and audience would have all been collaborators in the making of a broadside ballad text/song. The religious joined in this collaboration, despite accusations that broadside ballads were "lewd." "Hymn meter" (4-4-3-4), used in the immensely popular English psalter known as Sternhold-Hopkins,[1] shared its rhythm with one version of ballad measure known as "poulter's measure," and the process of *contrafactum*, wherein the godly adopted popular ballad tunes, was practiced very early on in medieval Latin church hymns and—especially when printed ballads gained serious momentum—more aggressively in mid- to late sixteenth-century vernacular hymns promoted by Protestant proselytizers (Gahan 2013, 19).

Multi-media Artifacts: Text, Tune, Image, Dance

What made broadside ballads particularly alluring, however, is that they were not just text or just tune or even just text and tune. They were multi-media artifacts constituted on one side of a single large sheet of paper (hence, broad-side), which conveyed text, tune, art, and even—if sometimes only by cognitive association—dance.

This is especially the case during the "heyday" of the broadside ballad in the seventeenth century (*c*.1590–1640 and, in a revival of the heyday aesthetics, though on smaller sheets, *c*.1670–1690), wherein the many-faceted features of the broadside were highlighted (see Nebeker 2013). Heyday broadside ballads consist of art in the form of woodblock impressions (often four or more running across the top of the page, as well as ornamental



A merry Dialogue betwixt a married man and his wife, concerning the affaires of this carefull life.
To an excellent Tnne.

I Have for all good wives a Song,
I doe lament the womens wrong,
And I doe pittie them with my heart,
to think upon the women so smart,
Their labour's great and full of paine,
ye for the same they have small gaine.

In that you say cannot be true,
for men doe take more paines then you,
We toile, we moile, we grieve and care,
when you sit on a stoole or chaire,
Yet let us do all what we can,
your tongues will get the upper hand.

We women in the morning rise,
as soone as day breaks in the skies,
And then to please you with desire,
the first we doe, is, make a fire,
Then other worke we straight begin,
to sweep the house, to card, or spin.

Why men doe worke at Plough and Cart,
which soone would break a womans hart:
They sow, they mow, and reape the corne,
and many times doe weare the horne.
In praise of wives speake you no more,
for these were lies you told before.

We women here do beare the blame,
but men would seeme to have the same:
But trust me, I will never yeeld,
my tongues mine owne, I thereon build,
Men may not in this case compare
with women for their toyle and care.

Fie, idle women how you prate,
tis men that get you all your state,
You know tis true in what I say,
therefore you must give men the way,
And not presume to grow too hie,
your speeches are not worth a fly.

You men could not tell how to shift,
if you of women were bereft,
We wash your cloathes, & dresse your diet,
and all to keep your mindes in quiet.
Our work's not done at morne nor night,
to pleasure men is our delight.

Women are called a house of care:
they bring poore men unto dispaire,
That man is blest that hath not him
inlured by a womans sin,
They'l cause a man, if heele give way,
to bring him to his lives decay.

The second part. To the same Tune.

If we poore women were as bad
as men report being drunk or mad,
We might compare with many men,
and count our selves as bad as them.
Some oft are drunk and beat their wives,
and make them weary of their lives.

Why, women they must rule their tongues
that bring them to so many wrongs,
Sometimes their husbands to disgrace,
they'l call him knaue and rogue to's face
Nay, worse then that they'l tell him plain,
his will he shall not well obtaine,

We women in childbed take great care.
I hope the like sorrow will fal to your share
Then would you thinke of womens smart,
and seeme to pity them with your heart,
So many things to us belong,
we oftentimes doe suffer wrong.

Though you in childbed bide some paine,
your Babes remue your ioyes againe,
Your Gossips comes unto your ioy,
and say, God blesse your little Boy,
They say, the childe is like the Dad
when he but little share in't had.

You talke like an asse you are a Cuckoldly
He breakthy head with a 3 legd stool (fool,
Will you poore Women thus abuse:
our tongues and hands we need to use.

You say our tongues do make men fight,
our hands must serve to do us right.

Then I to you must give the way,
and yeeld to women in what they say,
All you that are to chuse a wife,
be carefull of it as your life.
You see that women will no yeeld,
in any thing to be compeld.

You Paides, I speak the like to you,
there's many dangers doe ensue:
But howsoever fortunes serve,
see that my rules you doe observe,
If men once have the upper hand,
they'l keepe you downe do what you can,

I will not seeme to urge no more,
good wives, what I did say before,
Was for your good, and so it take,
I love all women for my wives sake.
And I pray you when you are sick and dis,
call at my house and take my wife wye.

Well, come sweete heart let us agree
content, sweet wife so let it be,
Where man and wife doth live at hate,
the curse of God hangs ore the gate,
But I will love thee as my life,
as every man should love his wife.
Printed by the Assignes of
Thomas Symcocke.

Figure 31.1 Example of a "heyday" broadside ballad: "A merry Dialogue betwixt a married man and his wife, concerning the affaires of this careful life," 1619–1629?, Roxburghe 1.266–267, EBBA 3090 (Ballad Sheet Facsimile). Source: The British Library Board, C.20.f.7.266–267. Reproduced with permission.

headers, footers, borders, and dividers between columns of verse), text or lyric (often printed in decorative swirling black letter or what we today call Gothic type), and song or printed tune title (indicating the melody to which the ballad should be sung, which would be either a familiar tune or, if new, one that could be easily taught to the consumer) (see Figure 31.1).

In the broadside ballad heyday, printers and publishers capitalized on all three features of the sheet, and consumers expected to get their money's worth. For his part, Pepys, who collected mostly heyday ballads, laments on his title page, "My Collection of Ballads"—notably printed by hand in black letter—that after 1700 "the Form, till then peculiar thereto, vizt of the Black Letter with Picturs seems (for cheapness sake) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter [roman type] without Pictures" (EBBA 32621). Ben Jonson capitalizes on such fondness for broadside ballad illustrations in his play *Bartholomew Fair* (1616). When the ballad-monger, Nightingale, offers the onlookers a ballad, "A Caveat against Cutpurses," Mistress Overdo notably asks her brother, Cokes (technically of the gentry but low in personality and intellect), "Has't a fine picture, brother?" Cokes responds nostalgically, "O sister, do you remember the ballads over the nursery chimney at home o' my own pasting up? There be brave pictures!" (3.5.45–47; Jonson 1960). Even with such visual allure, one could not entirely forget the importance of text and tune also printed

on the sheet. After Nightingale explains the "matter" or content of the text of the ballad (a warning against cutpurses, meant to be funnily ironic considering that Nightingale has teamed up with a cutpurse, Edgeworth, to steal Coke's purse while he is enthralled by Nightingale's song), Nightingale adds that the ballad is "To the tune of *Paggington's Pound* ["Paddington's Pound"]." Cokes responds by singing "*Fa, la la la, la la la*, *fa la la la*. Nay I'll put thee in tune, and all!" (3.5.56–57). Cokes may here be singing the actual tune of "Packington's Pound" or the ballad's refrain (nonsense "fa la la la" refrains were common in broadside ballads). The visual, textual, and oral here unite in Nightingale's "offering" of a single broadside ballad sheet.

But other neurons would have fired at this moment in the audience's mind as well. Pointing to a fourth medium that is unprinted but evoked by broadside ballads, Cokes adds after his "fa la la la" singing the proud declaration, "mine own county dance!" (3.5.57). As Bruce Smith reminds us, "the term *ballad* ultimately derives from the Latin *ballare*, 'to dance'" (Smith 1999, 170; 2016). Dancing is sometimes imaged in broadside ballad woodcuts, as in the familiar country circle-dance illustration with a piper at the center (see Figure 31.2). And though references to dancing mostly fall out of ballads as the visual (woodcuts and other ornamentation) gain dominance in the seventeenth century, the visceral movements of dance would most certainly have been invoked with the onset of singing or hearing the ballad tune (Smith 2016). Tellingly, many of the broadside ballad tunes in fact came from country dances, and some even trickled down from courtly dances. Indeed, foreign courtly dance tunes were imported into England and quickly naturalized

Figure 31.2 Left: detail from "The Dairy-Maids Mirth and Pastime on May-Day," 1670–1700, Pepys 3.201, EBBA 21214, showing a ring of country dancers, with the piper in center. Right: woodcut of similar scene, in Huntington Library, Armstrong #9, labeled likely incorrectly on the back as "Witches Dance," though likely correctly as "much earlier than 1700." Inherited by John White of Newcastle *c.*1700 on the death of his parents, who were printers in York. Source: Figure courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

or Englished. Popular tunes such as "Greensleeves" and "Rogero" were by the 1580s considered *English* dance tunes even though "Greensleeves" had originated in the French and "Rogero" in the Italian court.

The same naturalization happened to the black-letter typeface, which is an important visual feature of the heyday ballad. Though type and printing presses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were mostly imported from the Netherlands or France, black-letter type—even on the Continent—was considered the "English national letter." Dubbed variously "Old Tudor Black," "English English," or even "New English," black letter hung on much longer in England than in other countries, both in legal documents and in broadside ballads, with roman type replacing black letter for most other kinds of texts as early as the late sixteenth century (see Updike 1962, 2: 88, images facing pp. 98 and 105; Egan 2013). Like the oral ballad, as imagined by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarians, black letter increasingly became associated by all levels of the populace with the good ol' days of England. Old England was to become a major ideal behind the later and more elite antiquarian nostalgia for oral song, but the idea also spurred many broadside ballad collectors of the seventeenth century, who especially sought out popular black-letter type as representative of the heyday of a passing good ol' age (evident in Pepys's title page quoted above). The prominent influence of Child and the folklorist tradition has led to a forgetting of the fact that collecting practices, especially of heyday black-letter broadside ballads, began as early as the sixteenth century and continued strong into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We can trace such collecting from the relatively unknown Captain Cox in the sixteenth century (see Spufford 1981, 143), to more notable historical figures such as Samuel Pepys, John Bagford, and Robert Harley in the seventeenth century, to the Duke of Roxburghe in the eighteenth century (who bought the Harley collection and after whom the Roxburghe Society was established and named in the nineteenth century: the Society that published an eight-volume edition of the Roxburghe collection of printed broadside ballads [1869–1902] at almost precisely the same time Child was publishing variants of "pure" oral song), to collectors such as the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth Earls of Crawford and James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps in the nineteenth century. These are among the many collectors who valued and preserved for us the heyday broadside ballads that would have otherwise disappeared as passing and ephemeral "straws in the wind" (Pepys, EBBA 32622): Child's "veritable dung-hills." Ludovic Crawford (1847–1913) explains his collecting impetus in language that evokes Pepys's own collecting impulse almost 200 years earlier: "I bought a few at first as typographical curiosities," he says, "and to illustrate the woodcut ideas of the times; but I soon desired to acquire more" (Crawford 1961, 1: xi). Typographical curiosities, that is, black letter and woodcuts, fired Crawford's desire for "more"—his collection of early printed ballads came to exceed 1500—*despite of and alongside* the antiquarian's value of orality.

A Protean Form: Moving Parts and Shifting Aesthetics

The broadside ballad's identity as a single sheet of paper constituted in its heyday of multiple media made it an especially mobile artifact, culturally, geographically, and aesthetically. As single sheets of paper, broadside ballads could be printed off quickly without being

registered with the Stationers' Company as was required by law (see Rollins 1919, 281). Pressing ballads "on the fly," printers could often escape prosecution for not paying registration fees or for disseminating offensive or libelous verse (on MS ballad libels, see Fox 2000, 299–334). By virtue of their single-sheet size, the printed ballads could also be easily carried around in someone's pocket for pulling out to create a spontaneous entertainment or other kind of social/political gathering. They could be passed from person to person or amongst a gathering of persons. They could be posted up on a wall for all or only a select few to see. Their ability to escape registration, their physical mobility, and their ephemerality (they *could*, after all, end up in the water closet) made them difficult not only for authorities of the time but for current-day scholars to pin down, even in the relatively limited period that is the focus of this essay: 1540 to 1700.

From a media studies and aesthetic perspective, what is especially fascinating and frustrating about broadside ballads is the mobility of their component parts, which could take on an independent life. As I point out in my article "Remembering by Dismembering," "Any one ballad by the same title … might be made up out of different assembled and movable parts" (Fumerton 2010, 17). Ballads by different titles also sported the same or similar texts (or parts of texts) and adopted others' woodcut impressions or tune titles (often renamed after the latest popular ballad). In sum, I note,

> Printers and publishers of cheap print in the seventeenth century regularly took (from themselves and from each other) the bits and pieces of the constituent parts that made up individual ballads: woodcuts were bought up cheap or exchanged; tunes were reissued, sometimes renamed; and stories were retold, sometimes slightly altered, and called "new." In a previous article [Fumerton 2002], I referred to such migratory and patchwork printing practices as creating an "aesthetics of vagrancy"; in like mind, Alexandra Franklin has dubbed them "an art of collage." … Angela McShane might well rename that art "cobbling." Whatever one's term of preference, it is important to recognize that such mobile patchwork is the very essence of early modern ballad print culture. (19)

The vagrant or nomadic character of broadside ballads and their component parts was often shared by their peddlers, who could be arrested for being unplaced "masterless" men; indeed, it is likely that many ballad-mongers came from the significant number of runaway servants and apprentices of the period and from itinerants otherwise unemployed (see Fumerton 2006, 3). But regardless of their often suspiciously regarded method of dissemination, the shifting character of the parts that made up broadside ballads was embraced by consumers and was evidently a tactical marketing strategy employed by printers and publishers to fulfill the bottom line of reaching a mass market. The aesthetics of vagrancy, or "the aesthetics of unsettledness," clearly sold (Fumerton 2006, 129).

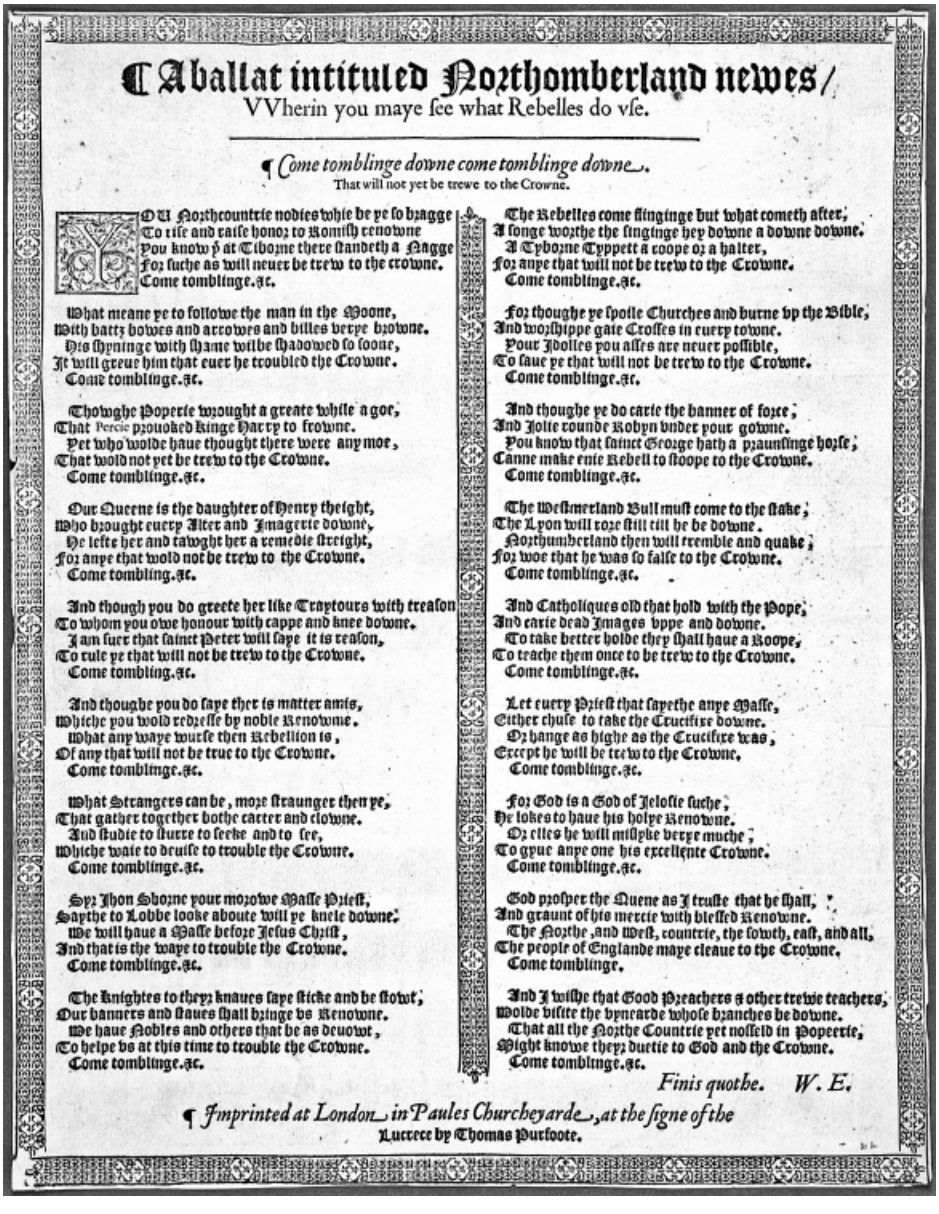
This mobile recycling of ballad parts capitalized on an age-old love of fashion: the public eagerly bought texts, images, and tunes that were recycled and called "new" until they fell out of fashion, at which point they could be replaced by the next crop of component parts. But the populace was not as fickle as this description might imply. Many popular texts—tales of heroes like Robin Hood or St. George of England, or stories of murderous relatives, such as "The Norfolk Gentleman" (later renamed "The Children in the Wood"), or of making and consuming beer, such as is gleefully personified in "Sir John Barley Corn"—were reissued multiple times over the course of a hundred years. The same is true of many

Figure 31.3 Left: a sample impression of the many variant images of the "Artichoke Lady," Pepys 1.32–33, EBBA 20154. Right: a sample impression of the many variants of the images of the "How-De-Do Man," Euing 108, EBBA 31815. Source: EBBA. Reproduced with permission.

woodcuts, even seemingly undistinguished cuts, such as the lady with fan that the EBBA team has fondly named the "Artichoke Lady," who appears over 50 times in the Pepys collection alone, or the "How-De-Do Man," as he is dubbed by Christopher Marsh in examining the figure's 104 appearances in a representative sampling of extant broadside ballads in EBBA (Marsh 2016) (see Figure 31.3).

Woodcuts could be copied, passed on, and reused well into the eighteenth century, despite becoming increasingly worm-eaten, faded, or cracked. In fact, the more they aged, it would seem, the more they gained a treasured patina. Tunes also have a long history, which extends from the sixteenth century, if not earlier, sometimes right up to today, and in their travels through time they usually underwent many variant renderings and re-titlings ("Greensleeves" being a classic example: during the Commonwealth and Restoration, the tune was more widely known as "The Blacksmith"). Part of the popularity of broadside ballads was clearly in re-seeing and re-hearing familiar component parts: parts which were deeply comforting precisely for being "old-fashioned," just like black-letter type. "Ah, it's the how-de-do man!," I can hear a contemporary exclaim, on seeing that familiar character appear on a ballad, as if the viewer were greeting the friendly figure, with outstretched hand.

That said, the broadside ballad form did not always privilege all three features of its heyday (text, illustration, and tune) and morphed aesthetically over time. In the sixteenth century, before it became massively popular and marketed in the millions, the printed ballad tended to consist of a sheet of relatively small-sized folio paper, with little or no ornamentation—perhaps just a funereal border (consisting of solid black lines) or a simple ornamental border, maybe with an ornamental dividing line—and usually no tune title



¶ A ballat intituled Northomberland newes/
VVherin you maye ſee what Rebelles do vſe.

¶ *Come tomblinge downe come tomblinge downe.*
That will not yet be trewe to the Crowne.

YOU Northcountrie nodies whie be ye ſo bragge
To riſe and raiſe honor to Romiſh renowne
You know p̃ at Tiborne there ſtandeth a Nagge
For ſuche as will neuer be trew to the crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

What meane ye to followe the man in the Moone,
With hatty bowes and arrowes and billes verye browne.
His ſhyninge with ſhame will be ſhadowed ſo ſoone,
It will greue him that euer he troubled the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

Thowghe Poperie wrought a greate while agor,
That Percie prouoked Kinge Harry to frowne.
Yet who wolde haue thought there were any moe,
That wold not yet be trew to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

Our Queene is the daughter of Henry theight,
Who brought euery Alter and Imagerie downe,
He lefte her and tawght her a remedie ſtright,
For anye that wold not be trew to the Crowne.
Come tombling.ꝛc.

And though you do greete her like Traytours with treaſon
To whom you owe honour with cappe and knee downe.
I am ſuer that ſainct Peter will ſaye it is reaſon,
To rule ye that will not be trew to the Crowne.
Come tombling.ꝛc.

And thoughe you do ſaye ther is matter amis,
Whiche you wold redreſſe by noble Renowme.
What any waye wurſe then Rebellion is,
Of any that will not be true to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

What Strangers can be, more ſtraunger then ye,
That gather together bothe carter and clowne.
And ſtudie to ſturre to ſeeke and to ſee,
Whiche waie to deuiſe to trouble the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

Syr Jhon Shorne your morowe Maſſe Prieſt,
Saythe to Lobbe looke aboute will ye knele downe.
We will haue a Maſſe before Jeſus Chriſt,
And that is the waye to trouble the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

The Knightes to their knaues ſaye ſticke and be ſtowt,
Our banners and ſtaues ſhall bringe vs Renowne.
We haue Nobles and others that be as deuowt,
To helpe vs at this time to trouble the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

The Rebelles come ſlinginge but what cometh after,
A ſonge worthe the ſinginge hey downe a downe downe.
A Tyborne Typpett a coope or a halter,
For anye that will not be trew to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

For thoughe ye ſpoile Churches and burne vp the Bible,
And worſhippe gate Croſſes in euery towne.
Your Idolles you aſſes are neuer poſſible,
To ſaue ye that will not be trew to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

And thoughe ye do carie the banner of force,
And Jolie rounde Robyn vnder your gowne.
You know that ſainct George hath a prauncinge horſe,
Canne make enie Rebell to ſtoope to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

The Weſtmerland Bull muſt come to the ſtake,
The Lyon will rore ſtill till he be downe.
Northumberland then will tremble and quake,
For woe that he was ſo falſe to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

And Catholiques old that hold with the Pope,
And carie dead Images vppe and downe.
To take better holde they ſhall haue a Roope,
To teache them once to be trew to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

Let euery Prieſt that ſaythe anye Maſſe,
Either chuſe to take the Crucifixe downe.
Or hange as highe as the Crucifixe was,
Excepte he will be trew to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

For God is a God of Jelolie ſuche,
He lokes to haue his holye Renowne.
Or elles he will millyke verye muche,
To gyue anye one his excellente Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

God proſper the Queene as I truſte that he ſhall,
And graunt of his mercie with bleſſed Renowne.
The Northe, and Weſt, countrie, the ſouth, eaſt, and all,
The people of Englande maye cleaue to the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.

And I wiſhe that Good Preachers & other trewe teachers,
Wolde viſite the vyneardе whoſe branches be downe.
That all the Northe Countrie yet noſſeld in Popeerie,
Might knowe their duetie to God and the Crowne.
Come tomblinge.ꝛc.

Finis quothe. *W. E.*

¶ *Imprinted at London in Paules Churcheyarde, at the ſigne of the*
Lucrece by Thomas Purfoote.

Figure 31.4 "A Ballat intuled Northomberland newes," Huntington Britwell 18295, EBBA 32227, showing minimalist ornamentation typical of sixteenth-century broadside ballads. Source: Figure courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

printed on the sheet (see Figure 31.4). The main exceptions are the broadsides sporting a large woodcut impression that often illustrates a strange wonder, wherein most of the area for text is displaced by the image (foretelling the later privileging of the visual in the seventeenth century, but not at the cost of the textual, because larger size folio sheets were employed) (see Figure 31.5).

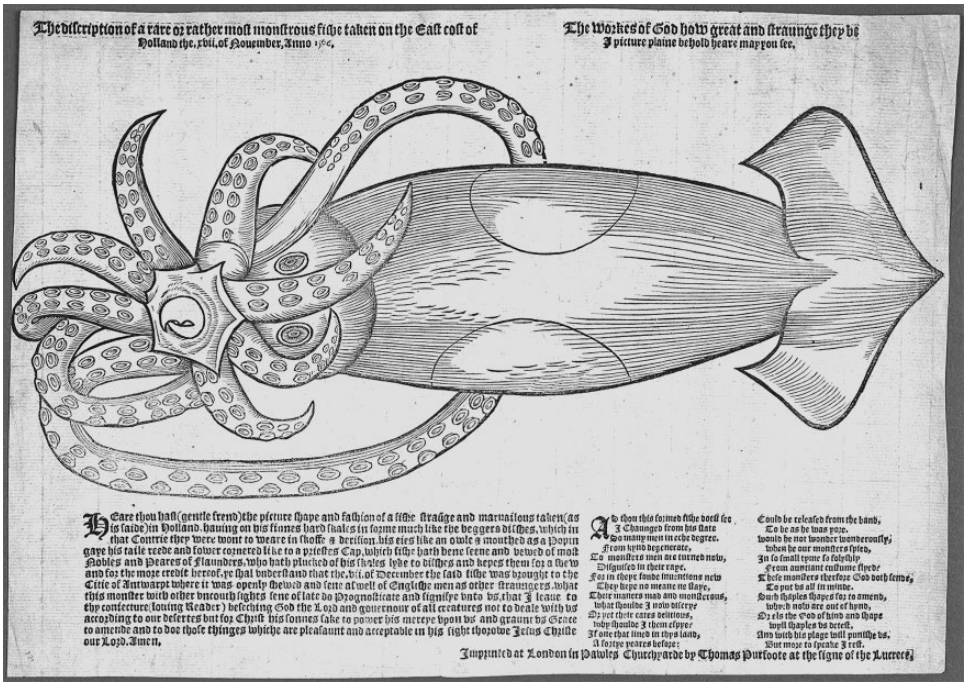


Figure 31.5 "The description of a rare or rather most monstrous fishe taken on the East cost of Holland, the .xvii of Nouember, anno 1566," Huntington Library Britwell 18317, EBBA 32405. Source: Figure courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Dissemination of mid-sixteenth-century broadside ballads appears to have been modest, as evident in the high number of elegy ballads in praise of high-ranking but not necessarily widely known persons, apparently commissioned by family members as personal mementos. Other evidence of a relatively limited audience is the textual "flytings," which were the equivalent of personal arguments between authors, each claiming the moral or political high ground on various subjects, as evident in the early flyting between Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Camel, and several other writers in 1552 (see Nebeker 2009a).

But the broadside ballad form evolved. In the late sixteenth and especially the early seventeenth century, ballad folio sheets became larger, more decorated, and almost always included a tune title, as noted above. They also typically divided the story into two "Parts," both usually sung to the same tune (as stated on the sheet). Rollins conjectures that the two-part format might have been another marketing ploy: a printer or publisher could cut the ballad in half, and only post the first half for viewers (or a singer could only sing the first half); if someone wanted to see or sing the rest of the ballad they had to buy it (Rollins 1919, 316).

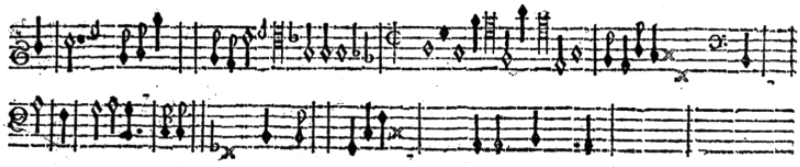
Still other formal changes emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century. With some notable exceptions, ballad sheets became typically half-folio in size (though this half-folio size tended to match the sixteenth-century folio sheet).[2] With this diminution in size, the two-part structure disappeared, resurfacing after the Restoration, likely in a marketing ploy to capitalize on a national nostalgia for an earlier pre-Civil War era. Such

Jockey and Jenney:

OR,

The SCOTCH COURTSHIP.

To a pleasant new Scotch Tune, Sung in the Play of *The Three Dukes of* Dunstable.



JENNY gin you can Love,
and are resolv'd to try me;
Silly Scruples remove,
and do no longer deny me,
By thy bonny Black Eyes,
I sware none other can move me;
Therefore if you deny,
you never never did love me.

Jockey how can you mistake,
that knows fullwell when you woo me,
How my poor Heart do's ake, (me
and throbs, as it would come through
How can you be my Friend,
when as you are bent to my Ruine,
All the Love you pretend,
is only for my undoing.

Who can tell with what Art
this Canting nothing, call'd Honour,
Charms my *Jenny*'s soft heart,
whilst Love and *Jockey* had won her.
'Tis a Toy in the head,
and muckle woe there's about it;
Yet I'd rather be dead,
than live in scandal without it.

But if you'll love me, and wed,
and guard my Honour from harms too,
Jockey I'll take to my Bed,
and fold him close in my Arms too:
Talk not of Wedding, fair Sweet,
for I must have Charms that are softer,
I'm of the Northernly breed,
and never shall love thee well after.

Except you will yield to wed,
I cannot believe you love me,
And all that you yet have said,
dear *Jockey*, will never move me,
You love not as you pretend,
the Arguments still you are urging,
Designs no more, in the end,
but to betray a poor Virgin.

Although you tickle my knees,
my Maiden-head still I'll save it,
On such foolish Terms as these,
my *Jockey*, you never must have it;
But if you're willing to wed,
I never will marry another,
My *Jockey* shall come to my Bed,
where we will pleasure each other.

But if I should yield to your Will,
I'm sure you would soon deceive me,
Your evil Desires you'd fill,
and after you quickly would leave me;
And if I should chance to teem,
by kissing and hugging together,
And get a Bearn in my Wem,
O where should I find out the Father.

Jenny you need not fear,
I only desire to try you;
As true as poor *Jockey* is here,
to marry he'll ne'er deny you:
I therefore I am willing to Bed,
and if thou wilt gang to morrow,
Unto a gend Kirk, and be Wed,
we'll both bid adieu to all Sorrow.

Printed for J. *Conyers* at the Black Raven in *Holborn*.

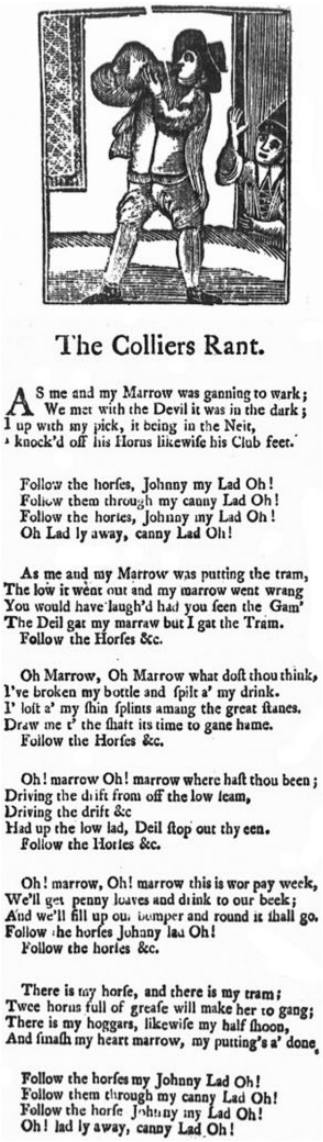
Figure 31.6 "Jockey and Jenny: Or, the Scotch Courtship," Pepys 4.110, EBBA 2253. Source: Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Reproduced with permission.

nostalgia for a time before civil unrest likely also explains the increase in pastoral themes. Also, during intense periods of political unrest, "white-letter" or roman font broadside ballads were prominent, which tended to be satirical and addressed an "in-group" of an informed public (see McShane 2010). By the middle of the seventeenth century, we further witness a return of the sixteenth century's genre of elegy as well as eulogy, though now the figures celebrated are more nationally prominent. At the same time we see the rise of one-page verse poems that look a lot like ballads but do not quite feel like them: perhaps because they are often in iambic pentameter (though one immensely popular ballad tune, "Fortune my Foe," *could* fit iambic pentameter verse) or because many of these verse poems ran over onto the verso of the sheet (and are thus "broadsheets" not "broadsides") or because the topic feels too elite, as if we were witnessing an imitation of a ballad by a courtly writer, of the kind Charles Sackville, later sixth Earl of Dorset, wrote and Pepys then distributed at a dinner party in 1665, jokingly attributing it to three naval officers (Pepys 1995, 6: 2). With the white-letter typeface we also tend to see the dropping off from the page of any woodcut illustrations and tune titles (both would reappear in the eighteenth-century broadside ballad revival, though black letter became obsolete around 1700). We also see white-letter ballads that are illustrated with musical notation toward the end of the seventeenth century, often of a "nonsense" kind, simply for ornamentation (see Figure 31.6).

But increasingly dominating the scene as the century closes and we enter the eighteenth century were broadside ballads that were no longer "broad"-sides: they were mere slips of white-letter text (printed four or five to a sheet and then cut apart for individual sale), without images, or just with one small image at the top. These "slipsongs" flooded the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ballad market in England and America (see Figure 31.7).

Broadside Ballad Heyday Subjects: A Smorgasbord

Because so few broadside ballads survive from the sixteenth century (only around 250), it is difficult to say with certainty what topics were typically addressed at the time, but as indicated in the section above on aesthetic formats, it appears that elegies, wonders, and flytings were popular. However, religion appears to have been the hands-down biggest seller. By the seventeenth century, in contrast, religious subjects lost ground in broadside ballads (see Watt 1991, 48–49). What emerged instead was a true smorgasbord of topics. Yes, there were still ballads on wonders (with the expected godly warning at the end) and on religion specifically, but secular subjects dominated the heyday of the broadside ballad: love, marriage, sex, good fellowship, the latest news, and occasional topics such as the hoarding of corn and rack-renting by landlords. Also, instead of ad hominem flytings, ballads often adopted a dialogue form in which one or more speaker addressed another, and this extended to one ballad taking the opposite position of another ballad on the same subject, sometimes written by the same author—a tactic skillfully employed by Martin Parker when he wrote one ballad for and another against marrying widows (EBBA 20179, 20178). These oppositional ballads were not so much arguments between individuals as different viewpoints on subjects anonymously addressed for everyone to hear and see,



The Colliers Rant.

AS me and my Marrow was ganning to wark;
We met with the Devil it was in the dark;
I up with my pick, it being in the Neit,
A knock'd off his Horns likewise his Club feet.

Follow the horses, Johnny my Lad Oh!
Follow them through my canny Lad Oh!
Follow the horses, Johnny my Lad Oh!
Oh Lad ly away, canny Lad Oh!

As me and my Marrow was putting the tram,
The low it went out and my marrow went wrang
You would have laugh'd had you seen the Gam'
The Deil gat my marraw but I gat the Tram.
Follow the Horses &c.

Oh Marrow, Oh Marrow what doſt thou think,
I've broken my bottle and ſpilt a' my drink.
I' loſt a' my ſhin ſplints amang the great ſtanes.
Draw me t' the ſhaft its time to gane hame.
Follow the Horſes &c.

Oh! marrow Oh! marrow where haſt thou been;
Driving the drift from off the low ſeam,
Driving the drift &c
Had up the low lad, Deil ſtop out thy een.
Follow the Horſes &c.

Oh! marrow, Oh! marrow this is wor pay week,
We'll get penny loaves and drink to our beek;
And we'll fill up our bumper and round it ſhall go.
Follow the horſes Johnny lad Oh!
Follow the horſes &c.

There is my horſe, and there is my tram;
Twee horns full of greaſe will make her to gang;
There is my hoggars, likewiſe my half ſhoon,
And ſmaſh my heart marrow, my putting's a' done.

Follow the horſes my Johnny Lad Oh!
Follow them through my canny Lad Oh!
Follow the horſe Johnny my Lad Oh!
Oh! lad ly away, canny Lad Oh!

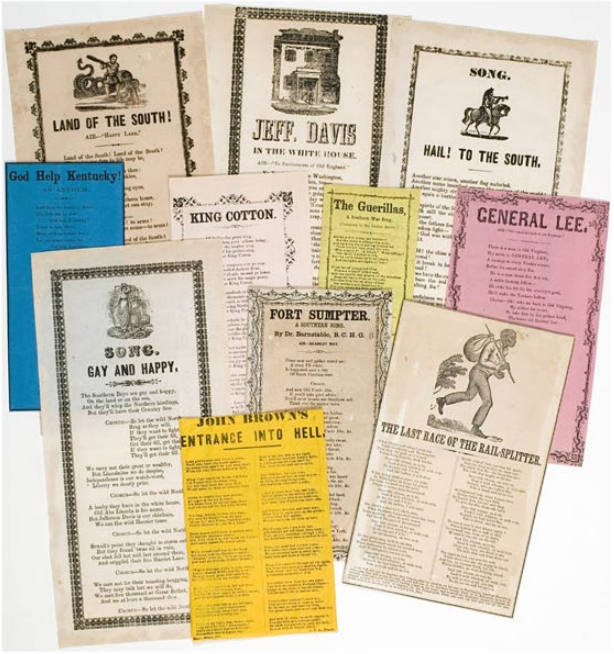


Figure 31.7 Left: Roxburghe collection eighteenth-century slipsong (1740?), 3.352, EBBA 31066. Source: The British Library Board, C.20.f.9.352. Reproduced with permission. Right: Confederate slipsongs 1861–1865. Source: The Library Company of Philadelphia. Reproduced with permission.

so that people could pick and choose as they pleased, or just enjoy hearing diverse perspectives. During the Commonwealth period, as noted above, white-letter ballads addressed political subjects, and the popular topic of the sixteenth century of elegies and eulogies became profuse by the middle of the seventeenth century. So abundant are ballads in this particular vein and often so literary is their measure (adopting usually iambic pentameter) and rhyme scheme (often heroic couplets) that they appear to push beyond

the genre of broadside ballad completely. Remaining firmly in the recognizable ballad format—often evoking the heyday character of the first half of the seventeenth century—were the many ballads about love and marriage that appeared after the Restoration.

Related Genres

Broadside ballads had a tremendous influence on other related and not-so-related genres of the Renaissance, and vice versa, to the extent that the ballad form sometimes morphed beyond recognition. Eric Nebeker has wonderfully shown how sonnets, when they first arrived on the shores of England, were so foreign that they could only be naturalized by adopting ballad measure, which we see in the sonnets of Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in Tottel's Miscellany (1557). As the sonnet rose to high prestige, however, it ditched the ballad, and aspiring laureates labeled broadside ballads "low" literature as noted above (see Nebeker 2009b). Still, religious leaders continued, if haltingly, to adopt popular ballads for psalms and other godly hymns, and as we have already seen, the ballad was adapted into the form of elegy and eulogy. Dialogue as well as echo and answer poems drew upon dialogue and echo and answer ballads, and vice versa, and the rise of the dramatic jig (a short, often bawdy, dialogue between usually four persons, often to more than one song and sometimes with lively dancing), prevailed as after-play entertainment from the 1590s into the 1620s, occurring even into the eighteenth century (see Clegg and Skeaping 2014). Satire thrived on political white-letter broadside ballads but so did pastoral, especially after the Restoration. Pamphlet narratives often retold ballad stories, and vice versa, as did chapbooks ("cheap-books" of usually 16 to 24 pages). After the Restoration the musical theater thrived and drew for many of its songs on ballad tunes; the broadside ballad answered in kind, publishing texts "to a new playhouse tune." Also, as musical songbooks were more cheaply published so that they could be available to the middling and even some of the lower sorts, they drew on broadside ballads for both content and tunes; the ballad, of course, again responded in kind. The ballad was not only a shape-shifting form. It was remarkably adaptive, and when a popular genre emerged on the scene, the authors, printers, and publishers of ballads pounced on its market possibilities in the same way that the new genre often stole from the broadside ballads themselves. No wonder scholars who try to grab hold of the nature of Renaissance broadside ballads so often feel like critical Meneleans wrestling with Proteus.

Notes

1 Thanks to Megan Palmer-Browne for this insight and for her comments generally on this essay.

2 "Folio" refers to a single uncut sheet of paper, which could vary tremendously in size in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but is the largest size a particular paper mold can make. Typically, when we refer to folio-sized works, those works are big, made from large sheets. "Half-folio" refers to a single sheet that has been cut in half, or, in making a book, folded in half, thus rendering four pages for printing per folio sheet. "Quartos" are folded four times, thus rendering eight printed pages, and so forth.

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RELIGIOUS POETRY

32
Female Piety and Religious Poetry

Femke Molekamp

Writing in the late sixteenth century, the Scottish Presbyterian poet and noblewoman Elizabeth Melville composed many religious poems in manuscript, as well as a homiletic, allegorical dream vision, *Ane Godlie Dreame* (Edinburgh, 1603), which was an influential piece of writing, republished 13 times in Scots and English up until 1737, and providing an important model for John Bunyan in its use of an allegorical spiritual journey. In their formal variety and affective intensity, Melville's lyrics offer a striking contribution to devotional poetry of the period, as well as demonstrating some salient forms of female spirituality that find their way into writing. Here is a stanza from her manuscript meditation on Psalm 42, expressing her longing for Christ:

Ffor want I pyne
for christ I tyne "tyne": to become lost
Into this wildernes
my groning greif
without releif
Doth more and more incres
O living well
cum and expel
My evirburning drouth
my spous most sweit
receave my spirit
with kisis of thy mouth[1]

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The poem from which this stanza is taken exemplifies many common features of early modern female religious poetry, and of the devotional practices to which it is connected. First, the poem is anchored in scripture, and, second, it is written in a meditative mode. The devotional life of early modern women was marked by reading practices that were often meditative and affective, in the pursuit of divine inspiration. Biographical sources reveal that many literate godly women took time on a daily basis to retreat to a more solitary space to engage in devotional reading, textually based meditation, and prayer, and there are also many extant books of meditation written by and for women of this era.[2] Most meditations contained in these books used passages of scripture, particularly Psalms, and indeed Barbara Lewalski has shown that the Protestant tradition of meditation had a pervasive biblical emphasis (Lewalski 1979).

Melville's meditative response to Psalm 42 inscribes her own highly affective, subjective engagement with the psalm. The trope of mystical marriage, figuring Christ as "my spouse most sweit," does not appear in the psalm, for instance. This and the refreshing, sensual kiss from Christ's mouth are Melville's own additions. They draw on a verse from the erotic highly sensual poetical book of the Bible, the Song of Solomon: "let him kisse me with the kisses of his mouth, for thy love is better than wine" (1:2). A language of ravishment sometimes pervades accounts of female devotional practice, both in literature about exemplary female piety and in the spiritual journals of women. Writing in the 1660s, for example, Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick records how her meditative practice leads to her "large and ravishing thoughtes of the joyes of heauen."[3] Similar language can be found in female religious poetry. The anonymous author of *Eliza's Babes* (1652), who represents her poems as the "offspring" of her union with Christ, writes of how her "soul is wounded with a deep affection" toward Christ, her heart pierced by "heav'ns dart" and "penetrated" by "infinite mercies," of which she must sing (Anon 1652, 95, 22 ["The Dart," line 3], 74). Such representations resonate with writings of medieval mystics like Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich, among others, demonstrating continuity between certain pre- and post-Reformation aspects of female spirituality. Nancy Bradley Warren has made the important observation that "the writings of monastic and Protestant women alike, reveal … strong commitments to incarnational piety … centred on the human body and embodied experiences of Christ" (Warren 2010, 249). This "incarnational piety" often uses the trope of mystical marriage, reimagining sensual pleasure through spiritual union with Christ as Melville does when she conjures a kiss from Christ's mouth to end her "everbirning drouth." Representations of mystical marriage in early modern literature are drawn from conventional interpretations of the Song of Solomon, which identify the lover as Christ and his spouse as "the faithful soul or his Church," as a Geneva Bible (1560) note specifies. Erica Longfellow and Elizabeth Clarke have drawn attention to the extensive literary engagement of early modern women with the representation of themselves as brides of Christ (see Longfellow 2004; Clarke 2011). Longfellow argues that this identification can function as "the primary legitimiser of [women's] speech," enabling women "to craft a position between the conflicting gender roles of human relationships and the ultimately ungendered truths of divine love" (Longfellow 2004, 3–4). Importantly, it also plays a part in the distinctly affective modes of devotional writing in which we see women participate.

Psalms and Mary Sidney Herbert

Melville's engagement with the Psalms in her affective style of devotional poetry is predated by a number of earlier examples of female devotional poetry centered upon texts of the Psalms, which had a privileged place in the development of a more literary female bible-reading culture. In the sixteenth century we see a variety of women engaging poetically with the Psalms, including Anne Askew, Queen Elizabeth I, Lady Elizabeth Fane, Anne Lock, and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke. This was by no means an exclusively female endeavor, but represents a wider project of humanist translation and literary investment in the sacred texts of the Psalms that developed from the early part of the century onwards, in which women participated (see Hamlin 2007; Austern, McBride, and Orvis 2011). The interest in psalm translation was also connected to the growing circulation of the Bible in English, and with the advent of the Book of Common Prayer, both books delivering the Psalms for daily reading (as well as communal worship) to English households, with the metrical translations of the Psalms by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins often bound in at the back of Bibles too. The reading and singing of the Psalms in particular, like the reading of the Bible in general, played a central part in reformed devotion, and was often performed at home. The lives of women were particularly structured by domestic devotion: women were often stewards of devotion in the household, and records survive of women reading and singing the psalms together in the home, often in the chamber of the lady of the house. Both Lady Margaret Hoby and Lady Grace Mildmay record their experiences of domestic psalm singing in their respective autobiographical writings (Austern 2011, 92–93). Linda Phyllis Austern argues that early modern "domestic psalm-performance provided a socially sanctioned … outlet for the considerable musical and spiritual impulses of many sorts of women, from humble dairymaids through the daughters of the nobility" (Austern *et al.* 2011, 77).

The Psalms could also be used in more solitary acts of meditative self-scrutiny. According to Calvin, the Psalms serve as an "anatomy of all parts of the soul, in as much as a man shall not find any affection in himself, whereof the image appeareth not in this glass" (Calvin 1571, *6v). These introspective possibilities offered by the Psalms meant that women reading and versifying psalms could use these texts to articulate aspects of their emotional and spiritual life. Where women chose a poetic medium for their psalm translations, the possibilities for the creation of a literary self was heightened. Margaret Hannay has documented a wealth of examples of early modern women incorporating Psalm citations into their writing as a means of self-expression (Hannay 2001, 116–118). I have argued elsewhere that female translation of the Psalms, stemming from a culture of intensive Psalm reading, played a vital role in creating a space for female literary agency, which later found expression in other kinds of biblical poetry written by women (Molekamp 2013, 154).

The most well-known female metrical psalm translations are those undertaken by Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, completing the project that her brother Sir Philip Sidney began before his death, and producing a complete Psalter, to complement the variety of vernacular Psalters in ready use in Reformed devotion. Sidney Herbert's importance in the devotional lyric tradition and in the development of early modern women's writing is well

rehearsed, established by extensive scholarship.[4] Sidney Herbert paraphrased Psalms 44–150, and the complete Psalter uses a virtuosic array of 126 different verse forms. The formal complexity and lyricism of her versions, and their focus upon the inner life of the Psalmist, elicits intellectual, affective, and arguably private reading practices, as opposed to the communal psalm-singing facilitated by a psalter like the Sternhold–Hopkins. The Sidney Psalter embodies the Protestant ideal of interiorizing scripture, and reading one's self in the process of reading the Bible. Sidney Herbert's use of original metaphors, along with the investment in an expressive, personal voice, often privileges the intimacy of the Psalmist's relationship with God, as in the opening of her version of Psalm 139, which celebrates God as maker, and his deep knowledge of the Psalmist:

> O lord in me there lieth nought,
> but to thy search revealed lies:
> for when I sitt
> thou markest it:
> no lesse thou notest when I rise:
> yea closest clossett of my thought
> hath open windowes to thine eyes
> (Herbert 1998, 2: 139)

Sidney Herbert introduces a metaphor of her own invention to her paraphrase, God gazing into the "closest closset of my thought," heightening the intimacy of an omniscient God's relationship with the speaker. The metaphor evokes the mode of private, affective devotion, which women frequently undertook in their closet where they might pursue a blend of reading, prayer, and meditation (Molekamp 2013, 125–130). Sidney Herbert's seven-line stanza form is likewise innovative; her poetic process sees her introduce fresh images to the psalms, supply complex formal structures, and fashion a distinctive idiom. As her editors have remarked, "Although Sidney Herbert's *Psalmes* are presented as a translation, they paradoxically also offer considerable scope for her own voice" (Sidney Herbert 1998, 2: 46). In this way, her *Psalmes* engage a spirit of meditation on the holy text, rather than simply offering a translation.

Sidney Herbert's particular engagement with reformist Bible translations for her Psalm project, especially those originating in Geneva, is striking. In engaging a multilingual collection of English, French, and Latin Genevan source-texts, and applying her considerable learning to a new metrical Psalm translation, Sidney Herbert (like her brother Sidney before her) was not only engaging with the English vogue for versifying the Psalms, but also with the Genevan tradition of learned, humanist biblical translation. First, her reformist agenda is implicit in the sources she privileges and, second, she brought her impressive humanist education, with all its linguistic learning, to investigate vernacular meanings of the Psalm texts in imaginative ways. Sidney Herbert arguably played a formative role in the tradition of both English metrical psalmody and of women's devotional writing, helping to open a space for a subjective literary voice in response to sacred texts. There are 18 extant manuscripts of the *Psalmes*: though they were not printed they achieved significant manuscript publication. Her *Psalmes* were praised

by a wealth of contemporaries including John Donne, Samuel Daniel, John Davies of Hereford, Henry Parry, Sir Edward Denny, and Aemilia Lanyer (Sidney Herbert 1998, 2: 48).

Interpretative Biblical Poetry

In 1611, Lanyer prefaced her poetic meditation on Christ's passion, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, with a celebration of Sidney Herbert's poetic achievements in the sphere of devotional poetry in a dream vision of the Countess. The vision praises "those rare sweet songs"—the Sidney *Psalmes*—and celebrates the Countess's status as a divine poet, attended by saints "writing her praises in th'eternall booke / Of endlesse honour, true fames memorie" (Lanyer 1993, 27). Lanyer's self-construction as a female devotional poet deliberately draws upon Sidney Herbert's example to help to authorize her own bold poetic project. Lanyer's poetic meditation on the Passion takes its place among the interpretative biblical poetics produced by a number of women in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lanyer chose to print her poetic volume and to promote it through nine dedicatory poems to some of the nation's most powerful women, including the Queen, preparing also a presentation copy for Prince Henry.[5] Scholars have widely discussed Lanyer's positioning of her poetry in relation to the patronage dynamics at work in the volume (see Coiro 1993; McBride 1998; Benson 1999; Lamb 1999). Her promotion of her volume in the prefatory poems arguably draws on practices of domestic female devotional reading of the Bible as she styles her poetic meditation on the Passion as functioning like scripture itself among a community of godly reading women. In a prefatory poem to Queen Anne, Lanyer beseeches her to "accept most gratious Queene … This holy worke … / For here I have prepared my Paschal Lambe / The figure of that living Sacrifice" (Lanyer 1993, 6, 7). Similarly, in a prose address to the Countess of Cumberland she also presents her "Booke" as scripture-like since "heere," Lanyer urges, "I present to you even the Lord Jesus himselfe … so I deliuer you the health of the soule" (34).

While Lanyer claims that her poetry has an ameliorating function like scripture, she also enacts distinctive biblical interpretations that demonstrate her interpretative agency as a reader of the Bible. Her Passion narrative contains an inset reconfiguration of the Genesis narrative to vindicate Eve in her role in the Fall:

> Our Mother Eve who tasted of the Tree
> Giving to Adam what she held most deare,
> Was simply good and had no powre to see
> …
> But surely Adam cannot be excusde,
> Her fault though great, yet hee was most to blame;
> What weaknesse offerd, Strength might have refused,
> Being Lord of all, the greater was his shame.
> (Lanyer 1993, 84, 85)

This suggestion of Adam's greater culpability constitutes a bold display of female hermeneutics, which we see also in Anne Southwell, a contemporary female poet at

the court of James I. In her extensive manuscript poem on the Ten Commandments, Southwell asserts that

> When god brought Eue to Adam for a bride
> The text sayes she was taen from out man's side
> A simbole of that side whose sacred bloud,
> Flowed for his spowse, the Churches sauinge good.
> This is a misterie, perhaps too deepe,
> For blockish Adam, who was falen asleepe.
> (Southwell 1997, 20)

With impressive poetic concision, Southwell deftly associates earthly marriage with the "misterie" of God's marriage to his Church, and connects Adam's and Christ's wounded sides to evoke the larger context of Christ's holy sacrifice, which she suggests Adam (also the typological husband) is in danger of missing, due to his "blockish" flaws. Southwell adopts this argument in her poem to critique husbands who are too blameful of their wives while neglecting their own faults.

These are striking examples of women negotiating active theological engagement and social commentary through poetry. Later in the century, Lucy Hutchinson also intervened in the reinterpretation of the Genesis story to displace the misogynistic hermeneutic framework that had grown around it, with her biblical epic, *Order and Disorder*, based on the Genesis story, which may be justly compared with Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Hutchinson published the first five cantos of *Order and Disorder* anonymously in 1679. She develops a personal and highly sophisticated set of biblical hermeneutics in the poem that is at times typological, political, and even satirical. David Norbrook has shown that these hermeneutics are developed partly through the biblical citations supplied by Hutchinson in the margin, which "form a series of counterpoints" and "give a sharp political resonance to the more abstract generalizations of the verse" (Norbrook 2001, xxvii–xviii). While Genesis provides the foundation for Hutchinson's poem, she dramatizes the voices of individual biblical personae, and in this way develops literary material that departs from the strict contours of the biblical narrative.

Whether considering the religious or non-religious writings of early modern women, we have come a long way from the notion that Renaissance women were "chaste, silent, and obedient." It has now been well established in the field that women's involvement with religious texts led to a very considerable array of literary, social, and political interventions. Recently, Helen Smith has aptly noted that "religion was neither a secondary nor a necessarily well-behaved domain in Early Modern England," and she has illustrated the many roles played by women in the production and circulation of religious (and non-religious) texts (Smith 2012, 13). Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann have demonstrated the rich intellectual culture and political engagement of Puritan women and argued that "such women played a lively and indispensable part in the production and reception of what scholars now investigate as the public sphere of early modern culture" (Harris and Scott-Baumann 2010, 2). Some women marshaled the scriptures to support homiletic messages that they delivered in poetic form. Others engaged in bold reinterpretative strategies while also in the process of establishing their literary selfhood.

Devotional Female Community and Poetry

Female community was a notable dimension of the devotional practice and religious literary culture of early modern women. Early modern women often organized Bible reading at home for groups of female servants and neighbors, and were responsible for the religious education and reading of their children (Molekamp 2013, 84–86). This important manifestation of female community shaped the lives of many reading women, and women who turned from reading to writing religious poetry often drew on the paradigm of female communal reading to establish their literary voices. Julie Crawford has argued that "the concept of the literary community as a heuristic tool may not only be the product of our own critical perception, but may be something early moderns made use of as well" (Crawford 2010, 38). One way in which women inscribed female community in their writing was through book dedications, which could assemble a community of female readers within and for a text, or single out a particular woman as a desirable reader. There is often an important relationship between the text of the book in question and its dedicatee, as patrons or friends are sought as sympathetic supporters of the text, sometimes materially, but often ideologically.

This is not to suggest that female writers of religious works did not also participate in religious communities that included men, which they clearly did. Anne Lock stands out as an example, with her highly visible and productive connections to John Knox and her participation (actual and textual) in Puritan circles involving both her third husband, the controversial evangelical divine Edward Dering, and the Earl of Leicester.[6] Yet it is notable that Lock, like many other female authors of religious texts, includes only female members of her communities in her book dedications. While in exile in Geneva with Knox in Queen Mary's reign, Lock translated Calvin's sermons on the song of Hezekiah (Isaiah 38:9), and appended to the translation a metrical paraphrase of Psalm 51 in the form of a sonnet sequence, which is probably her own. Kimberley Anne Coles has argued that these sonnets helped to provide an impetus for the "renovation of form" for religious poetry (Coles 2008, 114–115). Lock's meditations have been identified as the first sonnet sequence in the English language and, though religious, they foreshadow the outpouring of amorous sonnet sequences in the 1590s, just as they foreshadow the burgeoning of religious lyrical poetry from the same era.

The sonnets, like Lock's dedicatory epistle, complement the focus of Calvin's sermons upon the song of Hezekiah, who suffered sickness and bitter torment before the restoration of his health. These poetic meditations on penitential Psalm 51 have an important function as affective devotional texts, depicting the "passioned minde of the penitent sinner" and leading the reader through a series of inward and anguished penitential reflections, before the addition of hope (Lock 1560, A2). The small composite volume was printed in London in 1560 and dedicated to Katherine Bertie, dowager Duchess of Suffolk and Lock's fellow exile in Geneva. Lock wrote an extensive dedicatory epistle to the Duchess in which, taking up the theme of Hezekiah's recovery from sickness, she places herself as a physician, dispensing the spiritual medicine of Calvin's biblical sermons and, implicitly (for she makes no claims of authorship) of the poetic psalm meditations: "This medicine is in this litle boke brought from the plentifull shop and storehouse of Gods holye testament" (A6). If in her reference to a "storehouse" of medicine Lock can be understood to be domesticating

the divine medicine of the scriptures, it is interesting to observe how household medicine comes explicitly into a comparison Lock makes between the spiritual medicine of the volume and the worldly physic of the body:

> we se dayly, when skilfull men by arte, or honest neyghbours hauyng gathered vnderstandyng of some specyall dysease and the healing therof by theyr owne experiment, do applie their knowledge to the restoring of health of any mans body in any corporall sicknesse, howe thankfully it is taken. (A3)

While the "skilfull" male physician, learned in his art, may be compared to Calvin, the learned divine and author, there are also, equally valuable, the "honest neyghbours" who cultivate medical practices and assist members of their community, as well as of their own household, with their remedies. There is substantial evidence of women in early modern England practicing folk medicine, and circulating medical "receipts," in addition to providing surgery and midwifery services in their local communities, both charitably and for a fee (see Grey 1653; Hunter and Hutton 1997; Leong and Pennell 2007). Susan Felch has speculated that Lock herself might have performed such services in her community (Felch 1997, 12). The allusion to such "neyghbours" seems to provide an obvious corollary with Lock and her role as translator and poet, and with her "neyghbour" and dedicatee Katherine Bertie who also played a part in the patronage and circulation of reformist texts. Lock emphasizes "howe thankfully" the restorative medicine of both the learned physician and the "honest neyghbours … is taken." Both kinds of service are highly valuable. Katherine Bertie, as dedicatee, has an important role in Locke's appeal to a feminine medical tradition, for with this analogy Lock's dedication of the whole volume to a woman who shared a religious agenda with Lock reinforces the agency of women as spiritual healers (Felch 1997). Bertie helped to advance the English Reformation by using her wealth and influence to fund a considerable arsenal of Protestant texts and introduce Protestant ministers to livings in Lincolnshire. She was connected at court with the circle of reformers who backed Queen Katherine Parr, and together with royal minister William Cecil she persuaded Parr to publish her *Lamentacion of a Sinner* in 1547, which urges private reading of the vernacular Bible. Like Lock, then, Bertie played an important part in the dissemination of reformist texts: she was also, in Lock's eyes, a dispenser of divine medicine, tending honestly to her community.

Katherine Bertie also found herself taking her place among a community of female dedicatees in Lanyer's poetic volume, *Salve Deus*. This community is firstly set up in a preface to the *Salve Deus* through the numerous, dedicatory poems to eminent ladies of the kingdom, and it is also represented in her country house poem, "A Description of Cookeham," appended to *Salve Deus*. This country house poem celebrates the estate once lived in by Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, and Anne Clifford her daughter, both dedicatees of Lanyer's volume. The poem depicts Russell and her daughter engaging in pious devotional meditation in the grounds of their estate.

While *Salve Deus* fashions a female devotional textual community to handle Lanyer's book and read Christ's Passion, "Cooke-ham" provides a representation of such a community in action, through the reading practices of Margaret Russell and Anne Clifford on their estate. Lanyer depicts Cookham as the scene of her own conversion. She claims it was at

Cookham "where [she] first obtain'd / Grace from that Grace where perfit Grace remain'd." She commemorates the devotions of Margaret Russell that took place in the sacralized grounds of the estate, remembering

> In these sweet woods how often did you walke,
> With Christ and his Apostles there to talke;
> Placing his holy Writ in some faire tree,
> To meditate what you therein did see.
> (Lanyer 1993, 133)

The landscape, here "some faire tree," is inscribed with scripture of Margaret Russell's choosing. While country house poems tend to celebrate (male) ownership in terms of lineage, the Countess's inhabitance of her estate is imagined in spiritual terms. Anne Clifford is also represented bringing text into the landscape, as she "read and skand" aloud "many a learned book" to the same "stately Tree" that her mother used for devotional meditation. Anne supposedly takes Lanyer "by the hand" as she reads, enabling Lanyer to create an ideal female, textual, and meditative community around the tree. This is a distinctive Protestant communal reading culture with Bible-reading at its center.

"Cooke-ham" is an elegiac poem, however, figuring the bereaved estate from which Margaret Russell and Anne Clifford have departed, and remembering the ideal community which these women constituted there (supposedly, it is obliquely suggested, with Lanyer's participation). An apostrophe to the estate itself states explicitly the elegiac feeling that infuses the rest of the poem:

> And you sweet Cooke-ham, whom these Ladies leave,
> I now must tell the griefe you did conceave
> At their departure; when they went away,
> How everything retaind a sad dismay:
> Nay long before, when once an inkeling came,
> Me thought each thing did unto sorrow frame:
> The trees that were so glorious in our view,
> Forsooke both flowres and fruit, when once they knew
> Of your depart, their very leaves did wither,
> Changing their colours as they grewe together.
> (Lanyer 1993, 135)

In *Salve Deus*, Lanyer focuses on the bereavement instantiated through Christ's crucifixion, but with a steady eye on the Second Coming as the final recuperation of all that has been lost. The connection of "A Description of Cooke-ham" with *Salve Deus* with its shared patrons, interest in female devotional community and post-Edenic grief at what has been lost, means that "Cooke-ham" implicitly partakes in the pattern of bereavement and redemption established in *Salve Deus*. The country house poem is not simply an appendix to *Salve Deus*, then, but rather it reiterates the power of female devotional community as a transcendent, salvational form of equality. Such a community is textual in this poem; though it has been hampered in this life it will find its fulfillment with the Second Coming.

Materiality and Circulation

Lanyer was exceptional rather than typical in her decision to print her volume of devotional poetry, although there was a steady increase in the publication of female religious poetry in the seventeenth century. Female religious poetry could be undertaken for the spiritual benefit of the author and/or her household only, or it might have a reach to a wider community of readers through manuscript circulation or print. Like their male counterparts, women writers might choose to put their name to their writing, or to write anonymously, just as they also wrote both individually and collaboratively. The fluidity of early modern female authorship has been increasingly recognized by scholars, since female lyrics are "eminently malleable" owing to the diversity of approaches to authorship and of material contexts in which they appear and are circulated (Daybell 2005, 176). Religious poetry by women took a variety of material forms. Very little female devotional poetry appeared in print in the sixteenth century, which is notable, considering that female-authored publications of other kinds, religious and non-religious, did appear, including Isabella Whitney's collection of secular poetry *A Sweet Nosegay* (1573) and Anne Dowriche's translated poetic narrative of the French wars of religion, *The French Historie* (1589). Although we cannot sharply separate public and private spheres in the period, it is likely that female religious poetry was often associated with a more private devotional purpose. It is notable that a number of volumes of female devotional verse that did find their way into print in the sixteenth century possess qualities of political intervention, such as the lyrics of Anne Lock, which are included in publications serving a reformist agenda.

Substantially more female religious poetry appeared in print in the seventeenth century, with Elizabeth Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603), Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), An Collins's *Divine Songs and Meditations* (1653), and a portion of Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder* (1679) as notable examples, although across the period far more female religious poetry was retained in manuscript.[7] The forms and modes of transmission of manuscript female religious poetry varied considerably, from single female-authored religious poems appearing within family papers and miscellanies to more extensive and organized projects. Sometimes a single female-authored religious poem in manuscript might be linked to an occasion calling for religious reflection, such as the death of a child, a point in the liturgical calendar such as Good Friday, or, in Elizabeth Cromwell's case, the beginning of a new year.

Anna Cromwell Williams included in her poetic miscellany a poem by her aunt Elizabeth (fl. 1636–1640), which honored the tradition of New Year's gifts with a poem written for Elizabeth's sister entitled "The Sisters newyears gift from Elizabeth to Mary a happie mother of good children." As the title suggests, the poem celebrates motherhood within a religious framework. The sisters' names inevitably invoke the Virgin Mary and her cousin Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, and the maternal piety of Cromwell's sister Mary is celebrated throughout the poems in terms that recall the Virgin:

> (O) gratious, meeke blest mary, a mother milde I may thee call
> religious, charitable, humble, a dove that hath no gall
> (Cromwell 1656, 20)

As Elizabeth Cromwell was Protestant, this poem demonstrates quite strikingly the continuing importance of the figure of the Virgin Mary in female spirituality, despite the Protestant marginalization of the Virgin. The investment in maternal authority is common in religious writing by women in the period, as women drew on their position as religious educators of children, and nurturers of their children's spirituality, in order to authorize their religious writing. Kathryn Moncrief and Kathryn McPherson have pointed out that "the mid-sixteenth through the seventeenth century manifested intensive social, cultural, and religious concern about maternity and the maternal subject and, as a result, yielded a dense field of texts that participate in 'the construction of maternity'" (Moncrief and McPherson 2007, 3). The inclusion of the poem in Anna Cromwell Williams's miscellany also demonstrates the value of female kinship networks in the authorship and exchange of religious poetry.

In the seventeenth century in particular, more elaborately constructed manuscripts of religious poetry written or compiled by women could serve distinct religio-political agendas. A manuscript of religious poetry attributed by Jill Seal Millman to Mary Roper, dated 1669–1670, contains a verse paraphrase of the Genesis narrative in heroic couplets, running to over 770 lines (Millman 2005, 153–155). The structure and materiality of the manuscript displays its strong Royalist agenda very clearly. The biblical narrative is twice interrupted to connect the struggles of Joseph and the Israelites with those of Charles I and his Royalist supporters, including poems on the Civil Wars, Protectorate, and Restoration. In a bold use of typological hermeneutics, a poem entitled "Our Kings Sorrows Suffrings" establishes typological connections between Christ, Charles I, Joseph, and Charles II, and between Joseph's murderous brothers, Christ's persecutors, and the Republicans of the English Civil War. The verse shifts fluidly between these various typologically connected identities:

> Joseph's Religeon Did Keepe him from Sin
> …
> Our Sacred King Religeon Nourished
> And for Her Sake they Did Cutt off his Head
> …
> And now Our Joseph's Come Againe to Save
> Those Men Alive that Dig'd for Him a Grave
> (Roper 1669–1670, 187, 189)

Typological biblical interpretation was one conventional mode of reading the scriptures. By the seventeenth century, Protestant Reformation and post-Reformation writers had, broadly speaking, modified early patristic and medieval typological modes in order to link "the history and drama of Christ's life (as foreshadowed and then fulfilled in the two Testaments) with the salvation drama of each believer and with the whole span of sacred history" (Dickson 1987, 254). Roper's use of typology is especially political, and less concerned with her own "salvation drama" than with her grief at the King's death. In this manuscript the typological mode of interpretation enacted through the poetry is also augmented materially with engravings pasted in from the illustrated Bible published by

Henry Hills in 1660, together with William Marshall's engraving of Charles I in prayer for the *Eikon Basilike*, and two unidentified engravings of Charles II. The decorative quality of the manuscript is further enhanced by an expensive red morocco binding with gilt tooling. The manuscript bears a dedication to Catherine of Braganza, for whom it appears to have been intended. The whole object is an elaborate production that reveals the extent to which women could invest in the materiality of their literary endeavors. It also demonstrates ways in which women, who had become experienced readers of the scriptures, could apply hermeneutic strategies in their religious poetry in order to convey political messages and consolidate their sociopolitical networks.

Female religious poetry was highly various in its forms, modes of circulation, and purpose: it could be private, meditative, and infused with affective piety; it could invoke female religious community, demonstrate interpretative biblical readings, and at times pursue distinctive social and religio-political agendas. Many of these religious writing practices closely connect with the everyday devotional practices in which we see early modern women participate. The growth and variety we witness in female religious poetry, from the sixteenth through to the seventeenth century, can be vitally connected to the availability of the printed Bible in English, and the subsequent devotional reading cultures in which women became involved.

Notes

1 Elizabeth Melville, *Meditation on Psalm 42*, lines 73–84, New College Library, Edinburgh Bruce MS, Poem XVII.

2 Surviving meditation books written by women in manuscript include Elizabeth Egerton, *Meditations on the Bible*, Huntington Library MS EL8374, and *Prayers, meditations and devotional pieces*, British Library MS Egerton 607; Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, *Occasional Meditations*, British Library Additional MS 27356; Anne Sadleir, Papers, Trinity Cam., MS R.13.74; Ursula Wyvill, Devotional Miscellany, Bein. Library MS b.222. Biographical sources describing female religious meditative practices include Lady Grace Mildmay's spiritual autobiography: Northamptonshire Studies Collection, Autobiographical and Spiritual Reflections of Lady Grace Mildmay; the diary of Lady Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, BL, Add. MS 27552; Ewbancke (1660, 124).

3 BL, Add. MS 27352, fol. 3.

4 For a bibliography of criticism of Sidney Herbert's writing, see Margaret Hannay, "Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke." In *Oxford Bibliographies Online: British and Irish Literature*: http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199846719/obo-9780199846719-0053.xml. Accessed June 28, 2017.

5 The dedicatees are Queen Anne; Elizabeth of Bohemia; Arabella Stuart; Susan Bertie, dowager Countess of Kent; Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke; Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford; Margaret Clifford, dowager Countess of Cumberland; Katherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk; and Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset.

6 For more on Lock's activities in relation to Knox, see Collinson (1983, 282).

7 Although five cantos of Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder* were printed in 1679, they appeared anonymously, and another 17 cantos remained in manuscript due to their political sensitivity.

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33
The Psalms

Hannibal Hamlin

A Psalm, simply defined, is one of the collection of 150 texts in the biblical book known as Psalms.[1] "Psalm" comes from the Greek *psalmos* (via late Latin, which took the word from the Greek Septuagint translation of the Hebrew scriptures), which means a song sung to a harp or plucked-string instrument (*OED*). The Hebrew title for the book of Psalms is *Tehillim*, from *tehillah* or "praise," though in Hebrew Psalms are also referred to by the word *mizmor* or "song," as in the familiar headnote, "A Psalm [*mizmor*] of David." None of these names is particularly descriptive, and in fact the Psalms vary considerably in length, subject matter, tone, and perhaps (though the context for their original singing can only be guessed at) purpose. For instance, Psalm 117 consists of two verses, Psalm 119 of 176. Some Psalms recount pivotal moments in the history of Israel, some offer up praises to God, some penitential Psalms pray for forgiveness for sin, some call down curses on enemies, some ponder traditional wisdom. Such diversity led many readers to grant the Psalms an encyclopedic scope, capturing in miniature the universality of the Bible as a whole.

The Psalms are also poems. Describing in what sense they are poems, however, is difficult, and this difficulty was all the greater in the Renaissance. Though modern Hebrew scholars do not entirely agree on the matter of poetry in the Hebrew Bible, the majority argue that the Bible does contain poems, pre-eminently the Psalms, but that this poetry works according to different formal principles than the majority of poems in the Western European tradition (Dobbs-Allsopp 2014). One of the principal features of Psalms (and other biblical poems) is parallelism, described by the eighteenth-century scholar Robert Lowth as "a certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism between the members of each period; so that in two lines (or members of the same period), things for the most part shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each by a kind of rule or measure" (quoted in Dobbs-Allsopp 2014, 87). Lowth's description has been considerably refined in

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the centuries since his 1787 *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (published first in Latin in 1753). Yet before Lowth, biblical poetry was understood by Christian scholars not at all, and this is a crucial factor in the history of Psalm translation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Well-educated English men and women knew that St. Jerome, translator of the Vulgate, had praised the poetry of the Psalms above even that of classical Greek and Roman verse. "What can be more musical than the Psalter?" he asks. "Like the writings of our own Flaccus and the Grecian Pindar it now trips along in iambics, now flows in sonorous alcaics, now swells into sapphics, now marches in half-foot metre." Jerome's description of the Psalms in terms of classical prosody, itself based on earlier comments by Philo and Josephus, was transmitted throughout the English Renaissance (for those who were ignorant of the Church Fathers) in treatises on poetry by Philip Sidney, George Puttenham, and others (see Baroway 1933; Hamlin 2004, 85–88). Everyone agreed that the Psalms were poems, that they were at least as great, perhaps even greater, than the poems of ancient Greece and Rome, and that they shared with these classical poems the same formal elements that Renaissance poets also valued and practiced. The problem was that these elements were impossible to locate in the Psalms themselves. Miles Coverdale, who was responsible for the Psalms translation in the Coverdale (1535) and Great (1539) Bibles, the latter (Coverdale's revision of his earlier translation) later incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer, knew no Hebrew and relied on intermediary translations in Latin and German. But there was nevertheless no perceptible formal distinction between his translations and those of the later Geneva (1560), Bishops (1568), and King James (1611) Bibles, whose translators included expert Hebraists. They looked like prose. Where were the iambics, alcaics, and sapphics so lauded by Jerome? This peculiar combination of circumstances—the inherited conviction of the Psalms' classical formal excellence and the utter inability to discover this in the Psalms themselves—led to the development of metrical Psalms as one of the dominant strains of English Renaissance poetry.

English poets felt that the Psalms were great poetry, but they could not see how this was so in the Hebrew (those few who could read it), or in the Latin, or in the translations of the English Bibles. Their response was to recast the Psalms into English verse following the formal principles they recognized as essential to the mode. Some of these versified or metrical Psalms were aesthetically relatively unsophisticated, using rhyming short-lines, especially common meter, designed to suit congregational singing. Other metrical Psalms, however, were as formally sophisticated as any non-biblical Renaissance poetry, designed not for congregational singing but for individual appreciation, whether as devotional meditations or literary works of art.

The congregational Psalms were the first to appear in the sixteenth century, imitating similar Psalms for singing created by Martin Luther and other continental Reformers.[2] The goal for these translators was not to produce fine poetry but texts that were singable, as (it was understood) the originals had been. Coverdale, erstwhile assistant to the pioneering Bible translator William Tyndale, produced the first Reformation English metrical Psalms in his 1535 *Goostly psalms and spirituall songes drawen out of the holy Scripture*, a collection that also included translations of some of Luther's hymns. Coverdale was a masterful prose writer, but his metrical Psalms were awkward. The small book was printed only once and

effectively suppressed; it had little influence. The next decade experienced an explosion of English singing Psalms, however, initiated, it seems, by Thomas Sternhold, a Groom of the Robes to both Henry VIII and Edward VI who composed a number of Psalms in meter for the entertainment of King Edward.[3] Sternhold apparently enjoyed singing them himself as well as hearing them sung. Sternhold's *Certayne psalmes chose{n} out of the Psalter of David, and drawe{n} into Englishe metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of ye kynges Majesties roobes* was likely published in 1547 and was followed in 1549 by *Al such psalmes of David as Thomas Sternehold late grome of {the} kinges Majesties Robes, didde in his life time draw into English Metre*. The expanded volume was the work of John Hopkins, who added more Psalms by Sternhold (who had died earlier that year) as well as some more of his own. Later editions added still more Psalms by other authors until the complete *Whole Book of Psalms* was published in 1562. Nicknamed "Sternhold and Hopkins" after its two first contributors, the *Whole Book* was one of the publishing phenomena of the English Renaissance, appearing in at least 700 editions between 1562 and 1696, when Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady's *New Version of the Psalms* was published, which would gradually replace it (see Quitslund 1991; Green 2000, ch. 9). This means over a million copies were likely in circulation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a country with a total population that even by 1660 was only about five and a half times that (Herman 2011, 3).

The Sternhold and Hopkins Psalms came to be denigrated as popular doggerel by John Donne, George Wither, and other such sophisticated poets. Similarly, modern readers have little appetite for their relentless common meter (though a few other meters are represented). Psalm 1, the first in *Certayne psalmes*, is characteristic:

> The man is blest that hath not gone
> By wicked rede astray,
> Ne sat in chair of pestilence,
> Nor walked in sinner's way.
> But in the law of God the Lord,
> Doth set his whole delight,
> And in that law doth exercise,
> Himself both day and night.
> (Sternhold 1547? A4)

When Shakespeare's Peter Quince in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595–1596?) suggests a prologue to "Pyramus and Thisbe" in "eight and six" (alternating lines of eight and six syllables, as in Sternhold's Psalm 1), the line is intended to get a laugh at the poetic tastes of the uncultured mechanicals. In their own time, however, Sternhold and Hopkins were also loved and even admired (by John Bale, for instance), and they certainly dominated English worship and popular devotion for well over a century. Sternhold, notably, was writing not for popular worship but for the entertainment of King Edward and his court. Furthermore, even if many tried to supplant Sternhold and Hopkins over the next decades with new metrical psalters, most of these (including Wither's) retained the same meters. Beth Quitslund has demonstrated, moreover, that many of the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalms are more sophisticated, at least theologically and politically, than has been

recognized (Quitslund 1991). What became known as common meter (quatrains of alternating tetrameters and trimeters, rhymed *abab*) seems to have appealed originally to sophisticated, well-read courtiers as well as country parishioners, at least as lyrics set to music. It may even be that this poetic meter originated with metrical Psalms, or at least owed its popularity to Psalms, rather than ballads, as is often assumed. As I have noted elsewhere, few ballads are recorded before the sixteenth century, and in the sixteenth century the meter was known to some as "Sternhold's meter" (Hamlin 2004, 24).[4]

Other poets who published Psalms in Sternhold's meter or ones similar to it (rhyming *abcb*, for instance, or all in tetrameters) include William Hunnis (1550 and 1583), John Hall (1550 and 1565), Matthew Parker (1567, though he includes additional meters), Henry Lock (1597, though printed in long fourteener lines), and all the many seventeenth-century metrical psalters by Henry Dod (1603), King James I (and William Alexander, 1601), Wither (1632), Henry Ainsworth (1632), Francis Rous (1638), William Barton (1644), Zachary Boyd (1646), Henry King (1651), John White (1655), Miles Smith (1668), Richard Goodridge (1684), Simon Ford (1688), Richard Baxter (1692), Tate and Brady (1696), and Luke Milbourne (1698). The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland followed suit with the official Scottish *Psalmes of David* of 1650; the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), the first book printed in British North America, imported the traditional meters to New England. Even John Milton joined in the ongoing effort to produce a replacement for Sternhold and Hopkins using the same meter; his 1648 versions of Psalms 80–88 were included in his 1673 *Poems*. The one Psalm translation (23) in George Herbert's *The Temple* (1633) is also in Common Meter:

> The God of love my shepherd is,
> And he that doth me feed:
> While he is mine, and I am his,
> What can I want or need?
> (Herbert 2007, 594)

In addition to the thousands of different common meter Psalms circulating in print, countless others were recorded in manuscript by poets both accomplished and barely competent (among the most notable, William Forrest, chaplain to Queen Mary and author of the poem *The History of Grisild the Second*; John Stubbs, author of the scandalous critique of Queen Elizabeth's French match, *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulfe*; and Amy Blunt, sister to Mervyn Touchet, second Earl of Castlehaven).[5] The flood of these metrical psalters washed on into the eighteenth century, with those of John Patrick (1715) and Richard Blackmore (1721), among others. But the traditional singing meters were also adopted by eighteenth-century poets of the new English hymn (a development from metrical Psalms) like Isaac Watts and John and Charles Wesley. When Emily Dickinson and A. E. Housman later wrote secular poems in these meters, they depended upon forms established by sixteenth-century metrical Psalms.

Returning to the sixteenth century, the great Psalm year of 1549 also marked the publication, in addition to Sternhold and Hopkins's *Al such psalmes*, of Robert Crowley's *The Psalter of David* and Sir Thomas Wyatt's *Certayne psalmes*. Crowley is a significant figure

in English literary history for his work as a printer, or really a broker of others' work, responsible for the first printed text of William Langland's *Piers Plowman* (1550) as well as a now-lost translation of "certaine psalmes of godly meditation in number 21. with 102 proverbs" by Lady Elizabeth Fane (see King 1978). But he was also a poet in his own right. Crowley's is the first complete singing psalter in English, provided with a single simple four-part musical setting, and based on the Latin Bible translated from the Hebrew by the Swiss Reformer Leo Jud. Not surprisingly, given that only a single tune was provided, all Crowley's Psalms are written in one meter, a rough 8 and 6 printed in long fourteener couplets, as evident in the opening of Psalm 21:

> Lorde in thy myght and powre the kynge shall be glad and merie.
> And in thy saueyng health he shall reioyce excedyngly.
> Thou haste geuen hym his hertes desyre, wythout any delay:
> And of the thynges he hath asked thou hast not sayde hym naye.
> (Crowley 1549, E3v)

The formal model is obviously Sternhold's, but Crowley was quick to capitalize on it, and his psalter must have been intended to provide Psalms for singing in public worship and private devotion in the way that Sternhold and Hopkins eventually did.

Wyatt's *Penitential Psalms* is an entirely different project, though it was first printed disguised as yet another response to Sternhold, signaled by the copying of Sternhold's own title, *Certayne psalms chosen out of the psalter of David*. This was simply a publishing gambit of John Harington's, however, who came into possession of Wyatt's Psalms along with a number of other metrical translations. Metrical Psalms including Wyatt's, the Earl of Surrey's, and one each by John and Robert Dudley are included in the Arundel-Harington manuscript, a collection begun by the senior Harington and passed on to his son, Sir John, translator of Ariosto and himself a writer of metrical Psalms. This group of Psalm translations takes an entirely different approach from either Sternhold or Crowley, or the early prose translations of Coverdale and George Joye (whose 1530 *Psalter of David* and 1534 *Davids Psalter*, based on Latin translations by Martin Bucer and Huldrych Zwingli respectively, were the first prose psalters in English). Instead, Wyatt and Surrey saw the translation of the Psalms into English verse as a literary project, whatever other religious or devotional motives they may also have had. Both poets were committed to the development of an English Renaissance poetry that could match the achievements of the poets of France and Italy (to whom the cultural Renaissance came earlier), and of the ancient world. This was a project of translation in multiple senses: translating (transporting) to England the cultures of the ancient world and those of the continental Renaissance by means of translating ("Englishing") their greatest literary achievements (see Sessions 1999, ch. 5; Brigden 2012, ch. 15). Wyatt and Surrey not only translated Psalms (and Surrey Ecclesiastes), but Surrey translated two books of Virgil's *Aeneid* and one of Horace's *Odes*, and Wyatt the epistolary satires of Horace and Luigi Alamanni, as well as excerpts from Seneca's *Thyestes* and *Phaedra* (and *Quyet of Mynde*, a prose translation of Plutarch). Both poets, most famously, translated poems from the immensely influential *Rime sparse* of Petrarch. The translation of both biblical and secular literature was part of the same cultural enterprise.

Wyatt's principal source for his Penitential Psalms was the Italian prose version of Pietro Aretino (1534), which provided the unusual structure, placing the seven Psalms within a narrative frame about David's penitence in a second, anonymous, voice. Wyatt's verse form, *terza rima*, derives from another Italian translation of the Penitential Psalms by Alamanni. Wyatt's Psalms used to be dismissed by critics as unworthy of his more accomplished secular poems, but the critical bibliography on them has grown considerably in recent decades, as scholars have recognized their remarkable achievement, amounting in fact to perhaps Wyatt's magnum opus (see Greenblatt 1980; Zim 1987; Cummings 2002; Walker 2005; King'oo 2012; Stamatakis 2012; Trudell 2013). These are not Psalms for singing or public worship, or even for private devotion. As Roland Greene has argued, Wyatt eschews the ritual mode of Sternhold *et al.*, in which readers and singers, individually or collectively, can appropriate the Psalms to their own condition, blending their own voices with, or even substituting them for the original Psalmist's (whether conceived as David or someone else). Wyatt's poem—and given the narrative frame it really is one long poem rather than a collection of Psalms—is written in what Greene calls the fictive mode, which keeps the reader at a distance and resists assimilation (Greene 1990). The opening stanza emphasizes the putative original context of these Psalms in David's repentance for his adultery with Bathsheba (Barsabe) and the murder of her husband, Uriah:

> Love, to give law unto his subject hearts
> Stood in the eyes of Barsabe the bright,
> And in a look anon himself converts
> Cruelly pleasant, before King David sight;
> First dazed his eyes, and further forth he starts
> With venomed breath, as softly as he might
> Touched his senses, and overruns his bones
> With creeping fire sparpled for the nonce.
> (Wyatt 1978, 195, lines 1–8)

These lines also add "fictive" elements borrowed from secular poetry, including the personified "Love," who inhabits Bathsheba's body in the same way he does in Wyatt's Petrarchan adaptation, "The long love that in my thought doth harbor." In that poem, Love keeps "his residence" in the poet's heart, but then into his face "presseth with bold pretence" (Wyatt 1978, 76). In Wyatt's version of Psalm 143, David laments, "because within myself at strife / My heart and sprite with all my force were fled," an allegorical flight much like that in "The long love," where Love flies from the beloved's displeasure "into the heart's forrest." Wyatt's poem is a complex psychological allegory representing the penitential quest of the "pilgrim" David, beset about by enemies (mostly his own sinful desires) and even tempted, Odysseus-like, by "mermaids" (Wyatt 1978, 199, line 165).

In "The great Macedon that out of Perse chasyd," Surrey praised Wyatt's Penitential Psalms not as devotional verse but as epic. He notes that Alexander, according to Plutarch, carried his manuscript of "Homers rymes" in a "rich arke," and then asks, "What holly grave, what wourthy sepulture / To Wyates Psalmes shulde Christians then purchase?" (Surrey 1964, 29). Surrey's own Psalms are similarly in the fictive mode. Written in the Tower, as he awaited execution for treason, these Psalms are powerfully

personal expressions of Surrey's own bitterness at being betrayed and imprisoned, as exemplified pre-eminently by Psalm 55:

> Give eare to my suit, Lord, fromward hide not thy face.
> Beholde, herking in grief, lamenting how I praye.
> My fooes they bray so lowde, and eke threpe on so fast,
> Buckeled to do me scathe, so is their malice bent.
> Care perceth my entrayles and traveyleth my sprite;
> The greslye feare of death envyroneth my brest;
> A tremblynge cold of dred clene overwhelmeth my hert.
> (Surrey 1964, 101)

A poem of 48 lines is not an epic, but it does use an epic meter; this is the first use of blank verse hexameters in English (Sessions 1996). Surrey also wrote metrical versions of Psalms 8, 73, and 88 in poulter's measure—couplets of alternating lines of 12 and 14 syllables—that seems to have been invented by Wyatt; this too was tried out as an epic meter in the sixteenth century, as in Thomas Phaer's *Aeneid* and George Chapman's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Writing metrical Psalms in the mode of personal complaint became a regular pastime in the Tower in the mid-sixteenth century. Sir Thomas Smith, a humanist scholar and political theorist, and Secretary of State during the Duke of Somerset's Protectorate, was imprisoned after Somerset's fall in 1549. While in the Tower, Smith wrote metrical versions of several Psalms, including 55, the same one turned to by Surrey in his last hours. Another version of Psalm 55 was written in the Tower by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who was imprisoned with other members of his family in 1554 after the abortive attempt to make Lady Jane Grey queen. John's brother Robert, later Earl of Leicester and Queen Elizabeth's favorite courtier, wrote a metrical version of Psalm 94, like Psalm 55 a call for vengeance:

> O mighty Lord to whom all vengeance doth belong
> And just revenge for their deserts which do oppress by wrong
> Thy prayed-for presence show, thou judge and righteous guide
> And pay them with a due reward that swell in hateful pride.
> (Arundel-Harington 1960, 1: 340)

Neither the Dudleys nor (especially) Smith were accomplished poets, nevertheless their Psalms clearly follow the pattern established by Surrey, expressing personal complaints in a self-consciously literary mode. Both the Dudley Psalms are, like most of Surrey's, in poulter's measure; Smith's use a variety of meters, including fourteeners, both in rhyming couplets and (though essentially the same rhythm) broken up into two or three manuscript lines, as well as hexameter couplets.

The tradition of writing literary, or what Greene terms fictive, metrical Psalms continued into the Elizabeth period with translations by Anne Vaughan Lock, George Gascoigne, and Richard Stanihurst. The most accomplished metrical version of the Psalms in the English Renaissance was by Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke. Sidney completed the first 43 Psalms before his death in 1586; Pembroke completed the psalter and revised some of her brother's Psalms as well. It was not published

until the nineteenth century, but it circulated widely in manuscript, and was well known to poets including John Donne, George Herbert, and John Milton. Donne praised the Sidney Psalms as "songs,"

> which heaven's high holy muse
> Whispered to David, David to the Jews:
> And David's successors, in holy zeal,
> In forms of joy and art do re-reveal
> To us so sweetly and sincerely too …
> (quoted in Sidney 2009, 3–4)

By "David's successors," Donne means pre-eminently Philip and Mary Sidney. After the seventeenth century, the Sidney Psalter fell into neglect, and even after it was available in print it was considered a curiosity, marginal to the mainstream of English Renaissance poetry. The critical consensus has, happily, changed, and the Sidney Psalms have begun to be recognized as a remarkable literary achievement. These Psalms are beautiful and powerful in their own right, but they also shaped not only the course of later metrical Psalms but the development of English religious poetry from Donne and Herbert to Henry Vaughan. Philip Sidney began translating the Psalms in the 1580s, perhaps in consultation with his sister, at whose Wilton House he also wrote the *Arcadia*. Sidney's Psalms have been called a "literary act of devotion" but a devotional act of literature might be equally accurate (Zim 1987, 153). There is no reason to deny Sidney some religious motivation in this project, but his Psalms are most striking in their bravura display of formal ingenuity, each Psalm cast in a different form, running through every conceivable meter and stanza form, employing all the tools of the rhetorician's handbook (Smith 1946).

Happily, an expanding body of criticism is now available on the achievement and influence of the Sidney Psalms (see Prescott 1989; Rienstra 1999; Hannay 2001; Hamlin 2004, 2005; Coles 2008; Larson 2011). The literariness of these translations is most obvious in their exploration of most of the formal possibilities available to late sixteenth-century poets: sonnets, terza and ottava rima, rhyme royal, feminine rhymes and tail rhymes, iambics and trochaics, quantitative sapphics, elegiacs, and hexameters, acrostics, and stanzas of an exhausting variety, not to mention all the rhetorical devices from alliteration and anaphora to chiasmus, polyptoton, and zeugma. Many of these formal features, as I have argued elsewhere, are not arbitrary ornaments but significant supplements to the sense of the particular Psalms in which they appear.

The Sidney Psalms are the most sophisticated of the English metrical translations, but they influenced many other Psalm poets, including Abraham Fraunce (patronized by the Countess of Pembroke), Sir John Harington, Donne (his Psalm 137 was included in the posthumous second edition of his *Poems*), Phineas Fletcher, Francis Davison, Thomas Carew, and many others. I have argued elsewhere that even Milton's translations of Psalms 1–8 show he knew and was imitating the Sidney Psalms (see Hamlin 2005). Some poets have clear ties to the Sidneys and a few have commented on the Sidney Psalms; others write Psalms so definitively in the Sidneian mode that it suggests they also read one of the many manuscripts in circulation. It would be interesting to know if manuscripts of the Sidney Psalms reached Scotland, since formally sophisticated Psalms by the poets Alexander Montgomery and David Murray were published early in the seventeenth century, with

Montgomery (who died in 1598) playing with long and short lines in the manner of many Sidney Psalms. Murray's *A Paraphrase of the CIV. Psalme* (1615) also uses the same six-line stanza as Philip Sidney's Psalm 35, with iambic pentameter lines rhyming *ababcc* (the so-called Venus and Adonis stanza).

The Sidney Psalms influenced not only artful Psalm translations but the seventeenth-century development of the religious lyric. Herbert, as scholars have noted, was deeply influenced by the Sidney Psalms, in their individualistic formal crafting but also in the idea of creating a devotional lyric collection as a whole (see Freer 1972; Bloch 1985). Herbert's model shaped the poems of Richard Crashaw and Henry Vaughan, both of whom also wrote Sidneian-style metrical Psalms as well. Further poets wrote devotional lyrics in the complex stanzas of Herbert (ultimately the Sidneys) that meditated on or adapted Psalms: Francis Quarles, for instance, or Thomas Washbourne, William Habington, and An Collins. Crashaw's "*Charitas Nimia*" is also in this mode, based, as Walter R. Davis notes, on the same Psalm text (144:3–4) as Herbert's "Obedience" (Davis 1983, 107–108):

> Lord, what is man, that thou hast such respect unto him: or the son of man, that thou so regardest him? (Book of Common Prayer 2011, Psalm 144:3)

> Lord, what is man to thee,
> That thou shouldst minde a rotten tree?
> (Herbert 2007, 375, lines 21–22)

> Lord, what is man? why should he coste thee
> So dear? what had his ruin lost thee?
> (Crashaw 1957, 280, lines 1–2)

Somewhat similar to these Psalm meditations are what have been called Psalm collages, in which select verses of various Psalms are woven together to create a new Psalm poem. The term was coined by Susan Felch in her edition of Elizabeth Tyrwhit, but the practice may have originated much earlier (Tyrwhit 2008, 45–46). Tyrwhit's Psalm collages are in prose, but other writers composed similar pastiches in verse. For example, there are several stanzas of Psalm collage in Aemila Lanyer's *Salve deus rex iudaeorum* (Rogers 2002, 15), and Henry Burton describes being met in London in 1640 by a group of singers led by Mr. Rayner, Minister of Egham, singing "Psalms" "which he had most fitly and sweetly composed of many parts of parcels of Psalms" (quoted in Ryrie 2013, 304). An even freer treatment of the Psalm than the collage is the original "Psalm" composition in biblical style, as in Petrarch's *Penitential Psalms*, which despite the title are not the familiar biblical seven but instead original compositions in a psalmic style (see Matter 2009). These were translated from Latin into English by George Chapman in 1612:

> Yet, Lord, unquiet sinne is stirring,
> My long nights, longer grow, like evening shades:
> In which woe lost, is all wayes erring:
> And varied terror every step invades.

Wayes made in teares, shut as they ope,
My lodestarre I can no way see:
Lame is my faith, blind love and hope,
And, Lord, tis passing ill with me.
(Chapman 1612, 16)

Chapman uses a different verse form for each "Psalm," though Petrarch's Latin originals are in a parallelistic prose.

In the later seventeenth century, metrical Psalms became hotly contested ground between Puritan Parliamentarians and Anglican Royalists during the Civil War and Interregnum. Milton's Psalms 80–88 may have been his contribution to the effort by the Commonwealth to produce a new metrical psalter for godly worship and devotion to replace Sternhold and Hopkins (see Boddy 1966). As Paula Loscocco has shown, however, Royalist poets produced their own metrical Psalms, perhaps in an effort to contest the by-then familiar association of metrical Psalms with Puritans (Loscocco 2011). Some of these psalters—by Bishop Henry King, for instance, or Sir John Denham—looked similar to those they were aiming to replace. A different kind of challenge to Puritan Psalm singing was produced by George Sandys, however. Sandys's metrical psalter, dedicated to Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, was published in 1636, with a dedicatory poem by Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, and Dudley Digges (later editions included more by Henry King, Thomas Carew, and several others). The Sidney Psalms may have provided Sandys with a model for how an English psalter need not abandon sophisticated verse forms and techniques, but in any case he produced a translation that was similarly accomplished and widely praised, using many different meters and stanza forms. Unlike the Sidney Psalms, however, Sandys's were designed to be sung, provided in the second (1638) edition with 24 new tunes by Henry Lawes, "one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Chapell-Royall" (Sandys 1638, title page). These were not the familiar Genevan tunes of Sternhold and Hopkins, however, but melodies in the prevailing style at the Caroline court, provided also with bass lines so they could be performed by voice and instruments in Anglican domestic devotions (Parry 2006, 165–166). A selection of Sandys's Psalms was reprinted in 1648, with musical settings in three parts, though with only the names of Lawes and his brother William on the title page. This volume, with a new dedication to Charles I from Henry Lawes, was (despite the inclusion of a dedicatory poem by John Milton) a pronouncedly Royalist publication. Lawes's dedication, like the *Eikon basilike* published a few months later, after Charles's execution, emphasized the parallels between King Charles and King David. William Lawes had died fighting in the King's army in 1645 (Loscocco 2011). Later Royalist Psalms include a paraphrase of Psalm 148 by Dillon Wentworth, Earl of Roscommon, Abraham Cowley's Psalm 114 (from his unfinished epic, *Davideis*), and Sir John Oldham's grisly Psalm 137. Inspired by Cowley as well as the Sidneys, Samuel Woodford translated all the Psalms into the form of the English Ode in 1667 (second edition 1678).

This discussion of Psalms is included in this Companion under the section on Religious Poetry, which is fair enough; it must go somewhere. It is worth noting, however, that the Psalms should really be included in many of the other sections of this Companion: Lyric certainly, since Psalms shaped the mode as much as did Petrarchan poems, but also Popular

Poetry (Sternhold and Hopkins), Complaint (a common Psalmic mode, as evidenced by the Tudor Tower Psalms), Pastoral (versions of Psalm 23), Political (William Patten's 1583 and 1598 Psalm paraphrases celebrating Elizabeth, or the Psalm paraphrases presented to James I by Edmond Scory),[6] and even epic, given the ambitions of Wyatt's *Penitential Psalms*. There were few kinds of Renaissance poetry not affected by the Psalms, many very deeply, and metrical versions of the Psalms themselves were among the poems most widely written, read, and sung in all English-speaking nations during the period.

Notes

1 In the Orthodox tradition, 151 texts. Catholics and Protestants agree on 150 Psalms, though they number them differently. Psalms 9 and 10 and 114 and 115 (according to the Protestant numbering) are joined together in the Latin Psalms of the Vulgate Bible and translations deriving from it, and Psalms 116 and 147 are each divided into two. This means that for Psalms 10–148, Protestant and Catholic numbering differ by one. Numbers in this essay follow the Protestant system, which has in fact been adopted by some recent Catholic Bibles.

2 This is not to say, however, that there were not metrical Psalms before the Reformation. Anglo-Saxon metrical psalms survive in the Paris Psalter, and metrical adaptations of the Penitential Psalms were written by Richard Maidstone and Thomas Brampton (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively). See Kuczynski (1995) and King'oo (2012).

3 Depending on when he composed his first metrical Psalms, Sternhold may have been anticipated by Anne Askewe, who, according to John Bale, composed a metrical version of Psalm 54 in 1545 when she was imprisoned for heresy (the first of two imprisonments). Her Psalm is not in Sternhold's meter (8 and 6), but it is in a common variant, the 8 and 8 later known as long meter. Given that Askewe may have composed her Psalm in prison, she might also be viewed as a precursor of the later Protestant Tower Psalmists like Surrey and the Dudleys. See Askewe (1546).

4 William Samuel, for one, in Samuel (1569). See also Leaver (1991, 119). "Ballad meter" was not a Renaissance term.

5 British Library Royal MS 17 A. XXI and Harley MS 3230; Folger Shakespeare Library Ms. V.b.198.

6 British Library, Royal MS 17.D.X.

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34
Donne and Herbert

Helen Wilcox

Poetry and Religion

"My *God*, my *God*, Thou art a *direct* God, may I not say, a *literall* God … But thou art also … a *figurative*, a *metaphoricall* God too" (Donne 1975, 99). These words from John Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624) may begin to suggest why it was assumed in the English Renaissance that poetry and religion should go hand in hand. Poetry is the most intensely considered and crafted form of language use, and thrives on the interplay of literal and metaphorical meanings. Like poetry, divine discourse (as Donne perceives it) is also rhetorically charged, bringing together words and ideas that are both plain and figurative, practical and visionary, healing and inspiring. The implication of this is that a poetic frame of mind comes as close as possible to allowing human understanding of God's word and response to his call. Poetry—which the Renaissance poet and knight Sir Philip Sidney describes as "words set in delightful proportion"—is claimed for the English language in this period as means by which to "teach and delight" in the theoretical tradition begun by Horace, and to do so especially in matters of religion (Sidney 1973, 113, 101). Virtue and faith are energized by the rhetoric of poetry, in Sidney's view, and lyric verse in particular enables the human voice to be raised "to the height of the heavens, in singing the lauds of the immortal God" (Sidney 1973, 118). As Sidney and Donne both point out, the Bible itself features some exquisite "divine" verse, including the Song of Songs and the Psalms, which set a precedent for the use of poetry to celebrate "that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith" (Sidney 1973, 99). In the early seventeenth century, George Herbert, the poetic successor of both Sidney and Donne, defines "a true Hymne" as that which is written or sung "when the soul unto the lines accords" (Herbert 2007, 576). In his lyric "The Quidditie," Herbert addresses

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God and concludes with a simple yet vivid definition of poetry: it is "that which while I use / I am with thee" (Herbert 2007, 254). Such companionship and poetic conversation with God was much needed in the English Renaissance, coinciding as it did with the period of the Reformation and its aftermath; it was a time of enormous upheaval in religious practice. As has been shown elsewhere in this volume, British religious history of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries consists of a series of seismic shifts in the national faith, resulting in persecution, exile, apostasy, and dissent, but also in debate, creativity, devotion, and spiritual literacy on an unprecedented scale. The poems of Donne and Herbert are a testament to, and a triumph of, this deeply unsettled period in English religious experience.

Donne and Herbert were both priests in the Church of England (which was little more than 50 years old when they discovered their vocations). The kind of ministry they exercised, however, could not have been more different: Donne rose to become Dean of St Paul's Cathedral in London and preached before the King, whereas Herbert ended his life as a "Country Parson" in the small village of Bemerton in Wiltshire, giving sermons to rural folk and ensuring that "every word" he preached was "hart-deep" (Herbert 1941, 225, 233). Their spiritual upbringing was also sharply contrasted. Donne was born into a distinguished Roman Catholic family and grew up conscious of persecution and martyrdom (Shami, Flynn, and Hester 2011). Herbert, on the other hand, was part of what he called the "British Church" (Herbert 2007, 390) from his birth in Wales and his education at Westminster School, though he was profoundly aware of the religious divisions in the country, not least because the Gunpowder Plot was foiled across the road from his school while he was a pupil there. However, the two poet-priests shared a deep knowledge of theology, which is particularly evident in Donne's sermons though also discreetly present in Herbert's poems. Both poets were skilled, too, in argument and the manipulation of language, partly as a result of the secular careers that preceded their ordination: Donne trained as a lawyer at Lincoln's Inn (Colclough 2003) and Herbert was lecturer in rhetoric and public orator of the University of Cambridge (Drury 2013). The poets were also steeped in the narratives and metaphors of the Bible, and familiar with the language of the Book of Common Prayer from their daily use of its liturgy. An awareness of this combination of influences—public preaching, a context of contested faith, theological debate, rhetorical fluency, biblical immersion, and vernacular prayer—may help us to understand the poetry of Donne and Herbert more fully.

Religious poetry takes a great variety of forms in the English Renaissance, ranging from biblical paraphrases and metrical translations of the Psalms, via sonnet sequences, satires, dialogues, meditations, emblems, verse epistles, didactic and occasional poems, to elegies, hymns, and related forms of lyric verse. Donne and Herbert both worked in several, though not all, of these genres. Donne's most overtly biblical poem, for example, is a verse paraphrase of the "Lamentations" of Jeremiah (evidently a text whose dramatic melancholy appealed to him), and he wrote fulsomely in praise of the Psalm versification begun by Philip Sidney and completed by Sidney's sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke (Donne 1985, 467–469). Herbert's metrical version of "The 23 Psalme," undoubtedly influenced by the Sidney Psalter, is merely the most complete of his many poetic responses to the Bible, which include poems such as "Ephes 4.30" and "Coloss. 3.3" with specified biblical texts as their starting points (Herbert 2007, 594, 473, 305). Donne and Herbert were both

drawn to the sonnet as a compact (and consequently, intense) form for the exploration of liturgical moments or spiritual states; unlike Donne, however, Herbert did not write any sequences of religious sonnets, showing a preference for isolated or paired sonnets. Donne spread his contemplation of religious issues into satires, verse epistles, hymns, and other occasional poems, while Herbert's poetic collection, *The Temple* (1633), is a concentration of more than 150 lyric poems in almost as many different stanza forms, exploiting to the full the potential of the lyric to give expressive shape to devotional experience. In addition to the Bible and the inherited traditions of lyric verse forms, the other shaping factor for both poets was the church itself. Each struggled with the precise nature of the true church: Donne begins his Holy Sonnet XVIII by pleading, "Show me deare Christ, thy Spouse" (Donne 1985, 446), and Herbert celebrates "The British Church" while apologizing in a separate poem "To all Angels and Saints" for their relative neglect since the Reformation (Herbert 2007, 390, 281). The church was vitally important to Herbert as an architectural device, symbolically framing his poems, and to both poets for its liturgy and the temporal patterns of its annual commemoration of the life of Christ. Herbert's lyric sequence begins with poems on the Passion and goes on to include, dotted among the rest of the lyrics, one poem for each of the church's main services and major festivals. Donne's sequence of seven interlocking holy sonnets, "La Corona," moves steadily through the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Ascension, taking a tradition of Catholic verse and rendering it acceptable to Anglican readers. His occasional poem, "The Annuntiation and Passion," makes enormous spiritual capital from the coincidence of Good Friday falling on March 25 in 1609, thus combining in one feast day the commemoration of the beginning and end of Christ's earthly life (Donne 1985, 452). For Donne's logical yet playful mind, such a paradox of life and death brought together was deeply fascinating and worthy of exploration in verse.

Donne and Herbert, then, were very much of their day in embedding their religious poetry in the prevailing poetic traditions and liturgical structures of their lifetime. They were equally true to their era in assuming that the primary function of poetry on religious matters is didactic. Herbert hopes that the readers of his poems will "make a gain," and the first stanza of the opening poem, "The Church-porch," echoes Sidney in expressing the belief that "A verse may finde him, who a sermon flies, / And turn delight into a sacrifice" (Herbert 2007, 45, 50). The majority of Donne's Holy Sonnets present a sustained contemplation of the Last Things, guiding the reader through the moods and temptations that might beset the soul in its "playes last scene" on "the worlds last night" (Donne 1985, 437, 442). But how far is it accurate to describe these poems of Donne and Herbert as "religious"? In his poem "The Litanie," Donne shows an awareness of the danger of seeming to be "religious / Only to vent wit" (Donne 1985, 464), and there is very little in the work of either poet that might be termed "religious" in the sense of open didacticism or wrangling with doctrinal issues. The reader who expects to be taught what to believe or seeks public statements of religious tenets in the poetry of Donne and Herbert will be disappointed. Their primary concern is the inner life of the soul in its impassioned, troubled, amazed, fearful, puzzled, and joyous relationship with God. For this reason, it is perhaps better to term their religious poetry "devotional," and in this light to explore the rhetorical methods and metaphysical intensity with which their poems probe the most profound spiritual matters.

God and the Soul

According to his early biographer, Izaak Walton, Herbert considered his poems to be "a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master" (Walton 1670, 74). This description of *The Temple* applies equally to Donne's devotional poetry, though the "Conflicts" enacted there typically take the form of anxious arguments while those in Herbert's lyrics are experienced more as ongoing conversations. Donne's first Holy Sonnet does not delay in setting up a characteristically direct and urgent debate with God:

> Thou hast made me, And shall thy worke decay?
> Repaire me now, for now mine end doth haste
> (Donne 1985, 434)

Herbert's approach is generally more conciliatory, though no less demanding, as in the opening of "Gratefulnesse":

> Thou that hast giv'n so much to me,
> Give one thing more, a gratefull heart.
> (Herbert 2007, 435)

Both writers begin their poems by reminding God, as it were, of what he has done and the benefits of continuing to give to the creation that has cost him so much already. Where Donne asserts, however, Herbert requests, though they share the same needs and are driven by the same desires: for the "repaire" of sin and the constant reassurance of God's listening, forgiving presence. Herbert's poems call repeatedly upon God, urging him to listen, act, or look in the speaker's direction: "Listen sweet Dove unto my song," "Teach me, my God and King," "Look on my sorrows round!" (Herbert 2007, 213, 640, 513). Donne also calls upon God—and forcefully, too—in the renowned opening of Holy Sonnet XIV: "Batter my heart, three person'd God" (Donne 1985, 443). On the whole, however, Donne's arrival at the intimacy of dialogue with God comes at the close of a poem rather than its beginning: phrases such as "O thinke mee worth thine anger," and "Teach me how to repent" are prayers achieved after the inner debate has subsided (Donne 1985, 456, 439). Donne's poems more often begin as an address by the speaker to his own soul: "Oh my blacke Soule!," "Marke in my heart, O Soule" (Donne 1985, 436, 442). Indeed, in most of Donne's and Herbert's devotional poems there are three participants in the conversation: the speaker, God, and a third party, often the speaker's soul but sometimes a meditative focus such as death, a biblical character, or a manifestation of the natural world. The constant feature is the dynamic interaction of voices, thoughts, and experiences in the search for the right relationship between God and the soul.

At the heart of both poets' devotion is undoubtedly the Crucifixion. Donne's poem "The Crosse" argues that we see the cross "in small things," such as birds' wings or "Meridians crossing Parallels," everywhere we look, and the cross features extensively across Donne's Holy Sonnets and occasional poetic meditations. The "picture of Christ crucified" is said

to be present, like the portrait of a secular beloved, in the speaker's heart, and the refrain linking sonnets 5 and 6 of "La Corona" asks Christ, "lifted up" on the cross, to "Moyst, with one drop of thy blood, my dry soule" (Donne 1985, 432). The Crucifixion is evoked by Herbert throughout *The Temple*, in which, significantly, the second lyric is "The Sacrifice," a poem of 252 lines that declare in the voice of Christ the "grief" and agony of the cross, preceding and underpinning all the other lyrics. This recurring interest of Herbert and Donne in the events of Good Friday does not signify a morbid obsession with suffering, but rather points to the poets' sense that the cross is the key to redemption and the most profound expression of the loving power of God. For Donne, the scene of the crucifixion is something "strange" and mesmerizing, a sight that he dare not witness but needs to contemplate (Donne 1985, 441). "Goodfriday, 1613" is an extended exploration of this dilemma. The speaker feels guilty for "riding westward" on the very day when his soul should be gazing toward the east, where Christ is dying on the cross; yet he is, equally, unable to turn and look at the "spectacle of too much weight for mee" (Donne 1985, 455). By the end of the poem, the speaker has managed to convince himself that, at some unspecified point in the future, his spiritual "deformity" will have been burnt off, and he will indeed "turne" his face toward the cross:

> Restore thine image so much, by thy grace,
> That thou may'st know mee, and I'll turne my face.
> (Donne 1985, 456)

Herbert, meanwhile, condenses the impact that the Crucifixion has on the individual believer into the last three lines of his Good Friday sonnet, "Redemption." The bustlingly self-confident speaker, having gone to all the wrong places in search of God, is finally drawn to a surprisingly disreputable spot:

> At length I heard a ragged noise and mirth
> Of thieves and murderers: there I him espied,
> Who straight, *Your suit is granted*, said, & died.
> (Herbert 2007, 132)

Herbert's speaker is startlingly presented with the scene that Donne's speaker did not dare to look at; but before this flabbergasted human can even ask anything of Christ, the voice from the cross asserts that the speaker's relationship with God has already been put right. Christ's act of dying on the cross, as the last two words of the poem dramatically confirm, has set the seal on redemption.

The contrast between these two poems on the Crucifixion highlights a significant difference between the tenor of the two poets' devotion. While Donne's speaker awaits a moment in the future when he will dare to "turne" his face toward God, Herbert's is confident that his "suit" for a new covenant with God has already been "*granted*." This distinction between anticipated forgiveness on the one hand and confirmed redemption on the other may also be discerned in the poets' celebration of the festival of Easter, which follows two days after Good Friday. In Donne's sonnet "Resurrection" from the "La Corona"

sequence, the rising to which the speaker looks forward is the Resurrection on the last day: it will come after "sinnes sleep, and deaths," from which the soul will wake and "*Salute the last, and everlasting day*" (Donne 1985, 433). Herbert's "Easter," on the other hand, celebrates the Resurrection in the present:

> Rise heart; thy Lord is risen. Sing his praise
> Without delayes,
> Who takes thee by the hand, that thou likewise
> With him mayst rise:
> (Herbert 2007, 139)

The closeness of humans and their God—"Who takes thee by the hand"—is particularly striking here; if Christ is risen, then so too are his people. This confidence is present in most of Herbert's lyrics, even those in which the speakers protest and seem to have lost heart and hope. For example, both "The Collar" and "Deniall"—poems that begin with profound anger and dejection—conclude with the restoration of harmony in the verse and the spirit. In the third stanza of the lyric "Easter" (from which the beginning is quoted above), the speaker calls for a "song" in honor of the Resurrection, and is certain that any "defect" in the poetry or the poet will be remedied by the "sweet art" of the Holy Spirit (Herbert 2007, 140). From this point onwards, the poem shifts into a simple ballad form, and it is clear that the requested song has already been given and completed: an emblem of the resurrected life given in the present moment. The artistry of the verse, as so often in *The Temple*, is itself part of the poem's devotional meaning.

Donne's and Herbert's poems, then, engage personally and energetically with the essential matters of the Christian faith, but always in terms of how these affect the relationship between God, the individual, and the poets' art. Their poems, different though they are in their tones and techniques, comprise in essence lively dialogues exploring the full range of devotional moods—love, resentment, forgiveness, and celebration—as well as key moments in the life of Christ such as the Passion and the Resurrection. In following the devotional journey mapped by the poems, the reader is confronted time and again with the immense wit, rhetorical skill, and structural ingenuity of these Renaissance poets. The enormity of the incarnation—God taking human form—is brilliantly condensed into one line by Donne: addressing the Virgin Mary in "Annunciation," he perceives the son of God as "Immensity cloysterd in thy deare wombe" (Donne 1985, 430). Similarly compacted into a single line is the confusion of love and duty, delight and resentment in the believer's heart, wonderfully contained in the last line of Herbert's "Affliction (I)": "Let me not love thee, if I love thee not" (Herbert 2007, 163). As this line shows, Herbert, like Donne, was drawn to the wit of paradox, the thought-challenging clash of apparent impossibilities which Donne described as an "alarum to truth" (Donne 1980, 1). Drawing on the Augustinian concept that the service of Christ is freedom, Donne concludes his Holy Sonnet XIV with spectacularly paradoxical wit:

> Take mee to you, imprison mee, for I
> Except you'enthrall mee, never shall be free,
> Nor ever chast, except you ravish mee.
> (Donne 1985, 443)

This mastery of the poetic closure that takes the reader's breath away is also shared by Herbert. After offering the reader a superbly rich and inventive series of metaphors for prayer, Herbert's sonnet "Prayer (I)" pauses before the last half line and changes direction with arresting effect, ending with the plain yet cryptic phrase, "something understood" (Herbert 2007, 178). Like the contrasting of the literal and the metaphorical in divine discourse, as described by Donne in the passage with which this essay begins, the skillful balancing of plain and figurative language is an important part of the rhetorical control demonstrated by the two poets. Herbert's sequence of lyric poems ends with "Love (III)," in which the speaker resists the invitation to Love's feast until the very last line, expressing his final submission with utmost simplicity: "So I did sit and eat" (Herbert 2007, 661). Donne's Holy Sonnet VII dynamically evokes the scene of the Last Judgment, including the angels blowing their trumpets "At the round earths imagin'd corners," but the most powerful moment of the poem is its sudden transfer to humility of style and setting: "here on this lowly ground" is where it ends (Donne 1985, 439).

The poets' powerful use of plain language to suggest the simple essentials of faith is balanced at the opposite extreme by their love of metaphor, particularly the ingenious conceit. Donne's "Goodfriday, 1613" is cleverly predicated on the metaphysical theorem with which it begins:

> Let mans soule be a Spheare, and then, in this,
> The intelligence that moves, devotion is,
> And as the other Spheares, by being growne
> Subject to forraign motion, lose their owne …
> Pleasure and businesse, so, our Soules admit
> For their first mover, and are whirld by it.
> (Donne 1985, 454)

On the surface this seems to be merely Donne's elaborately intellectual excuse for traveling toward the West on Good Friday when the great event of salvation is taking place in the East. However, the poem is in fact structured on a series of turning motions—including the earth and the heavenly bodies, and the conversion of the soul to face God in the end—so that the central metaphor shapes the entire poem. The progress of life, too, is expressed in metaphorical terms by both poets. In "A Hymne to Christ, at the Authors last going to Germany," Donne takes the opportunity of an imminent journey to meditate on the emblematic appropriateness of his travel:

> In what torne ship soever I embarke,
> That ship shall be an embleme of thy Arke;
> What sea soever swallow mee, that flood
> Shall be to mee an embleme of thy bloode.
> (Donne 1985, 472)

Donne's explicit reference to each "embleme" is a reminder of the insistently metaphorical frame of mind of the Renaissance poet. Herbert's art, too, lives and breathes through metaphor, whether it is the idea of spring as "a box where sweets compacted lie" or the praise offered to God as "the cream of all my heart" (Herbert 2007, 316, 507). In his lyric

"The Flower," the poet-speaker's life is likened to that of a flower, which seemed to have "gone / Quite under ground" yet recovers "greennesse":

> And now in age I bud again,
> After so many deaths I live and write;
> I once more smell the dew and rain,
> And relish versing:
> (Herbert 2007, 568)

The exquisite freshness of the language here can mask its subtle artistry in blending metaphorical and literal statements together to vivid effect.

Surprising though it may seem to some modern readers, neither Donne nor Herbert regarded linguistic playfulness, if properly used, as an obstacle to devotion. For example, the figure of divine "Love," in Herbert's third poem of that name, asks the reluctant guest who feels unable to look at him, "Who made the eyes but I?" (Herbert 2007, 661). The fact that "eye" and "I" have identical sounds emphasizes the inseparability of the creation from the creator, and unites the believer's sight with its true object, God. Both poets repeatedly delight in the punning relationship between "sun" and "son" as a means of celebrating the supremacy of Christ (Donne 1985, 455, 491; Herbert 2007, 573). Furthermore, they accept the possibility of hidden meanings locked within a proper name. Herbert's inventive poem "Jesu" releases a comforting statement from within the name of his Lord, which is carved upon the speaker's heart. This significance of the name can only be discovered through suffering: for the broken-hearted, "Iesu" is split into its constituent sounds to spell "I ease you" (Herbert 2007, 401). In Donne's case, famously, it is his surname which gives rise to such linguistic wit. Even in the darkest moments of fear which constantly assail Donne (but which, paradoxically, give him his "best dayes"), he can pun on his own name. Confessing and asking forgiveness for a multitude of sins in his "Hymne to God the Father," the speaker repeatedly advises God, "When thou has done, thou hast not done, / For I have more" (Donne 1985, 447, 490). Only when the speaker has extracted a promise that God's son (sun) will shine at the moment of his death does he admit that, "having done that, Thou haste done, / I feare no more" (Donne 1985, 491). Donne's wit and rhetorical control are supreme here, but it is revealing of the devotional focus of the two poets that Donne extracts significance from his own name whereas Herbert reveals the efficacious potential in the name of Jesus.

It is thus clear that Renaissance devotional poets are not inhibited by their subject matter; indeed, they are inspired by it to employ what Herbert refers to as "utmost art" in the service of God (Herbert 2007, 507). This principle can be seen at work in the ingenious structures of their verse. Donne's sequence of devotional sonnets, "La Corona," is constructed as an interlocking wreath of poems in which the last line of one sonnet becomes the first of the next, though used in such a way as to bring out differences of grammar and meaning within the repeated line. In "A Wreath," Herbert uses the same pattern but in a more condensed form, rewriting the second half of each line into the first half of the next to weave a "garland of deserved praise" (Herbert 2007, 645). Almost every poem in *The Temple* has its own particular lyric form, closely related to the subject and spiritual timbre of the poem. The most obvious examples of this are the "shaped" poems, such as

"The Altar" and "Easter wings," but the principle applies widely across Herbert's poems and is complemented by the use of a variety of inventive forms such as choral and antiphonal structures, embedded dialogue, echo, and anagram. In fact, Herbert's poetic skills are so rich as to give rise to a prevailing anxiety expressed in *The Temple* that the rhetorical dexterity may obscure rather than enhance the poems' devotional purpose. In "Jordan (II)" the poet-speaker tries so hard to find "quaint words" for his heavenly subject matter that he weaves himself "into the sense" and has to learn in the end that "*There is in love a sweetnesse readie pen'd; / Copie out only that, and save expense*" (Herbert 2007, 367). This entry of another voice—of reason, of a friend, of Christ—into a poem is one of Herbert's ways of resolving the dilemma of artistry in favor of simplicity, often borrowing a biblical phrase or register. As he tells God in "The Flower," "Thy word is all, if we could spell" (Herbert 2007, 568). Donne is more comfortable with his own poetic voice, rarely deferring to an intervening divine word in the way that Herbert does; paradoxically, though, he is fundamentally far more afraid of God's judgment than Herbert is. Donne looks for punishment so that he might be made acceptable to God in spite of his "sinnes blacke memorie" (Donne 1985, 440). Eager to receive grace, the speaker in Holy Sonnet IV addresses his own soul:

> Oh make thy selfe with holy mourning blacke,
> And red with blushing, as thou art with sinne;
> (Donne 1985, 436)

For all his bluster in Holy Sonnet X, "Death be not proud," the speaker in Donne's devotional poems is invariably fearful of death because of the moment of judgment it represents. Herbert, on the other hand, greets Death as a thing transformed: "since our Saviours death did put some blood / Into thy face; / Thou art grown fair and full of grace" (Herbert 2007, 648). Herbert's poetry expresses a deep devotional optimism, based on the experience of the resurrection, despite the speakers' recurring sense of inadequacy. Donne's devotional poetry errs on the side of pessimism, a "holy discontent" (Donne 1985, 435), but longs passionately for the security of promised salvation.

In spite of their differences of poetic mode and devotional mood, the two poets share a preoccupation with the ups and downs of spiritual experience. Donne's Holy Sonnet III begins, "O might those sighes and teares returne againe," the speaker wishing desperately that he were still capable of fruitful mourning (Donne 1985, 435). Inconstancy of spiritual mood is a constant theme (the joke is Donne's) right through to the last sonnet, in which the speaker's "devout fitts come and go away / Like a fantastique Ague" (Donne 1985, 447). Herbert's speakers experience the same unpredictability of spiritual temperament: how wonderful it would be, he comments in "The Temper (I)," if "what my soul doth feel sometimes, / My soul might ever feel!" (Herbert 2007, 193). The poem ends contentedly, but the next lyric in the sequence, aptly also named "The Temper (II)," begins in a state of disappointed amazement:

> It cannot be. Where is that mightie joy,
> Which just now took up all my heart?
> (Herbert 2007, 196)

Human beings, in the work of both poets, are fickle, unpredictable, and vulnerable, but, as the poems reveal, their relationships with God and their own souls are perpetually fascinating.

Then and Now

Donne and Herbert were very much the product of their era, acting out—in their spiritual lives and their poetry—the vast post-Reformation debates on salvation and judgment. What they were doing in poetic terms was also boldly new: merging devotion and argument, immediacy and complexity, body and soul, wit and outspoken honesty. Donne forged a distinctive devotional tone from his Catholic inheritance of Ignatian meditation merged with the most extreme Protestant angst (Martz 1954; Guibbory 2015). Herbert found that most difficult of paths in religious writing of any kind, a middle way (Hodgkins 1993; Doerksen 2007), and developed a mode of talking with God as though he were in the same room, confessing ruefully to Christ on bad days that he "could not use a friend, as I use Thee" (Herbert 2007, 339). Donne startled readers with his audacity, for example by describing the Church in almost erotic terms as most pleasing to God "When she is embrac'd and open to most men" (Donne 1985, 446). Herbert unfurled a colorful tapestry of lyric forms and, for the first time in English literary history, supplied each poem in his sequence with a distinctive title, providing an additional layer of metaphor and a key to the meaning of the poem (Bauer 1995). These were momentous times for devotional poetry, with a lawyer-theologian and a rhetorician-parson both at the top of their game, brilliantly teasing out the immediate and eternal relationship between God and the soul with energy and originality.

It goes without saying that these two poets still speak to readers in the twenty-first century, despite the vast difference of religious and literary contexts then and now. Indeed, in many ways this is the most exciting moment for many decades to be reading Donne and Herbert. The religious "turn" in literary studies has particularly benefited the work of devotional poets from the early modern period (Cummings 2002; Hiscock and Wilcox 2017). New alertness to manuscript circulation is helping us to understand the social and material origins of the poems (Marotti 1995; Todd and Wilcox 2012), and fresh editions are stimulating an exciting range of alternative readings (Donne 1995–, 2010; Herbert 2007). There is renewed interest in the prose written by Donne and Herbert, particularly as a result of the ongoing project to edit Donne's sermons (Donne 2014–), informing and nuancing our interpretations of the poems. New biographical investigations have highlighted the relationship of the poets to religious groups of their day (Flynn 1995; Malcolmson 2004), as well as to the traditions of learning in classical rhetoric and theological texts (Ettenhuber 2011; Drury 2013). The differences as well as the parallels between Donne and Herbert are also being stressed, and the poets are being constructively read in conjunction with new constellations such as female poets from the early seventeenth century (Cunnar and Johnson 2001; Wilcox 2014). This is an auspicious moment for those of us continuing to admire and be inspired by two of the greatest English poets of the Renaissance, and beyond.

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Part III
Positions and Debates

35
Archipelagic Identities

Willy Maley

Archipelagic Entrances

Arthur's exclamation in *The Faerie Queene* upon perusing his native history—"How brutish is it not to understand" (*FQ* II.x.69.7)—is a familiar sentiment for those grappling with archipelagic studies. That modern critics share the confusion of early modern counterparts on questions of empire and nation is unsurprising considering the context. As John Morrill observes, how do we "tell a tale of two islands," "three kingdoms," and "four emerging nations, each of which had an identity shaped or at least deeply stained by its contact with—mingling with—the others" (Morrill 1995, 8). With great difficulty and delicacy, is the answer.

John Pocock's plea for "the plural history of a group of cultures situated along an Anglo-Celtic frontier and marked by an increasing English political and cultural domination" challenged Anglocentric historiography even as it acknowledged English domination, a paradox evident in the way historians and literary critics responded (Pocock 1975, 605–606). The "Atlantic Archipelago" envisaged by Pocock comes up against an "Anglo-*British*" frontier—understandably, since "Celtic" and "British" overlap. Philip Schwyzer's allusion to "the Atlantic Archipelago (or 'British Isles')" suggests "Archipelagic" and "British" are interchangeable (Schwyzer 2012, 593). For him:

> English writers of the Tudor era … have a confirmed habit of comparing and even conflating their insular or archipelagic neighbours … Yet this … grew out of political pragmatism rather than ethnographic theory. Scotland, Wales, and Ireland were comparable in that they were England's neighbours not because they shared an originary racial or cultural identity, certainly not one that excluded the English themselves. (596–597)

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We have strayed from Pocock's "plural history." Good fences make good neighbors, but it was the English who constructed the pales and partitions to keep out and hem in "awkward neighbours" (Macinnes and Ohlmeyer 2002). One can see why, for a self-styled "Brito-sceptic" like Nicholas Canny, "much of what appears as 'new British history' is nothing but 'old English history' in 'Three-Kingdoms' clothing, with the concern still being to explain the origin of events that have always been regarded as pivotal in *England's* historical development" (Canny 1995, 147–148; emphasis original).

The phrase "the British problem" came to stand for this new way of looking at how the short-lived British republic (1649–1660) came into being. This shift in the writing of history from an Anglocentric to an archipelagic perspective was a return to the sources and debates of the period. Seventeenth-century archipelagic identities were crucial for understanding contemporary events, but later historians reconceived "British" history as England writ large. Paradoxically, Reformation rhetoric relied on independence tied to anti-imperialism. James I assumed Augustan airs and declared himself King of Great Britain, but beyond the Union Jack (1606) and the Ulster Plantation (1609) his enthusiasm for a fuller union was curbed. John Kerrigan's *Archipelagic English*, the most sophisticated response to Pocock to date, confines itself to Anglophone literature of the seventeenth century (see Kerrigan 2008). Moving from *Macbeth* to Milton and Marvell, Kerrigan's account showed how far Jacobean and Caroline writers were consumed by visions of Britain. By going back before Kerrigan's starting point and examining the period 1485–1603 we can reconfigure the topic.

Most literary responses to Pocock revolve around the union or post-union period. Kerrigan's landmark study begins in 1603, and while Stewart Mottram has filled in the early Tudor period, a blank remains in the second half of the sixteenth century (Mottram 2008). Yet the period 1533 to 1603 remains vital for the matter of Britain, the fortunes of Arthur, the colonization of Ireland, the emergence of antiquarianism, and the groundwork for Anglo-Scottish union. That Shakespeare has Henry V appeal to "England and Saint George!" (III.i.34) while insisting "I am Welsh" (IV.vii.94) indicates the productive fusion and confusion of archipelagic identities.

Where to begin? Henry V's knighting of the Scottish king James I on St. George's Day, 1421, or the birth of Henry VII's son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1486 are good starting points for our archipelagic inquiry (see Brown 2004; Horrox 2004). When Henry's wife, Elizabeth of York, gave birth to Arthur, much was expected: "the Queen was delivered of her first son, whom the King (in honour of the British race, of which himself was) named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient worthy King of the Britons; in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous" (Bacon 1998, 22). In the archipelagic echo chamber the time is out of joint. While James VI was James I of England (or Britain, as he preferred), and William III was William II of Scotland, the current British monarch, Elizabeth II, is not known as Elizabeth I in Scotland, as she should be. Henry VII's naming of his eldest son Arthur (1486–1502) after Malory's *Morte Darthur* (1485) echoed an earlier act of naming, that of Arthur, Duke of Brittany (1187–1203), son of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, fourth son of Henry II, and Constance, Duchess of Brittany, in the wake of the first Arthurian history, that of Geoffrey of Monmouth:

> Despite his grandfather's wish that he should be called Henry he was baptized Arthur, to the general approval of his Breton subjects who rejoiced greatly at his birth. They recognized in this allusion to his legendary namesake a bold assertion by Constance and her advisers of their

> desire to be free from Plantagenet domination. But since Arthur was Henry II's only legitimate male grandson to date in the direct line, whatever hopes they may have entertained for independence, his life inevitably had wider horizons than Brittany alone. (Jones 2004)

According to O. J. Padel, "The choice of name exploited Arthur's literary fame as well as Breton national sentiment. In the words of William of Newburgh, 'Having long awaited a legendary Arthur, they now raise a real one'" (Padel 2004).

In his *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, Francis Bacon recalls two weddings and a funeral. The marriages are those of Arthur Tudor to Catherine of Aragon, and that of James IV to Margaret Tudor, Henry VII's eldest daughter. Narrating the first, Bacon refers to "King Arthur the Briton" and "Lady Catherine from the House of Lancaster," before breaking the bad news: "For this young Prince (that drew upon him at that time not only the hopes and affections of his country but the eyes and expectation of foreigners) after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his resiance [residence] and court as Prince of Wales" (Bacon 1998, 171). If the marriage of Arthur and Catherine of Aragon sowed the seeds for England's breach with Rome—in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* Suffolk declares, "Katherine no more / Shall be called 'Queen', but 'Princess Dowager'/ And 'widow to Prince Arthur'" (III.ii.69–71)—the marriage of James and Margaret was also a union much debated at the English court:

> the King remitted the matter to his council, and … some of the table in the freedom of counsellors (the King being present) did put the case that if God should take the King's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replied that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less; and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question. (Bacon 1998, 173–174)

According to Bacon, the treaty based on the proposed marriage of James and Margaret contained a paradox: "In this peace there was an article contained that no Englishman should enter into Scotland, and no Scottishman into England, without letters from the Kings of either nation. This at the first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations, but it was done to lock in the borderers" (Bacon 1998, 159). Arthur Tudor, warden of all the marches toward Scotland, was a certain future king until his death at 15 on April 2, 1502: "The heraldry displayed at his funeral included not only his own arms, and those of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester, but also the arms of Cadwalader and Brutus" (Horrox 2004).

These two Prince Arthurs, named in the wake of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Malory's Arthurian revivals, had short lives, but the legend lived on. On Arthur Tudor's death, his younger brother Henry came to the throne. In October 1502 he was duly named Duke of Cornwall—a title closely associated with Arthurian legend—and in February 1503 took the titles Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. Spenserians may be interested to know that Henry VII's third son, Edmond (1499–1500), died in infancy. Naming princes "Arthur" has particular significance, denoting a period of British history ("Arthurian," quite possibly mythical) situated between the end of the Roman occupation and the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon/Danish/Norman occupations. This period signifies a resistance to empire

(i.e., it is "heroic" in its refusal of domination, suggestive of self-identity and self-determination, and therefore worthy of imitation, etc.) and some early/proto sense of "nationhood" is conceived in that heroic, self-identified resistance. However, confusingly, paradoxically, this same "national/imperial" vision or fantasy of Arthur also denotes the Celtic "remnant": the indigenous, aboriginal ("Celtic") people who, in order to flee and survive said occupations, dispersed to other areas (thus the different meanings of "Britain" to denote Wales, Brittany, Ireland, etc.). The "national/imperial" vision or fantasy is therefore predicated from the outset on dispersal and difference: it is "fractured" from the beginning, a fracture/confusion/paradox that is evident in the poetry of the period.

Whether we begin in 1421 when Henry V knighted James I or in 1486 or 1187 with the birth of two historical Prince Arthurs, we encounter problems of definition. When Scotland and England declared themselves empires in 1469 and 1533 respectively they clearly intended something different from what we understand by empire. Or did they? When Welsh writers coined the term "British Empire," what did they have in mind? (Henry 1972). Hugh MacLachlan observes that "By the time of John Dee, Elizabeth's astrologer, the attractiveness of the theory of British empire lay not in its patriotic justification of a precarious throne or of the separation of the British church from the papacy but in its confirmation of England's right to the New World" (MacLachlan 1990a, 66).

Claire McEachern's opening flourish in *The Poetics of English Nationhood* declares: "In 1533, Henry VIII founded an English nation. 'This realm of England,' he announced in the Act of Appeals, 'is an empire.' Sixty-odd years later, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and Michael Drayton write one" (McEachern 1996, 1). By "write one" McEachern means "nation," but the sense allows "empire." Stewart Mottram points out that "McEachern denies to the early Tudors a share in this national moment" (Mottram 2008, 115). In any case, Scotland can see England's 60 years and raise her. James III declared an empire before Henry VIII, and the Scottish angle proves instructive. According to Nicola Royan:

> In 1469 the Scottish Parliament declared that the Scottish king had "full jurisdiction and free empire within his realm." In practice this meant that he could appoint bishops and other church dignitaries without reference to Rome; it also marked a new point in Scottish self-conceptions. To reach the same stage, some sixty years later, the English required a change of dynasty and a divorce, but the Scots had always been precocious in matters of national identity. (Royan 2010, 545)

When England asserted its independence from Rome by declaring itself an empire, writers resorted to earlier incarnations in order to imagine this new entity. Rome was the available imperial model, but Henry VIII's England was manifestly not the empire of Caesar and Augustus, nor was the independence of the English church from the Catholicism of Rome political independence, although medieval Catholicism centered in Rome involved the exercise of a lot of temporal, political power by the Pope as well as ecclesiastical courts. The 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome reoriented the Anglo-Roman frontier by asserting England's independence from papal jurisdiction: "'Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, so hath been accepted in the world'" (quoted in MacLachlan 1990a, 66).

The period between these two declarations of empire witnessed the deaths of two Prince Arthurs. Had they survived, a Tudor Arthur and a Stuart, sixteenth-century British history might have taken another turn. For after the death of Arthur, Henry VII's Malory-inspired son, Margaret Tudor gave birth to a boy called Arthur who died in infancy (1509–1510), "a name recalling not so much the Arthur of English mythology as the deceased brother of the new King of England," Henry VIII (Macdougall 1997, 295). Yet in the summer of 1508 the future Arthur Stuart's father, James IV, oversaw the "'counterfutting of the round tabill of King Arthour of Ingland'" at a tournament in Edinburgh, so mythology and commemoration went hand-in-gauntlet (quoted in Macdougall 1997, 295). Spenser had his own historical Arthur to draw on in the shape of Lord Grey, to whom Ralph Robinson dedicated his translation of John Leland's *The Assertion of King Arthure* (see McCabe 2012, 546).

Two empires on one landmass is one too many, hence the road to union and the reinvention of Britain. As Philip Schwyzer comments, "the project of the Scottish campaign of the 1540s was the restoration of 'the whole Empire & name of Great Briteigne'" (Schwyzer 2012, 599). Asserting its independence from empire—Rome—England declared itself an empire by appealing to myths manufactured in the Celtic fringes (the non-English parts of what was anciently Britain) by writers like Geoffrey of Monmouth, or borrowed from prose romances like Malory's *Morte Darthur*, which coincided with the founding of the Tudor state under Henry VII. Breton, British, and Celtic myths—Arthur and Brutus—were harnessed in the interests of English state expansion (see MacColl 2006, 249). In the wake of Caxton's publication of Malory in 1485, Henry VII wrapped himself in a British mythology that both underpinned and undermined England's integrity. Civil war at home and imperialist adventuring abroad were Arthur's undoing. The strategy of busying giddy minds in foreign wars adopted by English monarchs, and dramatized in Shakespeare's histories, was likewise a double-edged sword.

In 1469, the year Scotland declared its imperial aspirations, Malory was in prison writing his *Morte Darthur*. Seventy years later, with the Stuart dynastic succession, English writers responded to the re-emergence of Britain in complex ways, their only precedent for "Britain" being the Roman colony. As Richard McCabe says of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, the historians of the time were preoccupied with "prehistory and pseudo-history" (McCabe 2012, 545). They were also engrossed by genealogies, real and invented. Discussing Spenser, McCabe remarks: "Elizabeth I is related to Arthur solely through a poetic device that serves as the expression of a political ideal. The queen's Arthurian descent is an *evident* fiction" (McCabe 2012, 546; emphasis original). This assertion overlooks Elizabeth's uncle Arthur Tudor, her father's older brother, as well as her cousin, Arthur Stuart. The fiction has a family foundation.

Archipelagic Spenser

Pocock's plea for a plural history along an Anglo-Celtic frontier should find fertile ground in Spenser who was writing on that frontier. In *The Faerie Queene* Spenser depicts Britain itself as broken off from "the *Celticke* mayn-land" (II.x.5.9). To what extent can we speak of "archipelagic" Spenser, and, given the seventeenth-century focus of much archipelagic

inquiry, what does Spenser offer by way of enlarging and enriching the field? We have certainly progressed beyond *The Spenser Encyclopedia*'s one-page entry on "Britain, Britons" (MacLachlan 1990b). Spenser's work embraces ancient Britain, Arthur, and Ireland, making him an exemplary figure for understanding the 70 years between England declaring itself an empire in 1533 and the accession of James I in 1603. Spenser marks a point of transition between Tudor and Stuart Britain, and points forward to the Brito-skeptic position of John Milton.

As an English poet writing about a Welsh prince in Ireland, being attacked by a Scottish king for insulting his mother yet deeply influenced by that monarch's mentor, Spenser well knew the complexities of the Atlantic Archipelago. Yet studies placing him in an archipelagic context are rare. Early criticism by Carrie Harper and Edwin Greenlaw mapped out the Celtic and British sources of *The Faerie Queene* (Harper 1910; Greenlaw 1912). More recently, Andrew Hadfield examined the matter of Britain, while Richard McCabe unraveled Spenser's complex relationship to Holinshed's *Chronicles* (Hadfield 2004; McCabe 2012). George Buchanan's presence has been detected behind much of Spenser's thinking not just in the *View of the State of Ireland* but also in *The Faerie Queene* (Hadfield 2012). Such influence is unsurprising. Sidney praises patrons of poetry like "King James of Scotland" and "so piercing wits as George Buchanan," and Spenser's Scottish antecedents have been traced (Jack 1990; Sidney 2002, 108). Nor is Wales an unexpected source of poetic inspiration. Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* (1595) extolled the virtues of Welsh verse:

> In Wales, the true remnant of the ancient Britons, as there are good authorities to show the long time they had poets, which they called *bards*, so through all the conquests of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, some of whom did seek to ruin all memory of learning from among them, yet do their poets even to this day last. (Sidney 2002, 83)

One reason Spenser has not attracted the attention of critics interested in archipelagic themes is that his presence in Ireland has shielded him from the Welsh and Scottish contexts that inform his work. Yet, ironically, Ireland in Spenser's writing, particularly in the *View*, is an exemplary archipelagic space. Spenser's claim that Ireland is Scotia Major and that the chief purpose of the reformation of Ireland should be to keep the Scots out of Ulster, the opposite of the policy enacted by James I, shows an archipelagic awareness, and paradoxically a Brito-skepticism insofar as Spenser did not see in 1596 the convenient solution to England's Irish and Scottish problems that emerged with the Ulster Plantation. When Britomart says she hails from "greater *Britaine*" *(FQ* III.ii.7.9), she means Wales, or Britannia Major, Britannia Minor being Brittany (Buxton 1990, 725).

In the *History of Britain* (1670), Milton broke with contemporaries who harked back to a pre-conquest golden age. Milton saw his country struggling under a double yoke, Saxon and Norman, and his merciless debunking of English—or British—history made him out of step with most contemporaries. Likewise James Joyce, seeing Ireland struggling under a double colonial yoke—Roman Catholicism and British imperialism—declared: "I do not see what good it does to fulminate against the English tyranny while the Roman tyranny occupies the palace of the soul" (Ellmann and Mason 1959, 173). For Milton, British imperial tyranny differed little from its Roman model.

Archipelagic Arthur

The efforts of Geoffrey of Monmouth and later Malory to establish an Arthurian origin for Britain met a mixed response. In the gloss to the April Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), Spenser dismisses "certain fine fablers and lowd lyers, such as were the Authors of King Arthure the great" (Spenser 1989, 82). In the "Letter to Raleigh" (1590) he defends his choice of "the historye of king Arthure … made famous by many mens former works" as "furthest from the daunger of envy, and suspition of present time" (Spenser 2007, 715). Noting Spenser's earlier skepticism, A. C. Hamilton, the editor, concludes: "Since the poem's fiction treats Arthur before he was king, for which there was little historical evidence, S. is free from 'enuy, and suspition of present time'" (Spenser 2007, 715, n.11). Scant historical evidence exists for Arthur at any age, so one could argue otherwise: Prince Arthur was more threatening to a sitting issueless female monarch than "King Arthur the great." Spenser's disclaimer is mere obfuscation. Later still he uses Arthur in the *View* to bolster Britain's claim to Ireland, "by good record yet extant" (Spenser 1997, 52).

Milton contemplated his own Arthurian epic, but the *History* took its tone from Gildas, the first chronicler of Britain, parsimonious with praise. In *Of Reformation* (1641), Milton lauded God who "having first welnigh freed us from Antichristian thraldome, didst build up this Britannick Empire to a glorious and enviable heighth with all her Daughter Ilands about her" (Milton 1641, 87–88). In *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660) he asked: "Where is this goodly tower of a Commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build, to overshaddow kings, and be another *Rome* in the west?" (Milton 1660, 21–22). By the time of the *History* another empire constructed along Roman lines was a grim prospect and the ancient Britons were "Progenitors not to be glori'd in" (Milton 1991, 60). Milton's running header—"The History of England"—tells its own story, stretching from Brutus to William the Conqueror. The turning point and tipping point is Milton's analogy between the fifth-century departure of the Romans, when the Britons were "left without Protection from the Empire," and "the late Civil Broils" of his own time (118, 117). On each occasion the British failed to embrace liberty, leading to the ignominies of Saxon rule on one hand and the restoration of the monarchy on the other.

Despite his suspicion of Arthur in *The Shepheardes Calender*, Spenser's attachment to "The British Church" as invented by Cranmer, Foxe, Harrison, and Camden informed his later "treatment of Arthur as a Protestant prince" in *The Faerie Queene* (Brownlow 2008, 4). For Camden, the planting of religion "'to places of *Britaine inacessa Romanis*, whither the *Romans* never reached … can not be understoode, but of that parte which was afterward called *Scotland*'" (quoted in Brownlow 2008, 5). Pre-empting St. Augustine's mission, or rendering it "the first of many Roman intrusions on British self-sufficiency … provided the Welsh Tudors with a better mandate to govern Britain than descent from intrusive Saxons or Normans" (Brownlow 2008, 8). Spenser's anti-Saxonism—anticipating Milton's—is evident in *The Faerie Queene* II.x and III.iii: "In Spenser's version of British national history, Anglo-Saxons are complicating, oppressive, and violent characters whose rule constituted an unfortunate interlude between the idyllic Britton reign of Arthur and the contemporary rule of Elizabeth I" (Bolton 2008, 293).

The Welsh Tudors used Celtic myths to bolster their legitimacy, hence Henry VII's naming of his eldest son after Arthur, from whom he claimed direct descent (Brownlow 2008, 294–295). Of the British "exiles" or "Fugitives" routed by the Saxons, Milton says that "many fled over Sea into other Countries; som into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of *Brittenburgh* … not far from *Leiden*, either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or seis'd on by those *Britans* in thir escape from *Hengist* … and indeed the name of *Britan* in *France* is not read till after that time" (Milton 1991, 134–135). Milton's *History* pursues a fugitive Britishness from the Roman ruin of Brittenburg through Brittany to "the Frith of *Dunbritton*," or Dumbarton, in the West of Scotland (119).

Likewise, Spenser found the Irish to be "descended from the auncient Brittaines, which first inhabited all those easterne parts of Ireland" (Spenser 1997, 112). In the *View* Spenser rebukes "our vaine English-men … in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being … impossible to proove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England" (Spenser 1997, 44). Richard McCabe sees this as "complementary to Spenser's allegorical purpose" rather than counter to it, since "poetic 'devices' could be interpreted properly only when recognized as such" (McCabe 2012, 549). Yet even so subtle a critic as McCabe can say, "Spenser's readers are made aware that the conclusion to the national story depends on them" (558). Whose "national story"? Spenser conjures up not "two Scotlands, but two kindes of Scots," before conceding there are indeed two Scotlands, "Scotia-major" (Ireland), and "Scotia-minor" (Scotland) (Spenser 1997, 45). Compare Milton's claim that "if the *Saxons* … came most of them from Jutland and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmark*, as *Danish* writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the same; then in this Invasion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own Posterity. And *Normans* afterwards, none but Ancienter *Normans*" (Milton 1991, 222–223).

Spenser's Irenius insists "the cheifest caveat and provision in reformation of the North, must be to keep out those Scottes," prompting the *View*'s earliest editor, Sir James Ware, to observe: "The causes of these feares have been amputated, since the happy union of England and Scotland, established by his late Majesty" (Spenser 1997, 110–111). It is tempting to view Spenser as a Scotophobic Britoskeptic. According to Hadfield, Spenser "had good reason to fear the future when James I ascended to the English throne" (Hadfield 2004, 9). But Spenser, as his criticisms of the "Old English" indicate, was more Anglophobic than Hibernophobic.

Milton also mentions the Irish–Scottish connection dating from the decisive fifth century in his *History*:

> Lest any wonder how the *Scots* came to infest *Britan* from the *Irish* Sea, it must be understood, that the *Scots* not many years before had been driven all out of Britain … whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and shoars as Pirats. But more Authentic Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia* long before the North of *Britan* took that name. (Milton 1991, 112)

Most Spenserians are aware of Milton's direct allusions to Spenser: the notes by page number on the Ware edition of the *View* in his commonplace book (Horwood 1876, 35, 52),

the invocation of Guyon and the Bower of Bliss in *Areopagitica* (Milton 1644, 13), the comparison in Humphrey Moseley's stationer's address to the reader in the *Poems* (1646), and the passage on Talus in *Eikonoklastes* (Milton 1649, 34). Spenser's "Letter to Raleigh" followed "the antique Poets historicall" (Spenser 2007, 715), but Milton abandoned Arthur along with the Saxons and antiquarianism (Baker 2009).

In the *History*, Milton uncharacteristically takes issue with Spenser whom he otherwise praises. Milton's problem is with myth, so in citing Spenser he discounts the poetical history that generates fabulous depictions of Britain's past. The sole mention of Spenser in Milton's *History* is dismissive; citing the *The Faerie Queene* II.x.24, "Of which *our Spencer* … Sings," Milton remarks: "But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenshield*, seeme newer Names than for a Story pretended thus Antient" (Milton 1991, 22–23). Rudolf Gottfried, discussing this passage, alludes erroneously to "Milton's *History of England*" before observing: "Milton … does not follow Spenser's leadership. *The Faerie Queene* is quoted only to be questioned. Milton has glimpsed what [Carrie] Harper was later to demonstrate in detail, that the treatment of historical material in the *Faerie Queene* is astonishingly credulous and irrational. Somewhere between the two poets lies the discovery of the modern sense of historical fact" (Gottfried 1937, 317–318). But the matter is more complicated, because sometimes history seemed on the side of those Milton abhorred, hence his subtle steering between poetry and polemic. The distance between Spenser and Milton can be seen in the former's depiction of Camden as "Nourice of antiquitie" in *Ruines of Time* (lines 169–175) and the latter's dismissal of "*Camden*, who cannot but love Bishops, as well as old coins, and his much lamented Monasteries for antiquities sake" (Hawkins 1990, 22; Milton 1641, 17).

Other aspects of the *History* are relevant to Spenser. One is Milton's abandoned Arthuriad. In *Mansus* (1638) Milton mused: "'If ever I bring back to life in my songs the kings of my native land and Arthur, who set wars raging even under the earth, or tell of the great-hearted heroes of the round table, which their fellowship made invincible, and—if only the inspiration would come—smash the Saxon phalanxes beneath the impact of the British charge'" (quoted in Cooper 2014, 253). In *Paradise Lost* I.579–581 and IX.27–37 and *Paradise Regained* II.357–361 Milton dismisses the tall tales that tempted him in his youth (see Cooper 2014, 261–262). In the *History* he no longer believes in Arthur, or in his efficacy as an epic hero (see Ono 2002). Conversely, the anti-Saxon line in Milton's original intention to write an Arthurian epic can be found in Spenser, as can the juggling or juxtaposition of historical sources and analogues. Spenser's use of British origin myths has been well documented (see Hadfield 1993). In *The Ruines of Time* Spenser explores British antiquities through metaphors of ruin and translation (see Griffiths 1998; Melehy 2005). In Book II of *The Faerie Queene* he stages two kinds of history: Guyon reading the "*Antiquitee* of *Faery* lond" (II.ix.60.2) and Arthur perusing "*Briton moniments*" (II.ix.59.6), the truth residing somewhere between records and romance, along an Anglo-Celtic frontier that is also an Anglo-British frontier, and an antiquarian-cultural frontier (see Rossi 1985; Curran 1996; Kobayashi 1999; Wheatley 2005). As Catherine Bates observes, Arthur's "is a story not of continuity and 'success' but of rupture and dislocation. The brutal realities of history are capable of overturning epic triumphalism in an instant" (Bates 2010, 144). Although Milton abandoned Arthur, he shared Spenser's antipathy to Saxon rule and suspicion of a

British state that was more imperial monarchy than colonial republic or parliamentary democracy. Despite rebuking Spenser, Milton comes close to his poetic predecessor in his view of history as endless work-in-progress. Both poets were working along an Anglo-Celtic frontier whose plural histories we are still coming to terms with.

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36
Chorography, Map-Mindedness, Poetics of Place

Andrew Hadfield

Between the first European encounters with the Americas at the end of the fifteenth century and the establishment of large-scale English colonies in that continent in the 1620s English understanding of the world changed radically. The changes, as any history of mapping will inform the reader, did not simply mean that faraway places had now become a reality for those who would never visit them, but that conceptions of space were fundamentally transformed (see Binding 2003; Brotton 2012, 114–259). The advance in the technology of surveying instruments, in particular—much better lenses and Gunter's chain which enabled landed estates to be accurately measured—went hand in hand with more sophisticated ways of producing maps (see Woodward 2007, 2: chs. 19–25). The world, on a small and a large scale, was becoming much easier to see and to know.

There was, of course, a considerable impact on the ways in which literature was conceived, imagined, and produced. When Donne's saucy narrator famously refers to the naked body of his mistress as "My America, my new found land," the joke depends on the reader understanding that he is describing something already there, perhaps even known, but that he is now seeing the continent properly for the first time and so mapping it (Donne 1971, 125: Elegy 19, "To His Mistress Going To Bed," line 27). Between the late sixteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth, a range of new genres and modes of writing that sought to represent spaces and places were developed by English writers. The country house poem was invented either by Ben Jonson with "To Penshurst" or by Aemilia Lanyer with "The Description of Cookham" in the early seventeenth century (see Fowler 1993; Woods 1999, 115–125). This was an important seventeenth-century genre which attracted some of the most significant poets of the period: in addition to Jonson and Lanyer, Thomas Carew, Robert Herrick, Henry Vaughan, Andrew Marvell, and Charles Cotton all wrote significant and substantial works. The country house poem does not usually depend on the technical means of circumscribing and charting the lands and buildings of a local

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aristocrat, but it is clearly dependent on an ability to map and represent a particular community and so establish its importance. As such it is a response to both social and technological changes which emphasized the significance of the country house in English society (see Dimmock, Hadfield, and Healy 2015).

Country house poems are Janus-faced, both modern and antiquarian, simultaneously dependent on new technologies and eager to preserve a supposedly ancient tradition. They are especially significant for their sense of loss, real or imagined, and the fear that the disappearance of the rural estate will lead to over-centralization and/or an anarchic loss of authority. Jonson's "To Penshurst" celebrates the modest, sensible, and socially responsible behavior of the Sidneys on their Penshurst estate in north Kent, some 30 miles from central London. But from the opening lines of the poem we are reminded what the Sidneys are not, and how their values are under threat from potentially hostile forces:

> Thou are not, Penshurst, built to envious show,
> Of touch or marble, nor canst boast a row
> Of polished pillars, or a roof of gold.
> Thou hast no lantern whereof tales are told,
> Or stair, or courts; but stand'st an ancient pile,
> And these grudged at, art reverenced the while.
> Thou joy'st in better marks, of soil, of air,
> Of wood, of water; therein thou art fair.
> (Jonson 2012, 5.209–210:
> "To Penshurst," lines 1–8)

The lines look straightforward enough but they are extraordinarily double-edged. We are told that Penshurst is not as grand as other stately homes, which is both a sign of the Sidneys' good taste and their relative poverty in comparison to other favored courtiers who, although far more vulgar, can afford much grander homes with impressive architectural features. There is also a reference to Sir Philip Sidney's sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella* sonnet 9, which describes Stella in terms of a stately palace with beautiful, irresistible back eyes like touchstone (jet, an expensive black stone known for its magnetic properties); golden hair like a roof; and red and white marble cheeks. Sidney (1554–1586), the older brother of Sir Robert (1563–1626) the current owner, had harbored a series of grand political ambitions but had died in a minor skirmish at Zutphen in the Netherlands, disappointed and unfulfilled (see Duncan-Jones 1991, ch. 12). Jonson is reminding his readers that the Sidneys are culturally rich, but poor in terms of power and influence as well as wealth, having to imagine their stately houses in poems. Penshurst is an "ancient pile," words that describe its significance as part of an apparently ancient tradition linking the present to the English past (although the Sidneys were relative newcomers to the aristocracy; see Wayne 1985), as well as its dilapidated state. The surrounding estates, as lines 7–8 indicate, are probably just as valuable as the house itself, suggesting an appealing continuity between the house and its land, as well as drawing attention to the fact that, unlike many other country houses, it had not been modernized (see Howard 1987).

Jonson praises the produce of the estate in lines that draw attention to the fictional nature of his enterprise:

> And if the high-swol'n Medway fail thy dish,
> Thou hast thy ponds, that pay thee tribute fish,
> Fat, aged carps, that run into thy net,
> And pikes, now weary their own kind to eat,
> As loath the second draught or cast to stay,
> Officiously, at first, themselves betray;
> Bright eels, that emulate them, and leap on land,
> Before the fisher, or into his hand. (lines 31–38)

The description is self-consciously a fantasy, very like the late medieval fiction of the Land of Cockaigne where fruit fell off trees into the hands of the supine figures below and roast pigs ran around with knives in their sides crying, "Eat Me! Eat Me!" (see Morton 1978, ch. 1). Fish were often used in satires, most significantly in Juvenal's Satire 4, which compares fishing to attempts to secure lucrative offices (Juvenal 1967, 105–115). The fish in the Penshurst estate—carp, pikes, eels—sacrifice themselves for the master, giving up their ruthless aggression and desire to succeed and betraying themselves "Officiously" for their master rather than more dubious patrons (i.e., dutifully, performing their offices diligently and properly). The poem is providing a sharp reminder that people behave competitively in a competitive society when a great deal is at stake. Perhaps on the relatively well-run Penshurst estate this unsavory aspect of human behavior is reduced to a minimum.

Among the estate owners themselves, however, there is perpetual anxiety and a need to run ever faster in order to get ahead or just to stay still. As Jonson was well aware, having attracted hostile attention for comments in the jointly authored *Eastward Hoe!* (published in 1605), when James became king he brought with him a large contingent of Scots whom he elevated to positions of power and wealth, as well as rewarding a number of English favorites (Donaldson 2011, 206–214). The chief favorite who emerged in the first half of James's reign was Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset (*c.*1587–1645), who was created Viscount Rochester in 1611. Rochester, a powerful town with a cathedral, is, like the rather less grand village of Penshurst, on the Medway and Jonson's reference here reminds readers of the spectacular rise of the proud Carr and his eclipse of the Sidneys at the Jacobean court. In doing so, the poet draws attention to the fact that estates are not self-contained entities—Carr was given the estates of the disgraced former royal favorite, Sir Walter Ralegh (1552–1618), whose fall from grace was every bit as spectacular as his meteoric rise to power—but dependent on the favor of the monarch. Like the fish in Penshurst's ponds, courtiers who wanted to possess country estates had to throw themselves into the net of the monarch and risk whatever consequences might follow.

Jonson realizes that Penshurst is an estate the undoubted virtues of which largely depend on a social system that has also witnessed the elevation of figures such as Carr who undoubtedly had rather less of a social conscience than the Sidneys. Accordingly, it was the duty of the poet to remind readers why a country estate should exist and what

virtues it should represent in order to justify its existence. The companion piece to "To Penshurst," "To Sir Robert Wroth," explores the issue of an estate from the position of its owner:

> How blest art thou canst love the country, Wroth,
> Whether by choice, or fate, or both;
> And, though so near the city and the court,
> Art ta'en with neither's vice nor sport;
> That at great times art no ambitious guest
> Of sheriff's dinner, or mayor's feast.
> (Jonson 2012, 5.215: "To Sir Robert Wroth," lines 1–6)

As with the opening of "To Penshurst," the lines read superficially as if they are praising Wroth. Their real message is much darker. Wroth (1576–1614), owner of Loughton Hall in Epping Forest, was well known as a profligate who milked his country estates to support his extravagant city lifestyle and left his widow, Lady Mary Wroth (1587–1652?), Sir Robert Sidney's daughter, with enormous debts when he died. Jonson was fond of Lady Mary, who danced in his masques and to whom he dedicated *The Alchemist*, but had little time for Sir Robert Wroth, pitying her for being "unworthily married on a jealous husband," and she also provided a series of caustic comments on the marriage in her poetry (see Wynne-Davies 2000, 172; Donaldson 2011, 36). Therefore, the word "canst" in the opening line is not a reflection on what Wroth does but an exhortation to him to see sense and return to his country estates and run them properly as is his duty. The following couplet becomes openly sarcastic in pointing out what Wroth does—enjoys the vices and sports available at court in London—rather than praising him for his abstinence. The final lines then hint at his reputation and, far from praising his lack of ambition, draw attention either to his failed ambitions (whether legitimate or not) or lack of interest in participating in events that would be good for him and others. More simply, they suggest that no one invites him to the party because no one likes him.

Aemilia Lanyer's "The Description of Cookham" is a more directly melancholy poem than either of Jonson's, inspired by Virgil's first eclogue which catalogues the pain of exile from the *locus amoenus*. It describes the sadness felt by a community of women as they are forced to leave the estates of Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland (1560–1616) where they had enjoyed a secure and happy existence living and working together. The speaker describes how nature wilts and droops in sympathy with the sad women who had run the estate so well:

> And you sweet Cooke-ham, whom these Ladies leave,
> I now must tell the griefe you did conceave
> At their departure; when they went away,
> How every thing retained a sad dismay:
> Nay long before, when once an inkeling came,
> Me thought each thing did unto sorrow frame:
> The trees that were so glorious in our view,

> Forsooke both flowres and fruit, when once they knew
> Of your depart, their very leaves did wither,
> Changing their colours as they grewe together.
> (Norbrook 1993, 417–418: "The Description of Cooke-ham," lines 127–136)

The link between women and nature is severed by the insensitive intervention of the human world. The exact historical details are not quite clear, but the Countess lived at Cookham for periods after 1603 away from her estranged husband, George Clifford, and for some time after his death in 1605. Aemilia Lanyer accompanied her for some or all of this period and, if the poem is a faithful account of events, was with her when the property had to be surrendered (see Woods 1999, 28–29). Lanyer, who elsewhere is keen to restore the reputation of Eve and deflect criticism for her part in the Fall, sees the sojourn as an idyllic period on an estate that recaptured the conditions of the earthly paradise, a provocative description celebrating women without men.

Jonson's and Lanyer's poetry holds up a mirror to nature, showing a fragile and ever-threatened ideal for their readers, that of a reciprocal relationship between land and people at odds with the burgeoning importance of London, a city that had quadrupled in size in the sixteenth century with a population of around 50,000 in 1500 and around 200,000 in 1600, and consequent importance (see Rappaport 1989, 4–5). A similar, potentially more radical, relationship was imagined in chorographical poetry, a related genre that flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century. Chorographical poetry sought to describe and catalogue the landscape and, accordingly, such work invariably grew out of atlases and histories of Britain such as William Camden's *Britannia* (Latin edition 1586; English translation 1610) and John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611). As Andrew McRae has pointed out, the impulse behind both enterprises was similar to that of Jonson in his country house poems: "Faced with the uncertainty of contemporary property relations and socio-economic conditions, the chorographers typically shaped images of rural order, fertility and beauty" (McRae 1996, 233). Chorographical poetry was related to the georgic, the description of the working countryside, as well as the more amorphous category of the pastoral, which ranged from idealization to satire and "in the Renaissance the two types merge in various ways" (Alpers 1996, 28).

The first major English chorographic poet was Edmund Spenser in his posthumously published *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* (1609; Spenser died in 1599), which, as Daniel Carey has pointed out, work hard to establish the author as the rightful owner of the land he possesses as an English colonizer in Ireland (Carey, 2011). Spenser's fragmentary enterprise was subsequently developed by Michael Drayton (1563–1631) in his monumental *Poly-Olbion* (1612, 1622), which is finally enjoying something of a revival as a work that foresees subsequent interest in nature poetry and ecology (see Trevisan 2011). Drayton's understanding of the necessarily close relationship between men and women and the land they inhabited before passing it on to future generations expands and broadens Jonson's belief in the value of the well-managed country estate. His intemperate outburst at his ungrateful readers for not buying enough copies of the first edition of his poem in the preface to the second edition represents his understanding that his relationship with his readers was in

printed form, and, significantly, that they had failed in their social responsibility by not seeing the importance of his work. Drayton addresses his rather sulky preface "To any that will read it" and complains that his poem has been met with "barbarous Ignorance" by non-readers who are letting themselves and future generations down by not reading his work with the care and attention it deserves:

> And some of outlandish, unnaturall English, (I know not how otherwise to expresse them) sticke not to say, that there is nothing in this Island worthy studying for, and take a great pride to bee ignorant in any thing thereof, for these, since they delight in their folly, I wish it may be hereditary from them to their posteritie, that their children may bee beg'd for Fooles to the fift Generation, until it may be beyond the memory of man to know that there was ever any other of their Families. (Drayton 1622, A2–A2v).

Drayton's anger points backwards and forwards, at the foolish readers who are neglecting the past; failing to understand the present; and not taking proper care of the future because they believe that there is nothing worth knowing about the island in which they live. In keeping their eyes shut they are severing their relationship to their nation, which is why they are cursed. Drayton's fury is not simply that of a writer whose nose is put out of joint because his magnum opus has not been properly appreciated. It is also that of a man who believes that he is witnessing a catastrophic failure to understand an urgent and pressing problem, a myopia that severs the people from the land.

Jean Brink has suggested that "the title *Poly-Olbion* puns on 'Poly' (*very* or *much*) and 'Olbion' as Albion (*England*) and Greek (*happy* or *fortunate*)" (Brink 1990, 81). Drayton probably imagined his work as an Anglocentric enterprise, never seriously intending to carry out his stated plan of describing Scotland (Wales was included, but it had been annexed by England in 1535). The poem with the songs each representing a separate English county, accompanied by learned notes by the historian John Selden (1584–1654)—often at odds with the poems (see Prescott 1991)—seeks to provide a comprehensive survey of the topographical features of rural England. The poem idealizes England, but uses the harmonious relationship between land and people that it represents as a means of criticizing the failings of the present and warning that if such comments are ignored the consequences will be disastrous.

Drayton fashions himself as an oppositional poet, using his survey of the land to criticize the central authority of the monarch, imagining his poem as an alternative to a royal progress (James, in contrast to Elizabeth, was not keen on progresses and only ventured from the capital to make use of the forests of his mighty subjects to indulge his passion for hunting). As Richard Helgerson has argued, *Poly-Olbion* "expressed a keen sense of alienation from the royal court and from the literary practices associated with it" (Helgerson 1992, 128). The twenty-second song follows the progress of the Great River Ouse from Bedford to the Wash. The argument heading the song warns readers that "she the Civil Wars should chant," and toward the end of the song there is a list of the bitter rebellions that the river has witnessed:

> As for the *Black-Smith's* Rout, who did together rise,
> Encamping on *Blackheath*, t'annul the subsidies

By Parliament then given, or that of *Cornwall* call'd
Inclosures to cast down, which overmuch enthrall'd
The subject: or proud *Kets*, who with the same pretence
In *Norfolke* rais'd such stirs, as but with great expense
Of blood was not appeas'd; or that begun in *Lent*
By *Wyat* and his friends, the marriage to prevent,
That *Mary* did intend with *Philip* King of *Spain*[.]
(Drayton 1876, 3. 84: *Poly-Olbion*,
Song Twenty-Two, lines 1591–1599)

The narrator dismisses these as rebellions as "riots" (line 1600), but it is clear from the song that they were far too important to caricature in such a cavalier manner and that Drayton realized their significance. We have in rapid succession reminders of the Cornish Prayer Book Rebellion (1549), Kett's Rebellion (1549), and Wyatt's Rebellion (1554), a reminder that England in the aftermath of the Reformation was a divided and dangerous land (see Fletcher 1983, chs. 5–7). For Drayton, the natural features of the landscape if read carefully and correctly will tell this history, one of the principal functions of his long chorographic work.

In showing how rivers tell stories, good and bad, Drayton is following Spenser's famous description of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway in *The Faerie Queene*, Book IV (see Fowler 1964, 174–175). In the next lines he may be following Spenser's *Visions of Bellay* (1569, 1591), sonnet 10, as he represents a solitary weeping nymph lamenting the sad fate of England:

Waybridge a neighbouring Nymph, the only remnant left
Of all that Forest-kind, by Time's injurious theft
Of all that tract destroy'd, with wood which did abound
And former times had seen the goodliest Forest-ground,
This Island ever had: but she so left alone,
The ruin of her kind, and no man to bemoan. (lines 1602–1608)

Spenser's nymph witnesses the destruction of the eternal city as she sits beside the Tiber, Drayton's nymph the destruction of the ancient English forests:

O Flood [i.e., river] in happy plight, which to this time remain'st,
As still along in state to *Neptune's* Court thou strain'st,
Revive thee with the thought of those forepassèd hours,
When the rough Wood-gods kept, in their delightful bowers,
On thy embroidered banks, when now this Country fill'd,
With villages, and by the labouring plowman till'd,
Was Forest, where the fir, and spreading poplar grew.
O let me yet the thought of those past times renew,
When as that woody kind, in our umbrageous wild,
Whence every living thing save only they exil'd,
In this world of waste, the sovereign empire sway'd. (lines 1611–1621)

The Nymph shows us that the advent of civilization exacts a heavy price. The river remains the same—telling its tales of human conflict and fickleness—but the forest is cut down to make way for agriculture and human inhabitation and the "rough Wood-gods" disappear. What might seem like progress is not an unqualified good as the trees are felled and nature forced to retreat. Bringing everything into the light and removing the dark forest spaces means that we lose things too, the creatures inhabiting the "umbrageous wild" who are now forced away or killed off. The word "waste" has a heavy significance in this context, invariably referring to land that was not properly used and, especially in a colonial context, under-used land that could legitimately be appropriated by people who would be able to make better use of it (see McRae 1996, 158, 167). For the Nymph, it is civilization that is guilty of wasting the land, destroying natural resources such as forests in order to establish ploughed fields. Furthermore, the ambiguous and complicated last sentence can be read to mean that she desires a return to a state in which the wood creatures the "sovereign empire sway'd." We do not have to accept the Wood Nymph's voice and might regard her as a deluded and nostalgic reactionary. However we read her sentiments, we have to acknowledge that England contains diverse and often conflicting voices. Just as the river flows eternally but reminds the literate observer of the changes that it has witnessed and sometimes helped cause, so does the Wood Nymph show us that there are those eager to resist the march of progress and preserve the ancient ways that are in danger of being lost.

Drayton was developing the ambiguities that he found in Spenser's "multiform fictional universe" with its variety of overlapping locations and narratives that made up fairyland and inevitably failed to account for its totality (Erickson 1996, 129). Chorographical poetry was nuanced because the landscape told different, conflicting stories, reminding observers of the diverse nature of English history and the long-standing conflict between monarch, the political institutions and the people they represented, as well as the clash of nature and civilization.

An important addition to the genre is Sir John Denham's *Cooper's Hill*, first published in 1642 and famous as the originator of "local poetry" (Banks 1926, 269). Denham (1614/15–1669) represents himself looking out from his estates at Cooper's Hill, Egham, in Surrey and surveying the English landscape on the eve of the English Civil War. Denham looks east to Windsor and London, then over the Thames Valley, contrasting the bustle of the city to life in the countryside. Denham's sympathies lay largely with the Royalist cause, but such political labeling does little to explain his complicated understanding of the shifting balance of power in English life and history (see Wallace 1974; Kelliher 2014). In fact, like Drayton, who is frequently represented as a more oppositional figure than Denham, Denham was acutely aware of the need to balance and reconcile opposing forces that appeared when one read the landscape carefully. *Cooper's Hill* is a poem in which the narrator hopes for the best but has a fearful inclination that he might be about to witness the worst.

The opening lines

> Sure we have Poets, that did never dreame
> Upon Parnassus, nor did taste the streame
> Of Helicon, and therefore I suppose
> Those made not Poets, but the Poets those
> (Denham 1642, A2; lines 1–4)

present us with a conundrum: is the experience of Parnassus, the Muses' hill, vital to make a poet into a poet (see Boeckel 1998, 62)? Or do the poets, in fact, imagine Parnassus and so create it themselves? Put another way, does the land create the poets who describe it, giving them the natural features and human settlements about which they are able to write? Or do the poets, through their imagination, forge a landscape of the mind? It is a question that is at the heart of what chorographical poetry is and does, as well as expressing the anxiety of a nation which will either plunge headlong into chaos or pull itself back from the brink.

Denham's first glance toward London suggests that, like Jonson, he is suspicious of the powerful growth of the capital:

> I see the City in a thicker cloud
> Of businesse, then of smoake, where Men like Ants
> Toyle to prevent imaginarie wants;
> Yet all in vaine, increasing with their store,
> Their vast desires, but make their wants the more. (lines 28–32)

London, unlike the ideal of balanced life on a country estate, is trapped in a destructive cycle of appetites that require satisfying. Men and women work ever harder to slake their desires, not realizing that the real solution is equilibrium rather than endless work. The comparison between men and ants is deliberately misleading. Ants, like the ant in the fable of the ant and the grasshopper, work to ensure a secure future, not to indulge their vices: a significant detail in a poem which makes a number of references to Aesop's fables. Here, people work hard but only to produce things that no one really needs. This unstable situation is yet another cause of the present crisis and has fueled the dissatisfaction that leaves the country on the verge of civil war.

Just as the people lack a sense of proportion, so, it seems, does the seat of kings. Denham's narrator looks over to Windsor Castle, where balance seems rather precarious and what sounds like praise of regal approachability can either seem ironic—given Charles's famous aloofness—or a worried acknowledgment that the monarchy is under threat:

> With such an easie, and unforc'd Ascent,
> *Windsor* her gentle bosome doth present,
> Where no stupendous Cliffe, no threatening heights
> Accesse deny, no horrid steepe affreights,
> But such a Rise, as doth at once invite
> A pleasure, and a reverence from the sight. (lines 55–60)

A monarch with the human touch is to be welcomed in most circumstances, but here we have one whose accessibility suggests a lack of planning, a pointed contrast to the overly industrious ants. The enjoyment that a viewer might take from the prospect of the castle is not without its pain. Windsor invites pleasure, which suggests that it is not properly protected and so does not actually seem to be a castle which might be required in the event of civil war. The lines also hint that those who enter the castle may be rather overly dedicated to the pleasures which it invites, enjoying themselves when they should be

working hard on behalf of the nation. The balance of the city and the monarchy reads more like a parody of good order than proper, stable equilibrium, an impression reinforced by the subsequent lines on the castle's appearance:

> So *Windsor*, humble in it selfe, seems proud,
> To be the Base of that Majesticke load,
> Than which no hill a nobler burthen beares,
> But *Atlas* onely, that supports the spheres,
> Nature this mount so fitly did advance,
> We might conclude, that nothing is by chance
> So plac't, as if she did on purpose raise
> The Hill, to rob the builder of his praise. (lines 65–72)

These lines, in the tradition of chorographic poetry, are laden with ambiguities and ironies. Windsor seems humble to be the bearer of the seat of kings, something which does not necessarily reflect well on the town and the castle. If it is too humble then it ought to be made more regal or surrender its position: majesty should inspire awe and reverence if it is to function properly, not seem ordinary and limited, which undermines the status and nature of monarchs. The hill that bears the castle seems like Atlas, supporting the world on his shoulders. Again, such words look like praise but can also be read as a reflection on the burdens that monarchy will have to bear in the near future as the country's order and infrastructure dissolve. Nature did not, of course, "advance" the mount for the castle but it was chosen by English monarchs and, if a reader *might* conclude that nothing is left to chance they might also conclude that it has been, or if it is a plan, then it does not look like a sensible one in 1642. And who should we think of as the builder, another crucially ambiguous term? The architect? Or the monarch? If the castle is badly designed and in an inappropriate place, is that the fault of the person who designed the castle or the person who commissioned it? However we read this description, Denham suggests that the crown needs to think more carefully about its role and position. Like Drayton's rivers, Denham's buildings tell a story. Asking who can be seen as the castle's designer, Denham's narrator wonders

> To whom this Ile
> Must owe the glory of so brave a Pile,
> Whether to *Caesar*, *Albanact*, or *Brute*,
> The British *Arthur*, or the Danish *Knute*[.] (lines 81–84)

It might be stretching a point too far to claim that the description of the castle as a "pile" refers back to Jonson's words about Penshurst, but the ambiguity is the same: having a crumbling wreck is as dangerous for a monarch in dispute with his people as it is embarrassing for a neglected courtier. The five rulers cited here include three invaders; Julius Caesar, Brutus (the legendary founder of Britain), and Cnut; one monarch who killed himself as a result of invasion, Albanact, Brutus's son; and one king, Arthur, who rose to prominence fighting off invaders, but whose glorious empire ended with bloody civil war. The lessons are all there for Charles to read.

The poem then recounts the exploits of some of England's greatest warrior kings, a means of proving the maxim that "A Royall Eagle cannot breed a Dove" (line 100), in itself a problematic truth, suggesting that monarchs, like leopards, cannot change their spots and once set on a course of stern violence, characterize a whole dynasty. Describing the exploits of Edward I against the Scots and those of his grandson, Edward III, and his son, Edward, the Black Prince, against the French in the Hundred Years War, Denham deliberately confuses the reader so that a series of bellicose monarchs blend into a composite figure:

> That blood, which thou, and thy great Grandsire shed,
> And all that since these sister Nations bled,
> Had beene unspoilt, had happy *Edward* knowne
> That all the blood he spilt, had been his owne,
> Thou hadst extended through the conquer'd East,
> Thine and the Christian name, and made them blest
> To serve thee, while that losse this gains would bring,
> Christ for their God, and *Edward* for their King[.] (lines 117–124)

Edward becomes a symbol of the successful English warrior king defeating his enemies with ease. The "spilt blood" of the Scots and the French becomes that shed in civil war, and the unified nations imagined by Denham is the vast empire that the Plantagenets aspired to rule, here imagined as an Anglocentric conglomeration. The fantasy imagined is that had the empire been properly secured, Europe—led by the English—could have fought the Crusades more successfully and spread Christianity to the East. The English, French, and Scots would have been powerful allies together. Taken at face value this looks like an appealing prospect; read another way, on the eve of civil war, it looks more like a prediction of the blood that will be spilt if belligerence is not curbed. Warrior kings do not always make good rulers and other monarchical virtues may be required to govern effectively.

As the narrator surveys the Thames Valley we are then given more potent examples of bad, over-reaching kingship. Spying a ruined chapel on a hill, he condemns Henry VIII's behavior in suppressing the monasteries, relating the disasters of the past to his fears for England's future:

> Till in the common fate,
> The neighbouring Abbey fell, (may no such storme
> Fall on our times, where ruine must reforme)
> Tell me (my Muse) what monstrous dire offence?
> What crime could any Christian King incense
> To such a rage? wast Luxurie or Lust?
> Was he so temperate, so chast, so just?
> Were these their crimes; they were his owne, much more
> But they (alas) were rich, and he was poore;
> And having spent the treasures of his Crowne,
> Condemns their Luxurie, to feed his owne. (lines 148–158)

The condemnation of Henry VIII's motives for inaugurating the English Reformation are explicit: he is represented as a tyrant who was inspired by the basest desires, lust for Anne Boleyn and greed, having squandered his funds (presumably Denham is referring to Henry's gargantuan spending on foreign wars). The ruin serves as a reminder of Henry's crimes inscribed in the landscape, and, even though we cannot see Chertsey Abbey, the narrator knows enough from what he sees and has read of English history to be reminded of its fate (see Cummings 2000, 353; Walsham 2011). Charles is reminded of the terrible destruction that his predecessor caused, the effects of which can be still be seen well over a hundred years later, and implicitly advised to seek a compromise that will preserve the nation's traditions. Denham, not noted in accounts of his life for a particular religious position, is not necessarily declaring an allegiance to Catholicism in lamenting the overthrow of the medieval church. Rather, he is surveying the landscape to advise a ruler how best to govern his nation and reminding him what can happen if compromise is not reached. The monarch should know that he must not "spoyle, / The Mowers hopes, nor mocke the Plough-mans toyle" (lines 199–200), and that "a wise King first settles fruitfull peace / In his owne Realmes" (lines 205–206) before embarking on expansionist wars to enrich his subjects.

Cooper's Hill ends with a long description of a stag hunt which the speaker has seen, concluding with Charles slaying the noble beast "glad, and proud to dye" (line 298). We are immediately reminded that the hunt took place in Runymede water-meadow where King John was forced to sign the Magna Carta and so reluctantly ensure the liberty of his subjects. Charles, in the narrator's eyes, is surely a more suitable monarch than John or Henry VIII, or the poem could not have any serious purpose with its hope for compromise to ensure continuity. Even so, he needs to know that his rights as a monarch have to be limited and circumscribed, just as the demands of his subjects need to be kept within reasonable grounds. The poem ends with a plea that the rule of law will prevail: "And may that Law, which teaches Kings to sway / Their Scepters, teach their Subjects to obey" (lines 353–354). In making this moderate—but eventually futile—request, Denham is seeking to preserve the delicate balance of people and the environment, recognizing that this can only be achieved through compromise and political engagement. In doing so he is pushing a well-established mode of English poetry, the chorographical poem, to its logical limits.

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37
Masculinity

Joseph Campana

Just before Guyon, the knight of Temperance, destroys the Bower of Bliss in a spectacular exercise of violence at the close of the second book of *The Faerie Queene*, he and his moral guide, the Palmer, capture with "a subtile net" the enchantress Acrasia and her young lover Verdant, who has succumbed to her blandishments (Spenser 2001, II.xii.81). The episode alludes to the capture of Venus and her adulterous lover Mars under Vulcan's net, and to a series of heroes from the epic-romance who are tempted and ensnared by love, from Homer's Odysseus to Virgil's Aeneas to Ariosto's Ruggerio to Torquato Tasso's Rinaldo. At stake in Verdant's recovery is his self-definition as a knight. He appears to be a "goodly swayne of honorable place" and thus

> certes it great pittie was to see
> Him his nobilities so foul deface;
> A sweet regard, and amiable grace,
> Mixed with manly sternnesse did appeare
> Yet sleeping, in his well proportiond face,
> And on his tender lips to downy heare
> Did now but freshly spring, and silken blosssomes beare. (II.xii.79)

How interesting that "manly sternnesse," the only direct reference to masculinity, is by no means the dominant note in this description and is never opposed to solely or obviously feminine or even effeminate terms. Sweet, amiable, tender, and silken might refer to delicacy, receptivity, and vulnerability in ways that can be but are not necessarily gendered. "Amiable grace" appears also in reference to the knight of Chastity, Britomart, the great instance of virtuous female masculinity in *The Faerie Queene*. She "was full of amiable grace, / And manly terrour mixed therewithall" (III.i.46).

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Captured here are key features of a poetics of masculinity in Renaissance England. First, with respect to this passage, the moment is specular and spectacular: it is a scene of intemperance staged in a garden, rather than in a wooden O, for two viewers in the manner of a performance to which readers of the poem add additional layers of spectatorship. The performance (or failure) of virtue confers an identity rooted in nobility but that suggests a larger social role. That identity is a compound of "sweet regard" and "manly sternnesse," which is to say it is not merely a mixture of obviously gendered traits, even though love-induced effeminacy is certainly at issue in this episode. Rather Verdant is the result of a proportion of constantly calibrated gestures of hardening and softening, assertion and deference, welcoming and distancing. Verdant evokes in viewers a range of affects and intensities: pleasure, titillation, admiration, pity, and shame at a minimum. Verdant's age is important, being an indication of a transition to adulthood that represented an intensification of gender and therefore also an indication that identity depends on progress through stages of life.

Without the word "masculinity" appearing even once—and "manly" appearing only once—we find, in miniature, an entire conception of gender organized around a performance rooted in gestures that index an identity, a range of affects, a social role, and a stage of life. One more important feature stands out, which is that masculinity is understood as embedded in notions of the heroic, which for many stands in as a dominant figuration of masculinity. Robin Headlam Wells, for instance, understands early modern masculinity almost entirely in reference to articulations of the heroic ideal and to the broad interest in heroic poetry. Thus he opens *Shakespeare and Masculinity* with the blunt statement, "This is a book about Shakespeare's heroes" (Wells 2000, 1). The heroic was by no means the only face of masculinity; indeed, to think so would be to exclude varieties of masculinity associated with a range of figures—from clerics and laborers to students and commoners—that are of far less interest to, if by no means excluded from, the parameters of heroic poetry.[1] And yet defining figures of martial potency appear not only in heroic poetry but in love sonnets, treatises on poetics, and more. The heroic tradition functions in a hegemonic manner, borrowing a notion codified by R. W. Connell in his 1995 study *Masculinities* and more recently clarified in an essay with James W. Messerschmidt:

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men. (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832)[2]

Normative if not normal, the standard which all observed but few obtained, the heroic ideal was definitive for masculinity in Renaissance England. Just one stanza of Spenser distills not only a way of thinking about heroism, eroticism, and masculinity in the literary traditions of Renaissance England but also a way of understanding decades of formative scholarship on a poetics of masculinity in that era. What follows is an attempt to identify central nodes of recent approaches to masculinity associated with two clusters

of terms: performance, identity, and role, on the one hand, and affect, embodiment, and intensity, on the other. I then begin to suggest the utility of another set of terms: precarity, network, measure, capacity, and assemblage.[3]

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The play has been the thing wherein if not to catch the conscience of the king then to illuminate a critical enterprise with respect to the analysis of gender. It comes as no surprise when, early on in *Shakespeare and Masculinity*, Bruce R. Smith states that masculinity is "a matter of contingencies, of circumstances, of performance" (Smith 2000, 4). This is, of course, a study of Shakespeare. And yet this statement also reflects what has become a baseline for studies of masculinity, which is an attention, perhaps an over-attention, to performance.[4] Performance and performativity have anchored the study of gender, and masculinity has been no exception, whether one considers its theory, practice, or history. Arguably, several strands of sometimes overlapping, sometimes parallel conversations about the constitution of identity through performance (often with reference to the materiality of human embodiment) have taken place in the last quarter-century, serving to correct the indifference of earlier critics to the fact that "man" was always the primary facet of the human, the ideal standard against which all were measured.

This predilection for performance might be understood in several ways. First, there is a persistent attention to the drama of Renaissance England, which often outstrips attention to other genres and which is particularly tied up with the dominance of Shakespeare.[5] But this predilection would also include broader attention to the material practices of the Renaissance English stage, including child players, critical responses to which motivated an evolution from critical narratives of disguise and cross-dressing to conversations about social structures of gender. Formative scholarship by Stephen Orgel (1996), Laura Levine (1994), Jean Howard (1988), and Phyllis Rackin (1987) take up the question, provocatively posed by Orgel in his landmark 1989 essay "Nobody's Perfect: Or, Why did the English Stage take Boys for Men?" Second, there is the notion of gender performativity, which developed alongside attention to the institutions of the Renaissance English stage and which reached a pinnacle in Judith Butler's influential *Gender Trouble* (1990), which describes gender as the consequence of gestures, necessarily repeatable imitations and iterations that come to constitute identity. This language of performativity saturates discussions of gender in the Renaissance, whether as a theoretical paradigm applied to Renaissance texts or as a principle to be historicized. Jennifer Low, for example, insists that "when Butler refers to performativity, she is in fact drawing upon a centuries-old tradition" (Low 2003, 174). Third, Butler's theories of gender performativity emerged in part alongside renewed interest in J. L. Austin's writings about linguistic performativity or modalities of language that accomplish rather than describe an activity or event. Austin refers to this as "the performative utterance," which is "not, or not merely, saying something but doing something" (Austin 1975, 25).

Finally, the performance of social roles, rituals, and rites of passage offers a powerful language for the history and sociology of masculinity across disciplines, geographies, and centuries. Perhaps no one has been a more convincing advocate for the language of social roles and scripts with respect to Renaissance masculinities than Bruce Smith. The five

ideals for masculinity that he identifies in *Shakespeare and Masculinity* hark back to the social scripts of *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England* (Smith 1995). Low argues that "the duel in early modern England became an overdetermined sign of masculine identity that helped to stabilize significantly volatile notions of both rank and gender. Perhaps because it rested on the assumption of an unproblematic link between essence and self-representation, the practice helped to define appropriate manners among a number of different social groups" (Low 2003, 3). Elizabeth Foyster describes early modern men and women negotiating their relationship to manhood through the overlapping experience of "multiple identities and roles, which were reflected in the way they thought and spoke about their honour" (Foyster 1999, 6). Not only social roles but also stages of life loom large in studies of masculinity. Lisa Celovsky argues that "*The Faerie Queene* explores the masculine tensions that arise when men face the transition from bachelorhood to husbandhood" (Celovsky 2005, 210).[6]

The timely emergence of performativity seemed to offer an exit from exhausted debates between essentialism and social construction while facilitating transitions between individuals and systems of power, which Foucault described as two "axes" of power: the "disciplines of the body" on the one hand and "the regulation of populations" on the other (Foucault 1980, 145). Yet one might also argue that ties between performance and identity leave us on and in an endlessly reflective mirror stage. Perhaps it is no surprise that so many approaches to masculinity in the Renaissance would be marked by a variety of psychoanalytic approaches. This is not only the result of the predominance of such methodologies in previous decades. Sigmund Freud, as so many have noted, admits to having his moment of inspiration about Oedipal fantasy not at a performance of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* but rather at a performance of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In spite of noted resistance to the deployment of psychoanalytic paradigms in early modern studies, the field has witnessed a healthy range of approaches, from Freudian to Kleinian and beyond. Coppélia Kahn influentially describes Shakespeare's "male characters" as "engaged in a continuous struggle, first to form a masculine identity, then to be secure and productive in it." Like Freud, Shakespeare "dealt with the same subject: the expressed and hidden feelings in the human heart. They were both psychologists" and thus both attentive to "the process of forming an identity" (Kahn 1981, 1). Moreover, masculine "identity has two sides. One faces inward, to the core of the individual, to his own confidence in being uniquely himself, and in the consistency and stability of this self-image through space and time. The other looks outward, to his society; it rests on his confidence in being recognized by others *as* himself, and on his ability to unify his self-image through space and time" (2–3). The performance of identity implies the performance of social roles, thus "Shakespeare's interest in masculine identity centers on this adult struggle to achieve a second birth into manhood" (12).

More importantly, for my purposes, psychoanalysis and Renaissance humanism share an investment in the production of identity as constituted in moments of mirroring, imitation, and emulation. What Richard Halpern described some time ago as the "mimetic assimilation of knowledge" (Halpern 1991, 30), Lynn Enterline, more recently, examines as "humanism's platform of *imitatio*" (Enterline 2012, 4). Kahn too refers to the role of this imitative culture in the production of masculinity. As she puts it, "No textual representation could ever command the interpellating power that the schoolmaster or

scholar possessed through frequent if not daily interaction with his pupils. But schoolmasters and scholars actively promoted exemplars and their images were widely disseminated in humanistic culture as models of virtue" (Kahn 1997, 11). Virtue evokes in its root meaning not only manliness but the heroic ideal that saturated Renaissance culture. As Wells puts it,

> For the Renaissance, the heroic ideal is essentially masculine. The qualities it evokes—courage, physical strength, prowess in battle, manly honour, defiance of fortune—may be summed up in a word whose Latin root means "a man." As English Renaissance writers understand the term, *virtus* signifies an ideal of manhood that derives partly from classical epic, partly from medieval chivalry, and partly from Italian *realpolitik*. (Wells 2000, 2)

Kathryn Schwarz's analysis of early modern Amazon encounters locates a similar set of coordinates—identity and performance, narcissism and mirroring—with respect to female masculinity and heroic ideals (Schwarz 2000, 3).

Unsurprisingly, the idealization of virtuous and potent manhood, an importantly imitable ideal reflected in mirrors more than once in this era, encouraged attention to failure, thus elaborating a critical psychoanalytics of damaged masculinity. Diane Purkiss considers the context of the English Civil Wars with reference to castration and hysteria. Indeed, she witnesses a "fissuring under the extreme pressure of the political events of the 1640s and 1650s," and yet maintains that "masculinity is in any case always already broken" (Purkiss 2010, 1). Citing the presence of "Petrarchan lovers," "mournful elegists," and "lachrymose cross-dressers," Catherine Bates argues that "Renaissance lyric is populated by such figures who appear by choice to defy the period's model of a phallic, masterly masculinity—these adopted positions of impotence, failure, and gendered discontent seeming willfully to pervert what might otherwise have been seen … as the patriarchal norm" (Bates 2007, 1). Enterline approaches mirroring, particularly considering "how melancholia gives a certain critical purchase on two kinds of disruption—that of an identity in language and that of an identity in sexuality" (Enterline 1999, 9). Masculinity is characterized by narcissism and melancholia and attended by myriad "images of self-reflection and images conveying a sense of loss that exceeds all compensation" (1).[7] Many studies look back to Mark Breitenberg's *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England*, which argues that "Masculine subjectivity constructed and sustained by a patriarchal culture inevitably engenders varying degrees of anxiety in its male members," and he characterizes this endemically damaged masculinity as a perpetually anxious and, as a result, defensive disposition (Breitenberg 1996, 1).[8]

Like a shattered mirror, masculinity casts off shards of myriad affects, from anxiety to rage to melancholia, the vibrancy of which suggests that another notion worth attending to would be intensity. Jennifer Feather and Catherine E. Thomas focus attention on the violence required to sustain masculinity. "The place of violence in the construction of masculinity," they argue, "came under particular stress in the early modern period as a chivalric aristocracy gave way to a culture of courtly diplomacy" (Feather and Thomas 2013, 2). While, for some, masculinity implies the presence or absence of quantities of force, Todd W. Reeser defines a cultural ideal of moderation and measure, arguing that "one of the prime ideological ends to which the ethical principle of moderation is molded is gender" (Reeser 2006, 14). The need

to moderate affect and intensity suggests that sense of corporeal force which has long been tied to masculine potency, making ever more important scholarship on embodiment. In what seems to hark back to earlier anatomic approaches to embodiment, Will Fisher describes a prosthetic notion of gender, attending to beards and codpieces, handkerchiefs and hair, "the range of parts and features that might have helped establish masculinity or femininity" (Fisher 2006, 2). Patricia Simons, on the other hand, argues not for a "body in parts" vision of corporeality but an integrated physiology of embodiment. She argues for a "semen-centered and humoral way of conceiving of sexed bodies, and the ways in which those ideas produced non-modern notions of masculinity and of sexual actions and pleasure" (Simons 2011, 3; see also Mazzio and Hillman 1997). Masculinity is thus not phallic but projective, not oriented around body parts but fluidic, action-oriented displays, including ejaculation, pissing, and spitting.

Accounts of the affects and intensities attendant upon masculinity force us to ask whether such performances disrupt or only ever affirm the workings of patriarchal power. While representations of Amazons may seem transgressive, Schwarz contends such narratives "are less interested in the Amazons' resistance to patriarchy than their participation in it" (Schwarz 2000, 3). Even normative performances were no guarantee of power or its subversion. Alexandra Shepard's influential *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* insists that "manhood and patriarchy were not equated in early modern England, and should not be elided by gender historians," precisely because of the multiplicity of early modern masculinities and the complex distribution of power across genders but also across class, age, and other social categories. Thus "patriarchal privilege was varied for men as well as women (albeit on profoundly different grounds), and the competing forms of manhood asserted by early modern men could and did undermine patriarchal ideals" (Shepard 2003, 1).

What, then, is the efficacy of failed, damaged, or perverse masculinity? To set aside, to appear to set aside, or to invert the prerogatives of phallic mastery, as Bates suggests, may not change the structures associated with gender identity. Indeed the work of Simons and Fisher suggests that other economies of force and other configurations of parts render phallic potency not required for mastery. Perhaps the problem so many scholars encounter is in the relays between individual identities, bodies, or ideals, on the one hand, and complex broader networks, on the other. Thus the attempt to understand the workings of power and patriarchy with respect to the performance of masculinity, its solidification into a series of identities, and its affective and corporeal intensities, may have occluded an important question: What is the unit of masculinity? How is it possible to avoid enshrining as all too simple and singular a given cultural ideal, identity, body (or body part), or affective state? How, in other words, can we avoid reifying performative and performed gender identities?

My own scholarship has attempted to understand masculinity as an ethical practice, rather than an approach to an identity. "Masculinity in *The Faerie* Queene," I argue, "is an opportunity for vulnerability, and it is vulnerability that makes ethical action possible" (Campana 2012, 10). States of vulnerable masculinity index not some agonistic ideological struggle which leaves us to wonder if non-normative masculinities evidence subversion or containment. Nor is the point to assess the success or failure of masculine identity that heightened experiences of suffering might portend. Rather, states of vulnerability reveal

forms of interconnectivity rooted in the precarious life of the flesh which is shared by all even as some experience greater or lesser degrees of *precarity*. Fisher's attention to prostheses of gender aims at a new account of individuality, one that stresses not "social distinction and autonomy" but rather "connectedness" to a larger social whole (Fisher 2006, 160). Fisher's work thus suggests gender remains part of a *network* and his focus on parts suggests it is also an *assemblage* of the animate and inanimate (see also Latour 2007). Bates's recent *Masculinity and the Hunt* examines hunting as a symbolic activity long associated with heroic ideals of masculinity and traces the evolution by which the "obsolescence" of long-standing hunting practices made the hunt symbolically and aesthetically powerful. She argues that "the more antiquated, archaic, and unnecessary hunting became, the better able it was to signify prestige" (Bates 2013, 9). While this offers a literary anthropology of masculinity, the materials she examines suggest the importance of understanding masculine potencies with respect to the *capacities* of creatures, since the hunt is an assemblage of human and non-human life.[9] Patricia A. Cahill's *Unto the Breach* treats martial formations on the stage. While it is articulated neither as a study of masculinity nor of poetry per se, it finds in the militarism of the theater the importance of notions of *measure* that might provide ways of understanding masculinity in Renaissance England. "New military texts," she argues, "gave currency to the notion, key to later historical developments, that Man was not the measure of all things but rather a potentially measurable being, someone whose parts and powers might—indeed, must—be reckoned and reproduced as a form of social wealth" (Cahill 2008, 7).

This over-reliance on performance and performativity has produced a number of unexpected consequences. First, in spite of the contingency and fluidity that performance introduced to the conversation, more often than not one observes the reification of identity. The exhaustion of the languages of identity accompanies a fundamental problem of identifying the basic unit of masculinity. To over-emphasize individuals, individual body parts, and individual states of affect is to conceive too simply of the relays between individuals and groups. Because gender analyses so often still devolve upon individual identities—their constitution and lived experience, their fluidity or fixedness—a set of other assumptions accompany the notion of an identity, "the quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, properties, or in particular qualities under consideration; absolute or essential sameness; oneness" (*OED*). Singularity and oneness thus recur in accounts that examine a plurality of masculinities. The problem of singularity extends from identity to affect. Not only have certain singular affects been privileged (rage, melancholy, anxiety) but also individual experiences of affect as opposed to transpersonal networks of affect, which call into question the oneness and the sameness of affective experience. Second, work on masculinity proliferates in drama criticism but lags, relatively, elsewhere. Finally, scholars attentive to failed masculinities have struggled to parse the political consequences of such failure without lapsing back into the dead end of containment and transgression that typified the emergence of New Historicist analyses of power. As a consequence, we might refocus attention to masculinity through precarity, measure, network, assemblages, and capabilities, terms that can help emphasize long-standing concerns while also admitting new ones.

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By way of conclusion, we might return to the Legend of Temperance and the iconic shattering of the Bower of Bliss with these new terms in mind. This episode is not merely one of any number of poetic representations of masculinity but, rather, one in which poetics and masculinity are equally at stake. To make or break art is also to make or break masculinity here, as is clear in the heightened sensuality of an episode that takes place in "the most daintie Paradise on ground" (II.xii.58) where "nature had for wantonnesse ensued / Art, and that Art at nature did repine" (II.xii.59). It is a place of exquisite melodious sounds where "there consorted in one harmonee / Birds, voyces, instruments, windes, waters, all agree" (II.xii.70). Poetic experience is constituted by assemblage, and the stuff of poesis is avian, human, mechanical, and elemental. Verdant appears in the midst of this exquisite sensorium "sleeping," his "sweet regard, and amiable grace, / Mixed with manly sternnesse" (II.xii.79). His is, however, a masculinity constituted in the abeyance of the martial. Quite famously:

> His warlike armes, the idle instruments,
> Of sleeping praise, were hong vpon a tree
> And his braue shield, full of old moniments,
> Was fowly ra'st, that none the signes might see;
> Ne for them, ne for honour cared hee,
> Ne ought, that did to his aduancement tend,
> But in lewd loues, and wastfull luxuree,
> His dayes, his goodes, his bodie he did spend:
> O horrible enchantment, that him so did blend. (II.xii.80)

The sleeping Verdant harks back to the dead Mordant that Guyon and the Palmer discover in the second canto, the "dead corse" of Mordant whose "ruddie lips did smile, and rosy red / Did paint his chearefull cheeks, yet being ded." That is to say, in spite of death he is "in the freshest flower of lustie hed" and "the blossome of his age" (II.i.41). The figures of Mordant and Verdant frame the Legend of Temperance, that book of *The Faerie Queene* that addresses masculinity's relationship to distributions of pleasure, affect, and life force. Spenser relied on but made significant alterations to the pattern he received from his predecessors in epic-romance. While Odysseus, Aeneas, Ruggerio, and Rinaldo are all central figures tempted or delayed by the lure of pleasure, Mordant and Verdant are principles rather than characters. Verdant particularly is a minor figure whose freedom is quickly gained, followed by his disappearance from the narrative: "*Verdant* (so he hight) he soon vntyde, / And counsel sage in steed thereof to him applyde" (II.xii.82). A quick chat and some reasonable advice sends him on his way, leaving the Palmer to lavish his disdain on another captive, Grill, who has been metamorphosed into a pig and prefers to keep his animal shape, eliciting the iconic lines, "The donghill kind / Delights in filth and foule incontinence." Thus they "Let *Grill* be *Grill*, and haue his hoggish mind" (II.xii.87). The liberation of Verdant's predecessor, Torquato Tasso's Rinaldo, however, comes after additional drama centered on the signature device of the mirror. At first, Rinaldo sees and admires himself in an actual "Christall mirrour, bright, pure, smooth, and neat" and then later in the eyes of his

temptress Armida (Tasso 1981, xvi.20). Later, however, Rinaldo catches sight of his own effeminate luxury in the mirrored surface of his "pure and pretious sheild," which causes "His bloud began to warme, his hart to rise" (xvi.29):

> Vpon the targe his lookes amas'd he bent,
> And therein all his wanton habite spide,
> His ciuet, baulme, and perfumes redolent,
> How from his lockes they smoakt, and mantle wide,
> His sword that many a Pagan stout had shent,
> Bewrapt with flowres, hung idlie by his side,
> So nicely decked, that it seemd the knight
> Wore it for fashion sake, but not for fight.
>
> As when, from sleepe and idle dreames abraid,
> A man awakt, cals home his wits againe;
> So in beholding his attire he plaid,
> But yet to view himselfe could not sustaine,
> His lookes he downward cast, and nought he said,
> Grieu'd, shamed, sad, he would haue died faine,
> And oft he wisht the earth or Ocean wide
> Would swallow him, and so his errours hide. (xvi.30–31)

A number of important elements arise in this conversation between Spenser and Fairfax's Tasso. For Tasso, a fairly predictable palate of affects comes to the fore: compromised masculinity evokes shame and despair. The precarious life of masculinity in *The Faerie Queene*, however, seems less interested in the disciplinary power of affective experience with respect to appropriate masculinity. Interestingly, Verdant, Mordant, and Grill seem fairly shame-resistant whereas Guyon seems impartially (that is, not wrathfully) violent. Thus Spenser puts in flux fundamental conditions of aliveness in his figures of compromised masculinity. Verdant and Mordant are life principles and thus to address masculinity is not only to address a social role or performed identity. It is, also, to consider distinctions between life and non-life and between human life and other forms of life. The pivotal presence of Grill in Spenser's Bower suggests an interest in the distribution of sensation, pleasure, affect, and cognition across life forms. The floral language of these figures is not merely metaphoric, then, but rather an index of a larger meditation on sensation, affect, and vitality. Masculinity is also a network of multiples and is a phenomenon distributed across bodies. It is also the consequence of an assemblage of bodies and materials. It takes many to make a man and thus the fundamental unit or measure of masculinity is not the individual. The constitution of masculinity, whether fierce or effeminate, requires multiple bodies (Mordant, Amavia, and Acrasia; Acrasia, Verdant, Palmer, and Guyon; Rinaldo, Armida, Ubaldo, and Guelpho), multiple objects (arms, armor, and blood; flowers; civet, balm, and perfumes; a mirror), and a milieu that integrates life forms (the shape and constitution of creaturely life), forms of life (ethical habits or dispositions), and literary forms. Masculinity is less the assertion or failure of prowess at moments such as these. It is, instead, the architecture of interrelation that makes proportion and measure as important as performance, flowers as important as force, civet and shields as important as shame, and mirrors as important, if not more so, than the expressions we have come to recognize of manly sternness.

Notes

1 Arab (2011) attempts to give voice to the role common working men play in notions of Renaissance masculinity.

2 This essay represents a re-visitation of the concept originally articulated by Connell (1995).

3 Many thanks to Kenneth Gouwens, Brendan Kane, and Laurie Nussdorfer for inviting me to participate as a respondent to the University of Connecticut's Workshop on the History of Masculinities. My response to that occasion, which offers a parallel approach to this essay, appears as Campana (2015).

4 A recent monograph crystallizes most of these tendencies. Christopher Marlow argues, "the plays that were performed in early modern Oxbridge colleges can be understood as artefacts through which young Tudor and Stuart men interrogated the subject positions that their culture constructed for them … university drama was, in particular, a way of commenting upon and shaping early modern masculinity" (Marlow 2013, 6). Marlow elaborates this "scholarly masculinity" as an identity that "delimits a space of negotiation" and a "site of contestation: an anxious conceptual space wherein tensions between moderation and excess, between the assertion of individual and communal identities, and between native English and academic cultures clash, struggle, and fester" (7).

5 Studies of Renaissance masculinity exclusively or primarily restricted to the stage abound: see Bothelo (2009), Ellis (2009), McAdam (2009), and Arab (2011), amongst others. Bailey and Hentschell innovatively link gender, place, and vice to examine the way "urban spaces communicated gendered messages" (Bailey and Hentschell 2010, 2), though the contributions mostly examine or invoke theatrical texts to do so. Feather and Thomas (2013) similarly treat mostly drama with a few essays on *Paradise Lost*, elegy, and papal Rome.

6 For a more complete social history of early modern masculinity, see Shepard (2003). Recent studies such Knowles (2014) and Roberts (2012) consider larger stage-of-life questions involving masculinity and maturation.

7 Although Wells (2007) does not focus so directly on masculinity in her study of romance, she understands masculine affect through medical accounts of melancholia, while Vaught (2008) focuses on grief as she attempts to backdate to the Renaissance the man of feeling typical of the cult of sentimentality. Capp (2014) considers masculinity and expressions of sorrow in larger religious and cultural contexts.

8 Breitenberg continues to be faithfully cited, as in Hinds (2008).

9 On capacity as a defining approach to human/non-human relations see Campana (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016).

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38
Queer Studies

Stephen Guy-Bray

Queer studies in Renaissance poetry—like queer studies more generally—began in the 1970s as gay and lesbian studies, so in this partial (in both senses) chronological survey, I will start with that decade. To a great extent, the first scholars working in gay and lesbian studies were concerned with finding and celebrating two things: gay people and gay texts. Among Renaissance writers, the most obvious candidate for this sort of treatment was William Shakespeare, and his most obvious text for this sort of treatment was, of course, the sonnets. Even the most rabid homophobe could not deny that many of Shakespeare's sonnets are addressed to men, and that these sonnets include many of the best known and most romantic. The usual arguments of homophobes here is that the sonnets addressed to the man should not be understood as sexual. Joseph Pequigney ably refuted this belief over 30 years ago, but his analysis has been ignored by conservative critics (see Pequigney 1985). What is more, in discussing Shakespeare as a gay writer, scholars and activists (two groups with greater overlap then than now) could also make the point that gay and lesbian studies was not a specialized and minority discourse of interest only to a very small group, but rather part of the mainstream. That is, gay and lesbian literary studies can be concerned even with the most canonical of texts. And who, after all, could be more canonical than Shakespeare? As this early gay criticism frequently relied on an unproblematized link between writers' biographies and their textual production, however, gay criticism on the sonnets tended to take it as given that Shakespeare himself was gay, an assumption that led to a great deal of controversy and that was not ultimately productive or important.

While Shakespeare's sonnets have been central to the idea of English literature almost since their first publication, the poetry of Richard Barnfield was rescued from obscurity by early gay scholars, most notably Scott Giantvalley in an early essay that connected Barnfield, Drayton, and Marlowe (see Giantvalley 1981). Much of Barnfield's poetry is

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explicitly concerned with a man's love for another man. In the first stanza of *The Affectionate Shepheard*, for example, the speaker regrets

> … th'vnhappy sight
> Of that faire Boy that had my hart intangled;
> Cursing the Time, the Place, the sense, the sin;
> I came, I saw, I viewd, I slipped in.
> (Barnfield 1594, A3; lines 3–6)

These lines nicely balance a consciousness of the prohibitions against homoeroticism and the desire to give into it nonetheless. Not all his poetry was homoerotic, however: his first collection contains poems that are concerned with male love for women. As Kenneth Borris has pointed out, "The organization and the content of the volume constitute an implicit argument that male same-sex love is not, per se, on any different moral or religious level from that of heteroerotic experience" (Borris 2001, 202–203; for other discussions of Barnfield, see Bredbeck 1992; Guy-Bray 2002, 151–163; See 2007). I have singled out Borris's comment because it seems to me to exemplify one of the most important discoveries of gay and lesbian research in Renaissance poetry: the boundaries between what we think of as homosexual and what we think of as heterosexual are as porous and provisional then as now, despite, for example, the fearsome legal penalties against sodomy. Thinking about this discovery is one of the things that ultimately led to what we now call queer theory, as it focused attention on strategies of representation rather than only on biographical content.

Other signs of the emergence of queer theory can be found in two books from the early period of gay and lesbian studies, one still very well known and one much less so. The less well-known one is Rictor Norton's *The Homosexual Literary Tradition*, published in 1974. The first thing to comment upon is the bravado of the title: at a time when homosexuality was not generally felt to have a history (or, at least, not one worth telling), Norton proclaimed not only that it did have a history but that this history was the basis of a literary tradition. What is more, this tradition is not an obscure one. Roughly the first third of the book is concerned with classical literature, including some of the most famous texts; the second two-thirds with Renaissance literature. In addition to Shakespeare and Barnfield, Norton discusses Marlowe, Spenser, William Browne of Tavistock, Sir Philip Sidney, Marvell, Drayton, and several other writers. Although Norton's approach is heavy on archetypal criticism, the book is still valuable for the range of authors and genres that it covers and for its enlargement of what gay studies could discuss. For instance, Norton suspects that the heterosexuality of the plot of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* "is a device created for the support of its numerous homosexual subplots" (Norton 1974, 207). Throughout, Norton's book valuably demonstrates that what we now call queerness is not the opposite of heterosexuality (in any form), but rather something that may be connected to it and may even be indistinguishable from it.

The second of these two books is Jonathan Goldberg's *Endlesse Worke*, first published in 1981. It may seem odd to consider this book, which only very rarely discusses sexuality of any kind, as a work of proto-queer theory, but in his careful and unfailingly perceptive analysis of Book IV of the *Faerie Queene*, Goldberg models a method of analysis—blending

the established techniques of close reading with what was then the very new (at least in the English-speaking world) techniques of poststructuralist criticism—that has arguably been more influential among queer theorists than any other, although it is certainly the case that the first of Spenser's eclogues in his *Shepheardes Calender*, concerned as it (partly) is with the unrequited love of one man for another, is the most obvious choice for gay scholars working on Spenser (Norton discusses this eclogue; see also Guy-Bray 2002, 135–251; and Ellis 1994). Goldberg's subtle discussion of Book IV—the Legend of Friendship—makes a similar point to Norton: a poem may be read homoerotically without being explicitly homoerotic.

For example, the friendship of the two men who are the ostensible protagonists of Book IV is something that coexists with heterosexuality without being thereby rendered non-sexual. Here is Spenser's introduction of these characters:

> Two knights, that lincked rode in louely wise,
> As if they secret counsels did partake;
> And each not farre behind him had his make,
> To weete, two Ladies of most goodly hew,
> That twixt themselues did gentle purpose make.
> (Spenser 1596, IV.ii.30)

Significantly, we can read this picture as showing two same-sex couples or two mixed-sex couples: while each knight has his "make" (mate), the two knights are together, as are their two ladies. These friendships function to some extent as a destabilizing force in the book, as Goldberg's account of the narrative oddities of Book IV demonstrates. Goldberg's implicit equation of non-standard human relationships and non-standard literary form was perhaps especially valuable for queer work on Renaissance poetry.

I want now to look at two roughly contemporaneous works, neither of which was explicitly concerned with literature but both of which had a great influence on gay studies: Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality*, the first volume of which originally appeared in English in 1978, and Alan Bray's *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, which was first published in 1982. Foucault's work on homosexuality allowed for a more historically nuanced way to talk about the role of sexuality in the lives of people from the past. He pointed out that our contemporary sexual identities are precisely that—contemporary—and drew attention to discourse, to the multitudinous ways in which sexual activity of all kinds has been discussed, forbidden, promoted. Although Foucault's insights have suffered because of their adoption by less subtle thinkers (vast amounts of time were wasted on the question of the origins of sexual identity in the 1980s), his focus on discourse enabled many critics to consider literature as possibly constitutive rather than only descriptive. In addition, Foucault drew attention to the ways in which sexuality is represented and must, in fact, be represented, which has been one of the most productive avenues of exploration for queer theory (see, for example, Bromley and Stockton 2013).

Bray's book is a much more conventional history than Foucault's. It is a carefully researched and argued work of social history. One of Bray's major contributions was to point out how rarely sodomy was prosecuted in Renaissance England and how the prosecutions that did occur were usually connected to other breaches of the social order, such as mingling of ranks or ethnic groups. Although Bray's work is very far from anything that

would now be characterized as queer theory, the idea that non-normative sexuality may be connected to other kinds of non-normative behavior has been very productive in the widening of focus that has typified queer theory in comparison to gay and lesbian studies. Bray usefully pointed out the extent to which Renaissance England depended on what is now called homosociality and suggested that we might see the opposition between the male friend and the sodomite as one of the basic facts about that society. Bray tended to overstate the opposition between these two roles, however, and more recent scholarship has shown that the roles often overlapped. Furthermore, Bray seemed at a loss with literary sources, often relying on an opposition between historical and literary texts that quickly came to seem outdated (for a good discussion of this point, see Stewart 1997, 123 ff.). Nevertheless, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* was one of the foundational texts in a discipline that was still becoming academically respectable.

Bruce Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England* (1991) is a work that was influenced by Bray, but that applied his insights to a series of subtle and penetrating analyses of Renaissance literature. Smith's book can be seen as a move from the social history of Bray's book to an intellectual history that is still grounded in the texts of the time, only now these texts tend to be (primarily) literary ones. Smith deals with what were already by 1991 the usual subjects—Spenser's first eclogue, the sonnets of Shakespeare and Barnfield, for example—but he deals with a great deal of new material as well. The book is organized thematically (for instance, Chapter 3 is called "The Passionate Shepherd" and deals chiefly with pastoral themes), and this choice usefully allows the reader to consider the extent to which certain genres or settings may have appeared particularly suitable for presentations of passionate relations between men. At the end of his first chapter, Smith makes a statement that has been particularly resonant in queer historical work since then: "I assume that people read literature of the past to enhance their lives in the present" (Smith 1991, 29). Such an enhancement has, to a greater or lesser extent, been a part of gay and lesbian studies since its inception, but it often seems that in the quarter-century since Smith's book appeared this question has been of central concern to most queer work in historical periods.

In the last paragraph but one I used the word "homosociality." This word has now entered the critical lexicon and no longer requires either a gloss or a footnote, but I want to point out here that it comes from the enormously influential work of the late Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. Sedgwick did not write primarily about Renaissance literature or about poetry (although *Between Men*, 1985, the book that made her famous, contained a memorable discussion of Shakespeare's sonnets), but in her analyses of literature she modeled a critical practice that changed the direction of queer studies. In fact, it is not too large a claim to say that she was one of the major figures who turned queer studies into queer theory. Sedgwick insisted, probably more forcefully than anyone else, that an understanding of the binary opposition of homosexuality and heterosexuality is as important to an appreciation of the latter as to the former. Sedgwick made this point in reference to modern sexualities, but the idea has also been very productive for scholars of Renaissance poetry. Furthermore, while Sedgwick often discussed writers who could be described as homosexual or homoerotic, she also valuably focused attention on the queerness that can be inherent in narrative, language, and syntax as well, arguing, for instance, that grammatical tropes that highlight inversion may allude to inversion in the sexual sense as well (this argument is probably most prominent in *The Epistemology of the Closet*, 1990).

Smith's book appeared at about the same time as the emergence of queer studies. The reclamation of the term "queer," which began with AIDS activism in the second half of the 1980s, led to new ways of doing gay and lesbian studies. The term "queer theory" was first used in 1991 by Theresa de Lauretis in her introduction to a special issue of the journal *differences*. Rather than studying the ways in which some kind of homosexual identity had been lived and represented, queer scholars questioned the very idea of identity. As a homophobic slur, "queer" had meant homosexual; in queer theory, the word came to mean any person or thing—a historical movement, an artistic style, a way of living—that implicitly or explicitly called normative heterosexuality into question. One important consequence of this in Renaissance studies was that the identity of historical periods, which is to say the very periodization on which literary studies typically depends, could no longer be taken as a given. Those scholars working in historical queer studies became increasingly likely to abandon the tacit distance between a scholar in the present and texts in the past and to favor a back-and-forth movement through time. Time itself, that is, was no longer to be considered as a straight line like the patrilineal descent favored by heteronormativity but something that could be experienced queerly. Another kind of distance—the distance between literary and non-literary texts—was also interrogated.

As its title should indicate, one of the foundational texts in the new queer studies was Jonathan Goldberg's *Queering the Renaissance* (1994). This is a wide-ranging collection of essays that deal with poetry, drama, non-fiction, and with works from other languages than English. In many ways, the collection shows the influence of the ideas of queer theory, some of which I have sketched out in the previous paragraph. While certain essays deal with canonical texts (for instance, *The Faerie Queene* and *Romeo and Juliet*), others deal with texts that are not usually considered literature, such as the letters of Erasmus or the writings of Bacon. And some essays deal with literary texts that have not usually been highly esteemed, such as the writings of John Bale and Nicholas Udall. Significantly, the point of these essays is not that either Bale or Udall is a much better writer than we had been taught to believe, but rather that even these texts that have been marginalized by dominant scholarly discourse might have important things to tell us. Unlike earlier work in this area, queer studies was happy to consider the widest possible range of texts, and the break with the "Great Homosexuals of History" model that was typical of the early years of gay and lesbian scholarship was virtually complete.

One of the most significant aspects of *Queering the Renaissance* was the inclusion of two articles that dealt with desire between women, and I want to look at these in greater detail. Gay and lesbian studies in the Renaissance had, for most of its first two decades, been almost exclusively gay studies; books often contained the apologetic statement, somewhere in the introduction, that there was almost no material on women either in the book in question or, indeed, in Renaissance literature. *Queering the Renaissance* helped to change all this. I do not mean to suggest that it was alone in this: Harriette Andreadis's article on Katherine Philips was even earlier than *Queering the Renaissance*, for instance (see Andreadis 1989). In the field of queer Renaissance studies as a whole, however, it would be difficult to overstate the impact of Goldberg's collection. One of the essays in question was by Dorothy Stephens on Britomart and Amoret at the beginning of Book IV of the *Faerie Queene* (rapidly emerging as the queerest of the poem's six books). In Stephens's analysis, which later formed part of her monograph *The Limits of Eroticism in Post-Petrarchan Narrative* (1998), the scenes

of friendship between what are arguably the most important female characters in the *Faerie Queene* are also scenes of female homoeroticism. In the context of Spenser's poem, this is an important point to make: although male friends are the named protagonists of the Legend of Friendship, the inaugural episode in the book is a friendship between women. As is the case with much of what queer studies has shown, this same-sex homoeroticism is not marginal, but rather central.

The other article was a more general and wide-ranging one by Valerie Traub, which formed the basis for her monograph *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (2002). Traub's book has been an invaluable resource for people researching female homoeroticism in the Renaissance. While her primary interests are literary (and she does an excellent job of combing through a vast number of texts), she also looks at scientific and medical discourse from the Renaissance and at visual art. This is an ambitious and erudite work that has been enormously influential in the field, partly for the range of material it covered and partly for its clear and irrefutable demonstration that female homoeroticism was neither especially rare nor rarely discussed in the Renaissance. Traub showed instead what we could call the ubiquity of female homoeroticism in the period. By the time Traub's monograph appeared, it joined the company of similar monographs such as Harriette Andreadis's *Sappho in Early Modern England* (2001) and Laurie Shannon's *Sovereign Amity* (2002). In the years since then, many of the most valuable contributions to Renaissance queer studies have been made by female scholars who have written on a wide range of topics and have enriched the sense of the field as a whole.

The kinds of work featured in *Queering the Renaissance* have turned out to be typical of queer scholarship in Renaissance poetry and in Renaissance literature more generally. This is not only the case because increasing numbers of female scholars have done important work in the field but also because the queer Renaissance studies of the last two decades or so has looked at a wider range of authors and many kinds of texts. Furthermore, queer Renaissance scholarship has both influenced and been influenced by the wave of queer theory that began in the early 1990s and continues to this day. Two especially influential works of queer theory are Judith Butler's *Bodies that Matter* (1993), which appeared at about the same time as *Queering the Renaissance*, and Lee Edelman's *No Future* (2004), which appeared about 10 years later, although many others could certainly be cited. Butler's major contribution is arguably that she drew attention to the performative aspects of gender. This insight, developed throughout the work I have mentioned and in much other writing since, proved fruitful for many scholars looking at the ways in which both masculinity and femininity are constructed and interrogated in Renaissance texts. Just as Foucault had led scholars to consider the factitious nature of sexual identities, so Butler suggested too that sex and gender should be considered as provisional constructs.

Edelman's *No Future* can be understood as a polemic about our society's dependence on procreation and on (largely patrilineal) descent more generally in order to maintain social order and to foreclose alternative ways of life. Also, and crucially, Edelman is the most influential proponent of the idea that queerness should not be considered an identity (i.e., that it should not be considered as essentially a new name for either gayness or homosexuality), but rather that queerness can be seen as a way to interrogate the very idea of identity, even the identity of the Renaissance itself. And by extension, literary form can also be queered. This avenue of exploration has produced a number of scholarly studies, although much work has

still to be done. In this connection, I would cite my own first monograph, with its focus on pastoral and elegy, Jim Ellis's monograph on the epyllion (the individual examples of this genre make frequent appearances in queer criticism), and Julie Crawford's work on sapphic meter in Sidney (Guy-Bray 2002; Ellis 2003; Crawford 2002). In a slightly different way, James M. Bromley's recent book on sexuality in Renaissance literature shows how the queerness of Renaissance sexuality can be seen in the ways in which sexuality and narrative intersect (see Bromley 2012). These works and the others like them demonstrate that queerness—and even homoeroticism itself—may be found not in plots or characters, or not just in these, but also in the very forms of Renaissance literature. This still rather under-represented kind of criticism owes as much to Roland Barthes, and particularly to *The Pleasure of the Text* (1975), as to any avowedly queer theory. One logical consequence of Edelman's point of view (although I am not claiming that he is the only queer theorist to make this point) is that even heterosexuality can be queer, while many kinds of homosexuality would not qualify as queer at all. This insight has led to a considerable amount of critical work that, in effect, queers heterosexuality. One example of this kind of work is Melissa E. Sanchez's remarkable *Erotic Subjects*, a work that looks at the intersection of sexuality and politics in a variety of Renaissance texts, mostly poetic (Sanchez 2011; see also Sanchez 2012). Another is Catherine Bates's *Masculinity, Gender and Identity in the English Renaissance Lyric* (2007). Neither of these works deals to any considerable extent with homoeroticism; both show the extent to which even sexual identities we have been trained to see as normative may be very queer indeed. This kind of queer scholarly work simultaneously breaks with the tradition of queer work by focusing on heterosexuality and continues that tradition by demonstrating, once again, that queerness is at once marginal and ubiquitous. Finally, in his book on Lucretius Jonathan Goldberg makes a similar point in his discussion of the Garden of Adonis (see Goldberg 2009). This scene is often assumed to be the very epicenter of Spenserian heteronormativity; Goldberg elegantly shows that the heteronormativity in question belongs to the Spenserians rather than to Spenser. It turns out that Spenser's vision of human reproduction may be the queerest thing in all the *Faerie Queene*.

The focus on Spenser in this article is due in large part to my own interests. In fact, recent queer studies in Renaissance poetry have not dealt much with Spenser. The greater range of texts studied has led to less emphasis on the major writers. Shakespeare is still a favorite, of course, but increasingly it is "Venus and Adonis" rather than the sonnets that is the focus—a further example of the extent to which queer studies now often looks at texts that do not feature what we now recognize as homoeroticism. The main text to cite here is Rick Rambuss's "What It Feels Like for a Boy" (Rambuss 2006). Rambuss has also made important contributions to Spenser studies and to the queering of seventeenth-century religious poetry (see Rambus 1998). Many of the other major writers are only now beginning to attract attention from queer scholars. After Paul Hammond's influential article on Marvell's sexuality, for instance, queer analyses of Marvell's poetry have begun to appear (Hammond 1996; for an example of recent work on Marvell's queer poetry, see Guy-Bray 2009; and Enterline in this volume). Even Milton scholarship now has its queer aspects; particularly encouraging in this regard is a recent special issue of *Early Modern Culture* (see Stockton and Orvis 2014). And, of course, queer scholars have, like scholars of other kinds, helped to redefine our sense of what a major author is. A good example of this sort of redefinition is a recent collection of essays on Katherine Philips (see Orvis and Paul 2015). Once considered

a minor figure, Philips is now an important writer in a number of critical discourses focusing on Renaissance poetry. Queer theory is part of a larger reassessment of the texts we study as scholars of Renaissance poetry.

Any survey of a field will inescapably leave out a good deal. It is simply not possible to include all the critical texts that could be defined as queer studies of Renaissance poetry. This is in itself a good sign of the continuing vitality of queer studies, not just in Renaissance poetry but also in literature more generally and, of course, beyond literary studies. Perhaps the single most obvious omission is that in focusing on poetry I have left out the excellent queer work done in Renaissance drama and, increasingly, in Renaissance prose fiction as well. Both generic and chronological boundaries seem more and more arbitrary. Or, at least, they may seem arbitrary from the perspective of queer theory. For instance, some recent developments in Renaissance studies have tended to reinforce these boundaries. A number of critics have begun to argue for analyses rooted more in history than in theory. One consequence of this is an appeal for a turning away from considerations of the queerness of textuality and back to a consideration of lived and embodied experience of same-sex attraction in the Renaissance. It is too soon to tell what will become of these recent debates; it is not impossible that there will eventually be a schism between queer studies and a rejuvenated gay and lesbian studies.

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39
Sensation, Passion, and Emotion

Douglas Trevor

In the early twentieth century, when T. S. Eliot began his efforts to reshape the canon of early modern English poetry, he did so largely on emotive grounds, praising those poets who spoke to him in powerful ways, and also arguing for the importance of reading such poets based on the affective tenor of their work. As is well known, in the verse of George Chapman and John Donne, Eliot detected a "direct sensuous apprehension of thought, or a recreation of thought into feeling," whereas in the writings of John Milton and John Dryden, he uncovered a "dissociation of sensibility," such that, "while the language became more refined, the feeling became more crude" (Eliot 1975, 63, 64). This crudeness made the emotional range of not only Milton and Dryden but also their successors narrower than it once had been; poets such as Tennyson and Browning thereby "thought and felt by fits, unbalanced; they reflected" (65). Valued as a testament to emotive expression and experience, English poetry was said to suffer as a result.

While Eliot, and those who would more explicitly associate themselves with the New Criticism years later—including Cleanth Brooks, Clay Hunt, and John Crowe Ransom—frequently commented upon the emotional force of early modern poetry, and the manifestation of this force in the formal features of early modern verse, they did not theorize feelings from an early modern point of view.[1] Eliot was wont to say, for example, that it was not enough to look into Donne's "heart" to understand him; one also had to "look into the cerebral cortex, the nervous system, and the digestive tracts" (Eliot 1975, 66). But, indeed, Eliot never considered the interiority of the human body with the particularities of early modern medical and anatomical theories in mind. The passions he celebrated were passions—his reader was to assume—that remained relatively constant over time.

When the New Historicism emerged in the 1980s, its most prominent articulators argued for a reconceptualization of the self—to the degree that they accepted its existence

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at all—as one formed largely from the outside in. As a result, less attention was paid to the *passions*—by which early moderns designated "any strong, controlling, or overpowering emotion, as desire, hate, fear, etc.; an intense feeling or impulse" (*OED* 2014)—than to what Stephen Greenblatt, for example, termed "the circulation of social energy," by which the public theaters in early modern London witnessed the performance of plays that were able to "produce, shape, and organize collective physical and mental experiences" (Greenblatt 1988, 18, 6). Affective responses here are not ignored but rather characterized as *responses*, with their own particular, historical qualities usually left unexcavated. In Greenblatt's early work in particular, emotions are generally read as controllable: put to work by writers such as Edmund Spenser and Christopher Marlowe, or manipulated by characters such as Iago, in the service of their subjects' larger quests for power (see Greenblatt 1980, 221–224). In the spirit of New Historicist inquiry, then, emotive proclamations were often regarded as masking other concerns. Thus, in Arthur Marotti's reading of Elizabethan love poetry, while poets such as Philip Sidney, Samuel Daniel, and William Shakespeare speak of amorous longing and devotion to a variety of conjured addressees, their poems are never simply about *love*. Rather, these writers appropriated a "symbolic language that articulated the complex character of the social system and expressed the criticisms that were part of the cultural dialectic" (Marotti 1982, 422).

It would be a gross oversimplification to read the subsequent turn to the passions in the field of early modern studies in the late 1990s as a straightforward amalgamation of a New Critical interest in form and sentiment with a New Historicist interest in context and culture. On the contrary, most work done on Renaissance emotions has built explicitly on historicist concerns, primarily those having to do with the early modern understanding of the human body (although we often see how these historicist concerns bear upon formal issues when we witness readings of early modern verse that incorporate such research into them). Neither would it be accurate to suggest that there was no interest in passions and sensations prior to a post-New Historicist turn. Also writing, like Greenblatt, in the early 1980s, Anne Ferry—for example—posited that both Hamlet and the speaker of Shakespeare's Sonnets "seem to be individuals with distinct personalities who appear to have an inward existence which our present-day vocabularies about them assume to exist" (Ferry 1983, 2–3). Ferry made her case for the representation of inwardness in the poetry of Thomas Wyatt, Sidney, Shakespeare, and Donne by arguing that these poets put to new uses the "verbal resources" already at the disposal of earlier poets (70). Like the New Critics, Ferry focuses primarily on issues of form, genre, and diction. Her assertion that Hamlet has "thoughts and feelings" is not assumed but rather established via close readings of Hamlet's speech acts and an account of the influence she asserts that *Astrophil and Stella* had on the playwright and poet (3, 173–174). Similarly, well after the advent of New Historicism, Katharine Eisaman Maus still detected in Hamlet's distinction between interior and exterior a "very familiar rhetorical tactic in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries," and evinced this tactic not only in the dramaturgical writings of Shakespeare and Jonson but also in Sidney's *Defence of Poetry* and Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (Maus 1995, 3).

Other scholars at this time resisted such claims of inwardness. In *The Tremulous Private Body*, for example, Francis Barker insists that Hamlet has an "unfulfilled interiority"—that he is in effect empty on the inside but has been retroactively filled by "Romantic and

post-Romantic" readers who have felt a need to "explain him away" (Barker 1995, 35, 33). Barker is writing in the mid-1990s in opposition to scholarship like Ferry's and Maus's that imputes the existence of a self based on the formal analysis of speech acts. This analytical frame shifts substantively right around this time in early modern studies, when scholars such as Gail Paster and Jonathan Sawday begin to *fill* the Renaissance body with an historicized understanding of how its cavities and organs were conceptualized in this period.[2]

As Paster argues at length, the predominant theory that read the body's interiors in this period was Galenic in origin—formulated in ancient Greece and then passed down to early modern thinkers and medical practitioners. "During humoralism's long cultural reign," she explains, "the body was thought to be composed of four humors—blood, phlegm, choler or yellow bile, and black bile" (Paster 1993, 7–8). Subjects in this period thereby "grew up with a common understanding of his or her body as a semipermeable, irrigated container in which humors moved sluggishly" (8). Sawday emphasizes the visual renderings of the body's interior put forward in the sixteenth century by anatomists and physicians such as Andreas Vesalius and Charles Estienne. But rather than read these renderings as simply harbingers of modernity—early attempts at scientifically rendering the human form—Sawday chose to emphasize the tensions that such representations reflect and spawn. As he notes,

> Science gave an added impetus to the urge to peer into the recesses of the body. But Calvinistic theology, with its seemingly obsessive desire to chart the inner state of each individual's spiritual well-being, was to argue with a conviction equal to that of the scientist that the division between the realm of the body and the realm of the soul was now the concern of every thinking person. (Sawday 1995, 17)

The widespread reading of the passions in early modern studies follows in the wake of these scholarly investigations of corporeality, investigations that openly acknowledge their debts to New Historicist paradigms. As Paster claims, "[i]n the continuous series of negotiations by which the body is inscribed as a social text, it also becomes a social *sub*- or *infra*-text, the outward manifestation of and container for dense inner workings, less visible than the external habitus but no less subject to social formation and judgment" (Paster 1993, 6). In part to trace examples of such social formation, David Hillman and Carla Mazzio published *The Body in Parts* in 1997, a collection of essays in which different scholars focused on distinct body parts and how these parts were read and interpolated in the early modern era. As the medievalist Carolyn Walker Bynum observed at the time, the body seemed to be *the* central subject for historical investigation (Walker Bynum 1995). This investigation has continued, of course, particularly in the field of sexuality studies. For our purposes, however, what is striking is how the interest in the material body sparked interest in the passions, which in turn reimagined the contours and limits of materialistic readings themselves.

Galenic theory asserts that personality and moods are hardwired depending upon a subject's dominant humor. Someone with an overabundance of black bile would therefore be prone to melancholia, while someone with a great deal of yellow bile might tend toward the choleric, and so on. With such templates in mind, scholars beginning with Ruth Anderson in the 1920s and running up through the work of Robert Bauer, Lawrence Babb,

and Theodore Spencer in the late 1940s and early 1950s, forwarded detailed and persuasive readings of Galenic concepts as they informed mostly dramaturgical texts and characters within these texts (see Anderson 1927; Bauer 1947; Babb 1951; Spencer 1951). These scholars worked on many of the same early modern medical treatises that loom large in the field to this day, including Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholy* (1586) and Thomas Wright's *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1604). Their work feels rather limited in hindsight, however, partly because it so routinely accepts the premise of Galenic theory personality types—and with these types the attendant passions that were supposed to accompany them—without more fully acknowledging the desire of early modern subjects to shape their own divinities, be they humoral, spiritual, or both.

It is this early modern paradox, whereby subjects viewed themselves as both affectively determined by forces beyond their own control and capable of controlling these forces, at least to a degree, that seized the attention of scholars interested in the body and its passions at the turn of the twenty-first century. In *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England*, Michael Schoenfeldt presents a powerful counterargument to the New Historicist characterization of the consummately socially aware self that is inclined to put aside its passions in pursuit and defense of its own interests. According to Schoenfeldt, "[t]he early modern fetish of control … does not demand the unequivocal banishment of emotion. Indeed, the ethical status of emotion supplies an occasion when the blend of classical and Christian cultures that defines the Renaissance, for us and the period, is revealed in all its explosive instability" (Schoenfeldt 1999, 18). Rereading *The Passions of the Minde*, Schoenfeldt sees its author positing that human affections "exist inside the self" while at the same time imagining them "as something outside the self. Physiological double agents, these internal forces threaten the fragile construction of the self, both by direct assault and by a kind of sabotage" (49). As a result, early modern subjects aware of the inherent instability of their bodies as interpreted by Galenism are inclined to emphasize the importance of temperance and self-control. This does not mean, however, that the passions are to be banished entirely, for Christian poets such as Spenser, George Herbert, and Milton see value—according to Schoenfeldt—in marshaling one's emotions in the service of virtue. In some sense, then, "the moral effort required to temper strong passions is superior to the state of having tempered them perfectly," although at the same time, the risk of one's passions getting ahold of oneself and turning one away from virtuous action remains ever present (164).

Schoenfeldt's work serves as an important indicator of not only *how* early modern thinkers could move in two directions at once—conceiving of their passions as operating both within and beyond their bodies—but also *why* studying the passions often poses methodological contradictions for contemporary scholars. These scholars might want, on the one hand, to acknowledge how a given culture might shape its inhabitants' feelings, while on the other hand, they might be inclined to argue for the idiosyncratic nature of a given subject's proclaimed, depicted, or inferred emotional state. In a prior scholarly economy, interiorizing had often invited the procedures and methodologies most frequently associated with psychoanalysis. But just as New Historicists, most famously Greenblatt, were critical of psychoanalytic interpretations of early modern identities, terming them "marginal" and "belated," so too were post-New Historicists, now armed with a panoply of early modern terminology and concepts to think about the passions, generally skeptical of the applicability of psychoanalysis to Renaissance subjects (Greenblatt 1990, 141).

Once the passions began to be re-historicized in the 1990s, and the early modern language of emotions excavated anew, it seemed possible to imagine an analysis of early modern psychology that would be more duly aware of its historicized contours than earlier accounts, and therefore less susceptible to the charge of trans-historicist thinking. At the same time, several challenges emerged as a result of these innovations. Some of these had to do with the kind of representation of early modern subjects and culture that was produced as a result. As Richard Strier has argued, with *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* in particular in mind, "Schoenfeldt's 'humoral' approach produces readings that are extraordinarily and consistently conservative, readings that entirely support the rule of order, reason, and restraint" (Strier 2011, 18). As a result of such readings, according to Strier, the early modern period can be too easily cast as an altogether anxious one, uniformly void of pleasure and joy, when in fact many writers in the period spoke glowingly, and enduringly, about the pleasurable dimensions of earthly existence.

Insofar as Galenism proposes an all-encompassing explanation of the constituent features of life itself, scholarly work that utilizes its templates certainly risks occluding those nuanced deviations from the normative and conventional. Even more disturbingly, one might be tempted to employ a prescriptive approach to Renaissance subjectivity, whereby humoral theory establishes, dictates, and delimits how early modern subjects thought and felt. Elsewhere, I have argued against such constraints by looking at the formulations of non-human perspective in the poetry of Robert Herrick, Herbert, and others (see Trevor 2014). To a degree, however, Strier perhaps under-estimates that even in the heyday of humoral readings of the passions, many of the scholars who utilized its categories—including Schoenfeldt—were aware that they only told one side of the (affective) story. To Strier's point, however, this story was often a somber, even slightly paranoid one, at least from a modern perspective.

If we take them at their word, scholars who offered materialist readings of early modern emotions at this time did so in part to qualify or slow down our post-Cartesian impulses to see the mind and body as easily distinguishable from one another. For example, in the introduction to their collection *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson observe that "our modern inclination to script passions as individual and proprietary (Hamlet's melancholy or Mona Lisa's smile) leads us to miss those feelings that come from the outside," and that indeed "early modern psychology only partially shares the priority we place on inwardness, alongside very different conceptions of emotions as physical, environmental, and external phenomena" (Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson 2004, 13, 15).

Paster in particular, however, went on to argue forcefully that understanding "the early modern passions as embodying a historically particular kind of self-experience requires seeing the passions and the body that houses them in ecological terms—that is, in terms of that body's reciprocal relation to the world" (Paster 2004, 18). In an effort to establish these claims, she contended, for example, that emotions as they are sometimes described in works like *Hamlet* and *Othello* occur "objectively as an aspect of physical change in the world," that affective states we primarily associate with humans were transferrable in early modern understandings to animals, and that theoretical "psychophysiological transformations" such as the green sickness were read into female adolescents, imposing new self-understandings from a patriarchal position of authority (Paster 2004, 28, 87).

In response to this materialistic/ecological account of the passions, Steven Mullaney has countered by questioning whether Paster has sufficiently distinguished the humors from the passions with which she associates them. In his own careful analysis of Wright, Mullaney notes that the author "discusses the relationship between the humoral body and the passions of the mind—the relationship, I would stress, and not the identity" (Mullaney 2015, 54). In the first section of *The Passions of the Minde*, when he approaches the emotions from a physiological perspective, Wright—again according to Mullaney—"makes it clear that humors are not the same as passions and, furthermore, he emphasizes that the relationship between the humoral and the emotional is ambiguous and multivalent in many senses" (Mullaney 2015, 54). Mullaney continues: "Sometimes passions engender humors or alter the humoral balance; sometimes humors engender passions. But there is not a consistent relationship between the two, neither a causal nor a catalytic one" (54). Mullaney's argument here is explicitly aligned against Paster's, which he contends obscures "the oscillation between literal and metaphoric, actual and virtual, [and] real and imagined" (57). In spite of the shared interest in establishing historicist accounts of early modern passions, then, we see how divergent these accounts can become, even when they revolve around some of the same central texts. In Paster's work, humoral theory concretizes an alien but nonetheless stable set of assumptions about the informing notions of early modern selfhood, which is rendered as porous, irretrievably materialistic, and ecologically cathected. In Mullaney's work, in contrast, the emotive self proposed, via Wright most explicitly, is quixotic: sometimes susceptible to a somatic reading, sometimes reducible to "social and transactional semiotics," and sometimes best understood through spiritual templates (Mullaney 2015, 51). In both Paster and Mullaney, finally, formal concerns prove inescapable, as each scholar defends her or his claims on the basis of their capacity to exfoliate the nuances of Renaissance literary texts and then apply them to readings of those literary texts.

Although disagreements over the etiology and discursive effects of the passions loom large in the study of early modern emotions, what should be clear by now is the degree to which—as Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis maintain—an "affective turn" has occurred in early modern studies writ large (Cummings and Sierhuis 2013, 1). By *affective*, Cummings and Sierhuis refer to the passions, as I have done throughout this essay, although we should note that in the burgeoning field of affect studies, the two words are not necessarily synonymous. In her work, Teresa Brennan emphasizes the degree to which *affect* indicates a "physiological shift accompanying a judgment" and is necessarily a "material, physiological" thing, whereas "more cognitive emotions—such as envy—may appear relatively bloodless, precisely because they are projected outward" (Brennan 2004, 5, 6). Nonetheless, Brennan sees "no reason to challenge the idea that emotions are basically synonymous with affects" (5–6), whereas in their opening essay to *The Affect Theory Reader*, Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth regard *affect* as designating "visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally *other than* conscious knowing" (Gregg and Seigworth 2010, 1). In this definition, affect extends "beyond emotion" as a kind of "*force*" (1, 2), whereas an emotion indicates a retrospective, cognitive labeling of a feeling.

To Cummings and Sierhuis's point, such a turn toward the study of emotions (which they link with affect in a manner closer to Brennan's work than to Gregg and Seigworth's) can be gleaned across disciplines. Susan James, for example, has examined the role of the emotions in seventeenth-century philosophy, while Victoria Kahn, Neil Saccamano, and Daniela Coli have assembled a collection of essays on the role played by the passions in

seventeenth-century political theory (James 1997; Kahn, Saccamano, and Coli 2006). Recent work done on *sensation* has further complicated and enriched our collective understanding of the passions. As Katharine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard explain in *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England*, while much scholarly energy has been expended trying to make sense of early modern understandings of the passions, surprisingly little has been established regarding "literature's impact on feeling" (Craik and Pollard 2013, 1), by which they gesture in part toward affect studies. As we might expect, owing to the period's emphasis on the human body as porous and easily susceptible to external stimuli, "[t]heories of poetry and affect … overlapped in important ways with principles of emotional self-government" (17). Readers were routinely warned by writers and sermonizers of the dangers posed by bad books, while "the secular poetics of [George] Puttenham and his contemporaries … all deliberated on the affective experiences of reading and listening" (21).

To give more of a concrete sense of how these terms and issues come into play in the study of early modern poetry, let us return to John Donne—now almost a hundred years after Eliot first praised the emotive force of his writings—and consider a poem of his that is very much about the passions: Holy Sonnet 3 ("Oh might those sighes and teares returne againe"), as it is numbered in the 1635 edition of Donne's *Poems*. What strikes us immediately about the critical reception of this poem, particularly on the heels of our consideration of all the scholarly interest exhibited in the passions over the last two decades, is nonetheless how bifurcated an assessment of emotions in early modern poetry remains to this day. Generally speaking, scholars have either attended closely to questions of theology and Christian doctrine in Donne's Holy Sonnets, or—far less frequently—they have considered the "'emotional and rhetorical' strategy" of the poems and the effect of this strategy on their readers' own "nerves" (Skouen 2009, 162, 188). In the former case, when questions of devotion and faith are front and center, Donne's "theology of the affections" is attended to and any mention of the humors or the porous, early modern body disappear entirely (Ettenhuber 2013, 202). On the contrary, when a humoral account of Donne's religious poetry is entertained, theology and doctrine themselves vanish into thin air. As Mullaney has demonstrated through his example of the organization of Wright's *Passions of the Minde*, there is early modern precedent for distinguishing somatic and spiritual emotions from one another (Mullaney 2015, 54). This distinction, however, is problematic when a given author presents a situation in which it is not altogether clear where the somatic ends and the spiritual begins.

This is the case with a number of Donne's Holy Sonnets, including "Oh, to vex me, contraryes meete in one" which appears in the Westmoreland Manuscript but in neither the 1633 nor the 1635 editions of Donne's *Poems*. In that sonnet, Donne explicitly employs the language of Galenism to equate his religious and irreligious feelings:

> As humorous is my contrition
> As my prophane love, and as soone forgott:
> As ridlingly distemperd, cold and hott
> (Donne 2005, lines 5–7)

The speaker of "Oh might those sighes" appears intent, on the contrary, to distinguish between different kinds of grief—one holy, the other debauched—from one another, but this distinction is in fact an unstable one in the poem.

What I want to suggest more broadly, however, is that the dividing line between the secular and the non-secular, the somatic and the spiritual, is *almost always* ambiguous in early modern literary texts, and that our choice as scholars to conveniently and antiseptically identify one text (for example, *Hamlet*) as meriting Galenic (and therefore humoral analysis) while another (for example, Holy Sonnet 3) merits Augustinian (and therefore spiritual analysis) is to mischaracterize by virtue of over-simplification the messiness of early modern affective and psychological experience. If the speakers of Donne's Holy Sonnets had no problem distinguishing spiritual agues from physical ones, then indeed much of their stated anxiousness and fear would melt away.[3] It is in part because the sacred and the profane overlap to the extent that they do that Donne's speakers express themselves as both physically and spiritually uneasy. Moreover, as I want to argue, it is in part *because* the humoral and the spiritual readings of the passions both resist and bleed into one another that writers such as Donne are drawn to exploiting their conflicting and informing characteristics. In a sense, the poetic project of the Holy Sonnets, not to mention the objective pursued by so many other Renaissance lyricists, from Wyatt to Milton, rests upon this exploration of the passions as alternately bodily and non-bodily, humoral and non-humoral, and otherworldly and terrestrial, in ways that defy categorization at times, and therefore effective mollification.

In the 1635 sequence, the speaker of Holy Sonnet 3 begins by registering a longing to re-experience passions that would seem better left behind:

> Oh might those sighes and teares returne againe
> Into my breast and eyes, which I have spent,
> That I might in this holy discontent
> Mourne with some fruit, as I have mourn'd in vaine; (lines 1–4)

Paradoxes here abound. In the past, the speaker has "mourn'd in vaine," but this mourning produced "sighes and teares." Now, in a state of "holy discontent," the speaker has cause ("some fruit") for genuine lamentation, and yet no sighs and tears appear forthcoming. It is as if the material and auditory indicators of grief ("sighes and teares") are also indicators of inauthenticity, and yet these same false signs are yearned for to accredit the speaker's spiritual suffering.

The second quatrain further emphasizes the distinction between an inappropriately mournful past and an appropriately grieving (yet dry) present by metaphorically externalizing the speaker's former passions, which are retroactively labeled as signifying transgression:

> In mine Idolatry what showres of raine
> Mine eyes did waste? what griefs my heart did rent?
> That sufferance was my sinne I now repent,
> 'Cause I did suffer I must suffer paine. (lines 5–8)

Per Paster and Mullaney, the passions are both hydraulically and figuratively rendered; and per Schoenfeldt's attention to self-regulation, the past failure to control the self is here corrected by a propositional embrace of punitive measures ("I must suffer paine"). What is perhaps missing, however, particularly in Paster's emphasis on the inevitability of the

causal, humoral explanation of the emotions, is the imagined capacity of the self to resist such a diagnosis. The speaker's past suffering is described here in metaphorical terms that certainly evoke—again, to summon Paster's work—the ecological, as the eyes are said to have once produced "showres of raine." But the suffering of pain imagined in line 8 does not appear humorally authored at all, unless we are to regard the speaker's proclamation for the necessity of pain as driven by temperamental inclinations that might be humorally shaped. While "Oh, to vex me" invites such a temperamental reading, as the speaker describes himself (as we have seen) in terms consistent with a fluctuating, melancholic disposition, "Oh might those sighes" does not so clearly flag humoral inclinations, even though it does associate the material instantiation of suffering with bodily fluid secretions ("teares" [1]). But, again, these tears count for nothing in the present, spiritual conundrum faced by the speaker. The body, we might say—in the humoral approach to early modern passions, the key to all mythologies—is here left behind as irrelevant. Or, otherwise put, because the sinful (past) speaker and the penitent (present) speaker share the same body, this body is now illegible: canceled out as an elucidating indicator of thought, sentiment, or action.

And yet, just as the octave of the sonnet concludes by looking forward to an experience of pain that would mitigate the speaker's earlier experience of false (if materially productive) grief, the sestet returns us yet again to fallen, rather than rectified, selves, suggesting the difficulty of visualizing what exactly repentant, spiritual grief—grief that defies humoral association—looks like:

> Th'hydroptique drunkard, & night-scouting thiefe,
> The itchy Lecher, and selfe tickling proud
> Have the remembrance of past joyes, for reliefe
> Of coming ills. To (poore) me is allow'd
> No ease; for, long, yet vehement griefe hath beene
> Th'effect and cause, the punishment and sinne. (lines 9–14)

Whereas the "drunkard," "thiefe," "Lecher," and "selfe tickling proud" can reflect on the joys they once experienced, Donne's speaker professes to have no such benefit of hindsight. Rather than "joyes" he has only a "griefe" that reproduces itself in perpetuity. As Gary Kuchar—a scholar who *has* attempted to merge a theologically nuanced reading of the poem with an affective one—explains:

> In the process of confessing his sins amid a prayer for grace, the speaker concludes by curiously blurring the "vehement grief" of unrequited love with the "holy discontent" of the devotional supplicant—leading us to ask if the differences between idolatrous and penitential grief be "Apparent in [him] not immediately" ([Holy Sonnet 8] "If faithfull soules" [1635], line 7). By dwelling on the continuity of his own emotional state in the very process of asking to suffer a fundamental change from one modality of sorrow to another, the speaker betrays the "pensive" nature of his repentance. (Kuchar 2008, 552)

Kuchar emphasizes the speaker's thoughtfulness in this sonnet; more to my point, however, this thoughtfulness is oriented around an inventorying of emotional experience. If, as some advocates of affect studies want to argue, the identification of emotional categories speaks to cognitive processes that follow sensations themselves, Donne seems bent on suggesting otherwise; his "griefe" has "long" been felt but it has remained "vehement"—synchronically

and diachronically felt at once (line 13). Furthermore, the speaker's self-consciousness about *how* he feels, which proposes a cognitive bracketing of the passions that the sonnet seeks to fill, finds itself infiltrated—indeed written into being—by a narrative sensibility that exceeds these boundaries. That is, the "(poore) me" that claims to be allowed "[n]o ease" is already comforting itself in its act of self-address, and identifying itself as uniquely worthy of pity, at least in comparison to lechers and the like (lines 12, 13). As a result, the sonnet is itself a kind of emotional waterwheel of words that exceeds its own iterative frame.

Interest in the early modern passions has encouraged scholars, logically, to look for ways to demarcate and systematize their readings of emotions in this period. And early modern thinkers often encourage us to do so, fond as they were of partitions, theories, and other organizing matrixes. One unintended consequence of a collective desire to sort and hierarchize, however—a consequence of which poetry like Donne's makes us so powerfully aware—is the temptation to resolve ambiguities, often by claiming to have historicized them away. Sometimes, indeed often in poetry, these ambiguities themselves speak to early modern interests and anxieties. In the case of Donne, once we appreciate his willingness to linger on the borderline between sacred and profane passions, we see just how troublingly this liminal space fluctuates in affective terms. While it is perfectly orthodox in Donne's era to insist that holy grief is a more serious emotional state than that of idolatrous mourning (say, for example, over a lost love), Donne's poetry permits him to make a rather startling suggestion. Even if this premise is indisputably true, *proving* it so through material evidence (sighs and tears) might very well be impossible. In such moments, it is the evasive, and mysterious, dimensions of the passions that matter most, not the propositional schemas by which these passions might otherwise be understood and regulated, at least hypothetically.

Notes

1 On Eliot's own resistance to being termed a New Critic, see Asher (1993).

2 Of course, there are important predecessors to these scholars' work, including Laqueur (1990) and Sirasi (1990).

3 For the theological significance of anxiousness and fear in Donne's Holy Sonnets, see Cefalu (2003).

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40
The Body in Renaissance Poetry

Michael Schoenfeldt

Initially, lyric seems like the most disembodied of genres. Unlike the splayed bodies of tragedy, another genre that thrived in the Renaissance, lyric seems internal, vaporous, ephemeral.[1] But it is remarkable how often the body clamors for attention in this purportedly disembodied genre. One of the central impulses of lyric—erotic courtship—theoretically begins in corporeal desire, however sublimated the statement of affection, and aspires to conclude in physical consummation. Sensations of pain and pleasure (particularly the former) make up much of the experience represented in lyric. At its best, moreover, lyric offers a near visceral pleasure in the precise apprehension of rhythm, meter, and form in language dedicated to unruly passion.[2] This essay will attempt to track a few of the more interesting episodes in Renaissance English poetry where the clamors of the body emerge from the strictures of poetry. The structure will be at best symptomatic and suggestive rather than chronological or exhaustive.

Renaissance lyric poetry of course begins in Italy, in the fourteenth century, with Petrarch. He is a remarkable stylist, and successfully creates the predominant form and lexicon of erotic utterance for the next 600 years. His *Rime Sparse* is made up of 366 poems, most of them sonnets describing his unrequited desire for Laura, a woman he saw only twice. In this remarkable volume, Petrarch installs the largely disembodied condition of Renaissance lyric. Indeed, Petrarch's work became so normative that it is sometimes hard to think through other alternatives. But it is one of the great mysteries of literary history why this articulate account of deliberately frustrated desire became for Renaissance Europe the paragon of erotic utterance. These are not poems designed to persuade or seduce; rather, these poems aspire to articulate the agonies of unfulfilled desire. Some readers have suggested that Laura may simply be the "laurel" given for poetic accomplishment rather

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than an actual flesh-and-blood woman. Throughout the *Rime*, she remains as ghost-like and impalpable as the desire she inspires. The lady vanishes, if she ever existed.

Perhaps because Petrarch's poetry is so aesthetically magnificent, we forget the implicit perversity of the project, and the damage it has done to erotic expressions since. There is something about falling in love with the discourse of love rather than with another person that has contaminated our discourse of lyric intimacy, and played into Western culture's larger pathologization of pleasure, particularly sexual pleasure. In this framework, erotic lyric is fully complicit with a culture that celebrates celibacy.

But as the Petrarchan sonnet travels north, it suffers a sea change in the deft, cynical hands of Sir Thomas Wyatt, courtier of Henry VIII. An ambassador to Italy, Wyatt brings back not only diplomatic messages, but also new possibilities for erotic verse. In the place of Petrarch's diaphanous mistress, we have the palpable and arresting memory of Wyatt's vigorously seductive lovers. Indeed, even when Wyatt translates Petrarch directly, the poems are drenched in a language of erotic intrigue and political corruption that makes them very different creatures. In "Whoso list to hunt," ostensibly a translation of Petrarch's "Una Candida Cerva" (*Rime* 190), Wyatt transforms Petrarch's solitary enchantment into a brutal erotic competition for favor:

> Whoso list to hunt, I know where is an hind,
> But as for me, helas, I may no more.
> The vain travail hath wearied me so sore,
> I am of them that farthest cometh behind.
> Yet may I by no means my wearied mind
> Draw from the deer, but as she fleeth afore
> Fainting I follow. I leave off therefore,
> Sithens in a net I seek to hold the wind.
> Who list her hunt, I put him out of doubt,
> As well as I may spend his time in vain.
> And graven with diamonds in letters plain
> There is written, her fair neck round about:
> "*Noli me tangere* for Caesar's I am,
> And wild for to hold, though I seem tame."
> (Wyatt 1978)

Touching and caressing ("*noli me tangere*," "wild for to hold") are rebuffed, but the vehemence of the interdiction registers the depth of the desire. Wyatt's poem "They flee from me" is neither a sonnet, nor a direct translation from Petrarch, but it represents well the extraordinary lyric product when Petrarch's inwardness is metabolized by Wyatt's cynicism:

> They flee from me that sometime did me seek
> With naked foot stalking in my chamber.
> I have seen them gentle, tame, and meek,
> That now are wild and do not remember
> That sometime they put themself in danger
> To take bread at my hand; and now they range
> Busily seeking with a continual change.

Thanked be fortune it hath been otherwise
Twenty times better; but once in special,
In thin array after a pleasant guise,
When her loose gown from her shoulders did fall,
And she me caught in her arms long and small
Therewithal sweetly did me kiss
And softly said, "Dear heart, how like you this?"

It was no dream: I lay broad waking.
But all is turned thorough my gentleness
Into a strange fashion of forsaking.
And I have leave to go of her goodness
And she also to use newfangleness.
But since that I so kindly am served
I would fain know what she hath deserved.

Like most western European poets, Wyatt learns from Petrarch to represent searingly honest expressions of intense internal experience in poetry. The poem brilliantly fuses erotic and courtly politics, suggesting favor in one realm entails approval in the other. The poem is written in a moment of isolation and betrayal. But those remembered shoulders from which the gown is loosed, and those long, thin arms entail some of the most erotic body parts in all of English poetry. It is, moreover, telling that the woman is not just the audience of male courtship or the aloof object of a male's erotic gaze; she speaks, acts, and in the process exercises control over the passive, aggrieved speaker. Rather than idealizing a distant female, Wyatt writes poetry that castigates a former lover in language that also indicts the self-pity of the sanctimonious speaker. Male bravado rears its ugly head in the memory that his erotic life has been "twenty times better." The past corporeal intimacy, and the bitter sense of moral indignation about the kinds of erotic betrayal that the speaker himself brags about perpetrating, are both a long way from the spectral longings of Petrarch. Wyatt's sardonic, tough-minded, fully embodied lyrics brilliantly exploit the treacherous enmeshing of politics and eroticism at the Henrician court.

There are literally hundreds of English sonnet sequences that follow Petrarch's articulation of unfulfilled desire with little verbal gusto and even less original attention to the body. Those poems will not be explored in this essay. The body, of course, is everywhere and nowhere in Renaissance poetry. But there are some moments where the body nevertheless plays a central role in the articulation of a special kind of lyric inwardness, devising a vocabulary for its particular sensations and a syntax for its urgent demands. Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* (published 1591) gently mocks the project of "poor Petrarch's long-deceased woes" that is his primary influence (1989, *AS* 15, line 7).[3] Sidney's overwrought speaker argues that lyrics derived from Petrarch "bewray a want of inward touch" (line 10). In the opening sonnet of the sequence, Sidney brilliantly identifies the masochistic patterns of Petrarchan lyric in the expressed hope "That she (dear she) might take some pleasure of my pain" (*AS* 1, line 2). He concludes this

remarkable poem by locating the unproductive labor of creative frustration in a particularly corporeal image from childbirth:

> Thus great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes,
> Biting my truant pen, beating myself for spite,
> "Fool," said my Muse to me, "look in thy heart, and write." (lines 12–14)

It is only one of the poem's many witty ironies that the ancient literary convention of a muse demands that the frustrated poet quit "beating [him]self for spite" and discover his true subject inside himself, in a bodily organ, rather than in prior literature. *Astrophil and Stella* 71 works in a very different way. It begins with 13 lines of clever but conventional idealization, exploring the question of "How virtue may best lodged in beauty be" (line 2). But then the demands of the body shatter the delicate artifice linking virtue and beauty: "But 'Ah,' desire still cries, 'Give me some food'" (line 14). The cry of corporeal hunger interrupts the lyric idealization.

Sidney's niece, Lady Mary Wroth, publishes a separately paginated sonnet sequence at the end of her prose romance, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621). She titles the sonnet sequence *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, clearly modeling both her prose and her poetry on her uncle's work. Mary Wroth is perhaps more conventionally Petrarchan than Sidney, but her fascinating sonnets in the voice of a chaste female whose male lover is untrue apply pressure from within to various Petrarchan conventions. Indeed, familiar Petrarchan tropes about servility and helplessness take on a different valence when the speaker is a woman:

> Am I thus conquer'd? have I lost the powers
> That to withstand, which joy's to ruin mee?
> Must I be still while itt my strength devowres
> And captive leads mee prisoner, bound, unfree?
> (Wroth 1983, P16, lines 1–4)

In the voice of a woman, the conventional language of servility sounds skittish, uncomfortable; is the speaker a prisoner of her gender as well as a captive of love? Disempowerment feels much less like the conventional pose of an empowered gender, and more like a sociocultural reality. Like Sidney, Wroth will explore the vagaries of appetite with great cogency: "Deare fammish nott what you your self gave food," begins one poem, declaring "Your sight is all the food I doe desire" (P15, lines 1, 9). The poem concludes by asserting that the speaker will live "Camaelion-like," surviving not on the corporeal food for which Sidney's speaker clamors but rather the insubstantial air (line 14).

Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti* (1595) is a beautifully executed cycle of largely Petrarchan conceits about a passionate lover and a cruel mistress. But instead of leaving his speaker frustrated with unfulfilled desire, Spenser concludes his sequence with an *Epithalamion*, a poem celebrating the union of the speaker and his beloved. The poem playfully describes the long public celebration which the lover must endure before the moment of private

consummation, and depicts that moment of corporeal satisfaction as an appropriately private occasion:

> Now welcome night, thou night so long expected,
> That long daies labour doest at last defray,
> And all my cares, which cruell love collected,
> Hast sumd in one, and cancelled for aye:
> Spread thy broad wing over my love and me,
> That no man may us see,
> And in thy sable mantle us enwrap,
> From feare of perrill and foule horror free.
> (1993, lines 315–22).

Spenser's speaker views the immense pleasure of this moment as repaying all the suffering that "cruell love" has demanded from him throughout the courtship. And the progeny that shall spring from "the chast wombe informe[d] with timely seed" shall also provide a kind of compensatory corporeal pleasure.

Almost 80 years after Wyatt assimilates Petrarch, Shakespeare's Sonnets (1609) explore the ways in which the body can be the source of disappointment, pain, and decay. They know that time, disease, and decay always triumph over precious, fragile, ephemeral flesh. The first 19 sonnets famously focus on the precarious beauty of an aristocratic young man. In the first Sonnet, the speaker argues that because everything decays, a beloved young man should reproduce, and so preserve his beauty through progeny. Shakespeare's speaker at once underscores the transience of physical beauty and indicates that corporeal beauty deserves to be immortalized through reproduction. These poems portray a turgid moral and erotic universe. It is merely an inconvenience that this reproduction necessitates sexual intercourse with a third party. The isolated, unreproductive self that Petrarch rendered normative is in these poems imagined as a kind of pathology, guilty either of narcissism (Sonnet 3), miserliness (Sonnet 4), or even "murd'rous shame" (2002, Sonnet 9, line 14).[4] Petrarchan suffering is mocked as "The manner of my pity-wanting pain" (Sonnet 140, line 4). Part of the brilliance of these poems is their deliberate overturning of a moral hierarchy that privileges celibacy. In the ethically topsy-turvy moral world of Shakespeare's sonnets, sexual betrayal is a mark of fidelity. And only by giving yourself away can you preserve yourself against the ravages of time.

In Sonnet 20, Shakespeare offers a fascinating genealogy of erotic desire, demonstrating a roiled relationship between same-sex and heterosexual desire, between male and female, and between spiritual and physical love. The poem explains how a young man that the male speaker loves ardently came to possess a beauty typically associated with women:

> A woman's face with nature's own hand painted
> Hast thou, the master mistress of my passion;
> A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted
> With shifting change as is false women's fashion;
> An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,
> Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth;
> A man in hue, all hues in his controlling,

Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.
And for a woman wert thou first created;
Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell a-doting,
And by addition me of thee defeated,
By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.
  But since she pricked thee out for women's pleasure,
  Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

Sonnet 20 certainly shows just how easy, even "natural," same-sex desire was imagined to be by early modern writers, since the poem tells the story of a feminized Nature doting erotically on her own female creation. Yet the poem also indicates a slight preference for heterosexuality, if only for reasons of convenience, when it imagines a female Nature adding a penis to the young woman in order to make her own desire suit the norms of heterosexuality. The bawdy puns on body parts—"thing," "prick," and "quaint" are only the most obvious—underscore Nature's efforts to make her own desire conform to heterosexual norms. But Nature's convenience proves the speaker's hindrance. In the irrational world of these troubling poems, Nature's addition of a prick to the beautiful youth is for the speaker a kind of subtraction, "adding one thing to my purpose nothing." Neither Nature nor the speaker disavows same-sex desire; they just find it somewhat cumbersome. The couplet suggests that the "use" of progeny may be available to female lovers, as so many of the earlier sonnets urge, but the "love," a word which does not necessarily exclude the carnal, will belong to the speaker. Sonnet 20 is the only sonnet written entirely in what is called (in Shakespeare's time and today) "feminine" rhyme. Perhaps by doing this, Shakespeare is offering a formal equivalent to the changed sex of the youth. Even as one extra syllable makes for "feminine" rhyme, so does adding one "thing" make for masculine identity. Linking its form to its content, the poem suggests thereby that sexual identity might be as fungible as meter.

It is the turbulent love the speaker feels for the young man and the even more disturbing passion he experiences for the Dark Lady that animates and haunts these glorious, anxious poems. Focusing on the transient desires that thrill and disturb both body and soul, Shakespeare deploys all the moral force of religious judgment but none of its gestures of transcendence or promises of eternal life to plumb the depths of human appetite. At least one version of the consummation of this cynical attitude is Sonnet 129, a poem without an ostensible speaker or audience. It may be the first English poem to describe in detail the phenomenon and consequences of orgasm. Sonnet 129 reveals the physical consummation ostensibly sought by so many previous love poets to be a heaven of momentary pleasure that leads men to an abiding hell of self-disgust:

Th'expense of spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action, and till action, lust
Is perjured, murd'rous, bloody, full of blame,
Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust,
Enjoyed no sooner but despised straight,
Past reason hunted, and, no sooner had,
Past reason hated as a swallowed bait
On purpose laid to make the taker mad,

Mad in pursuit, and in possession so,
Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme,
A bliss in proof and proved, a very woe,
Before, a joy proposed; behind, a dream.
All this the world well knows, yet none knows well
To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell.

We are several universes away from Petrarch's sublimated desire, although Petrarch might have shared the tone of moral condemnation toward physical consummation of love. But the poem is relentlessly corporeal; even the word "spirit" here is just a medical term for semen. The word "love" does not appear in the poem. The headlong syntax and rushed enjambment brilliantly enact the rash, impulsive action the poem describes, while the pun on *waste* and *waist* underscores the poem's unflinching account of the physiological location of sexual activity and inexorable dissipation of erotic desire. The poem contrasts the almost imperceptible brevity of pleasure with the protracted turpitude of desire.

Other sonnets unblinkingly investigate the paradoxes of desire and satiation in terms of the bodily experience of the appetite for food. They depict a speaker caught in a cycle of hunger, glut, and revulsion. Sonnet 56, for example, suggests that the appetites for food and *eros* possess a corollary structure of temporality:

Sweet love, renew thy force. Be it not said
Thy edge should blunter be than appetite,
Which but to-day by feeding is allayed,
Tomorrow sharpened in his former might:
So love be thou; although today thou fill
Thy hungry eyes, even till they wink with fullness,
Tomorrow see again, and do not kill
The spirit of love with a perpetual dullness. (lines 1–8)

The rhyme between "fullness" and "dullness" underscores exactly the dilemma of these poems: getting what you desire dampens desire; fullness produces dullness. Shakespeare finds deeply troubling the way that desire passes through satiation on the way to something like nausea, because this threatens his entire project of commemorating desire into eternity.

The speaker of Sonnet 75 experiences the beloved as either feast or fast—"So are you to my thoughts as food to life"—and sadly seems to suffer profound discomfort in both extremes:

Sometime all full with feasting on your sight
And by and by clean starved for a look.
Possessing or pursuing, no delight,
Save what is had or must from you be took.
  Thus do I pine and surfeit day by day,
  Or gluttoning on all, or all away. (lines 9–14)

The speaker imagines erotic commitment as a bulimic existence that staggers maddeningly from over-indulgence to deprivation. Indeed, the loss of control implicit in erotic desire is so troubling that the speaker of Sonnet 147, "My love is as a fever," identifies his "love" as a disease that threatens to destroy its host:

> My love is as a fever, longing still
> For that which longer nurseth the disease,
> Feeding on that which doth preserve the ill,
> Th'uncertain sickly appetite to please.
> My reason, the physician to my love,
> Angry that his prescriptions are not kept,
> Hath left me, and I desperate now approve
> Desire is death, which physic did except.
> Past cure I am, now reason is past care,
> And, frantic-mad with evermore unrest,
> My thoughts and my discourse as madmen's are,
> At random from the truth vainly expressed.
> For I have sworn thee fair and thought thee bright,
> Who art as black as hell, as dark as night.

Appetite is "uncertain" and "sickly," and "Desire is death." In this truly dark poem, erotic desire offers no refuge from the ravages of time and death that is claimed in other sonnets.

John Donne too was troubled by corporeal dissolution, and was similarly haunted by the physiology of orgasm, which suggested that carnal pleasure came at the considerable expense of a shortened life. But where corporeal decay plagues Shakespeare, Donne responds to it opportunistically. In one poem, "The Relic," he even hopes to use the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh to locate his beloved at the end of time: "A bracelet of bright hair about the bone" will bring the resurrected lovers together as they assemble the dispersed matter of their bodies (Donne 2006, line 6). Like Shakespeare's Sonnets, Donne's secular poetry in particular overtly rejects the Petrarchan rhetoric of idealization and distant worship—what Donne calls "whining poetry" in "The Triple Fool"—in favor of a celebration of the pleasures and terrors of erotic intimacy (line3). Like Shakespeare, Donne sometimes finds consummation to be a disappointment; the speaker of "Farewell to Love" discovers that sex, "Being had, enjoying it decays," leaving "a kind of sorrowing dullness to the mind" (lines 16–20). But unlike Shakespeare, Donne elsewhere celebrates the physical and spiritual union of love. His lover is no distant mistress, but rather one who wakes up with him the morning after physical consummation. The decidedly spiritual celebrations of Donne's love poetry are wedded to its considered corporeality. Donne's love lyrics celebrate with colloquial vigor and dramatic immediacy the good morrow of souls and bodies waking up to each other. Take, for example, "The Good Morrow," Donne's paradigmatic poem of lovers waking up to the morning and each other:

> I wonder by my troth, what thou and I
> Did, till we loved? Were we not weaned till then?
> But sucked on country pleasures, childishly?
> Or snorted we in the' seven sleepers' den?

'Twas so; but this, all pleasures fancies be.
If ever any beauty I did see,
Which I desired, and got, 'twas but a dream of thee.

And now goodmorrow to our waking souls,
Which watch not one another out of fear,
For love, all love of other sights controls,
And makes one little room an everywhere.
Let sea-discoverers to new worlds have gone,
Let maps to others, worlds on worlds have shown,
Let us possess one world, each hath one, and is one.

My face in thine eye, thine in mine appears,
And true plain hearts do in the faces rest;
Where can we find two better hemispheres
Without sharp North, without declining West?
Whatever dies, was not mixed equally;
If our two loves be one, or, thou and I
Love so alike, that none do slacken, none can die.

This magnificent poem brilliantly fuses matter and spirit, importing mythological matter and global exploration into the realm of *eros*, and giving sexual intimacy an aura that is at once audacious and sanctified. Donne's amorous verse aggressively resists both Petrarchan disembodiment and a Neoplatonic separation of body and soul, emphasizing instead the full participation of body, mind, and soul in the flush experience of erotic intimacy. Poems like "The Good Morrow," "The Sun Rising," and "A Valediction Forbidding Mourning" boldly embrace corporeality as the necessary habitat of intimacy. "The Undertaking" imagines a moment of ungendered eroticism; the speaker describes the profound courage required to see "Virtue attired in woman … And forget the he and she" (lines 18–20). And in *Sapho to Philaenis*, Donne boldly depicts overt female–female desire, imagining the female body as a paradisal locale: "Thy body is a natural paradise / In whose self, unmanured, all pleasure lies" (lines 35–36). The poem, moreover, praises the "mutual feeling" of same-sex love, arguing its superiority to "the tillage of a harsh, rough man," and suggesting that full erotic mutuality demands commensurately gendered bodies (line 38).

Among Donne's many imitators in the seventeenth century, Katherine Philips achieves perhaps the fullest metabolization of Donne's witty intimacy. In "To My excellent Lucasia, on our Friendship," Philips rewrites the opening of "The good morrow" in terms of same-sex female bonds, announcing "I did not live untill this time / Crown'd my felicity" (Philips 1990, lines 1–2). She was but a walking "Carkasse" until this moment of passionate awakening to another, and compares her joy to that experienced by the traditionally male roles of a bridegroom and a conqueror:

Nor Bridegroomes nor crown'd conqu'rour's mirth
  To mine compar'd can be:
They have but pieces of this Earth,
  I've all the world in thee. (lines 5, 17–20)

Yet other poems will challenge the implied possessiveness of these images. Whereas in "The Sun Rising" Donne asserts that "She is all states, and all princes, I," Philips transforms Donne's possessive hierarchy into an assertion of full equality, proclaiming that "all our titles shuffled so, / Both Princes, and both subjects too" ("Friendships Mysterys, to my dearest Lucasia," lines 24–5). The dynamics of ardent female friendship absorb Donne's articulations of erotic intimacy.

Both Philips and Donne think hard about how relations between matter and spirit bespeak the affinities between men and women. In "Air and Angels," Donne argues that "Love must not be, but take a body too" (line 10). For Donne, the ineffable phenomenon of copious affection demands a material medium for consummate realization. The speaker of the poem entitled "Love's Growth" argues that

> Love's not so pure, and abstract, as they use
> To say which have no mistress but their muse,
> But as all else, being elemented too,
> Love sometimes would contemplate, sometimes do. (lines 11–14)

In "The Ecstasy," Neoplatonic union between the lovers' souls is invoked, but ultimately revealed as detrimental, since it gives rise to captivity:

> But O alas, so long, so far
> Our bodies why do we forbear?
> They'are ours, though they're not we; we are
> The intelligences, they the spheres …
>
> So must pure lovers' souls descend
> T'affections and to faculties,
> Which sense may reach and apprehend,
> Else a great prince in prison lies.
> To'our bodies turn we then, that so
> Weak men on love reveal'd may look;
> Love's mysteries in souls do grow,
> But yet the body is his book. (lines 49–52, 61–72)

In these lines, Donne talks at once to his beloved, and to the long tradition of disembodied love poetry he is at pains to repudiate.

Donne's religious poetry, though, articulates a very different experience of the body. Holy Sonnet 19, "O, to vex me," discovers a surprising form of comfort in the stormy internal weather of the anxious devotee. Nancy Selleck has recently argued that the speaker of this poem "uses the humoral body as a metaphor for his spiritual condition."[5] I would argue that the humoral body is not just a metaphor; rather, it is the medium of his spirituality. Most tellingly, Donne's speaker describes his optimal spiritual experience as occurring on those occasions when his body betrays his spiritual terror in a corporeal condition that mimics disease: "Those are my best days, when I shake with fear." As in Shakespeare's sonnets, the poles of health and disease have switched places. Trembling flesh here testifies to the authenticity of the salutary spiritual state. Corporeal matter is the medium of inner truth.

In "Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward," though, the body becomes the object not just of emotional terror but also of physical suffering. The speaker calls to mind the immense suffering he cannot confront directly: Christ's hands are "pierced with those holes," while his copious outpouring of blood makes "dirt of dust," and his "flesh" is "ragged and torn" (lines 22, 27–28). He concludes by longing to experience in his own body some version of his Savior's suffering: "I turne my back to Thee, but to receive / Corrections" (lines 37–38).

This is, I am sorry to say, the routine move of Donne's religious poetry. Throughout his sacred poems Donne repeatedly paints himself into a desperate corner that only corporal punishment will allow him to escape. Aemilia Lanyer also focuses her work on corporeal pain. In the *Salve Deus Rex Iudaeorum*, published in 1611, the same year as the King James Bible, Lanyer develops parallels between the suffering body of Jesus and the culturally and biologically imposed suffering of women, in order to delineate a powerful affective conduit between Jesus and women. Indeed, by linking the specific pains of women—subjection and childbirth—to the salvific sufferings of Jesus, and by making both the victim of male violence, Lanyer discovers a place of spiritual privilege for women amid the very discourses typically deployed to justify their subjection. Lanyer offers a profoundly gendered reading of the Passion:

> When spightfull men with torments did oppresse
> Th'afflicted body of this innocent Dove,
> Poore women seeing how much they [men] did transgresse,
> … labour still these tyrant hearts to move.
> (Lanyer 1993, lines 993–998)

She represents, moreover, his corporeal suffering with a blazon, imploring the symbolic violence of the trope by which male poets praise female beauty to represent the violence done to Jesus's body:

> His joynts dis-joynted, and his legges hang downe,
> His alablaster breast, his bloody side,
> His members torne. (lines 1161–1163)

She even imagines Pilate's wife making an apology for Eve, cleverly using the progenitor of humanity to argue for female liberation:

> Then let us have our Libertie againe,
> And challendge to your selves no Sov'raigntie;
> You came not in the world without our paine,
> Make that a barre against your crueltie. (lines 825–828)

Lanyer argues that the redemptive pain of Jesus and the procreative pain of childbirth should curb the cruelties of patriarchy.

There is certainly a lot of corporeal suffering in the divine poetry of Donne's friend George Herbert, but there is also a significant awareness that other sensations might mediate the divine–human experience. As Herbert writes in the fifth poem in his collection of sacred verse that is entitled "Affliction," "There is but joy and grief. / If either will

convert us, we are thine" (2007, lines 13–14). For Herbert, the bodily sensations of pleasure and pain both offer access to the divine. From its first moments in "The Churchporch," the volume promises to "make a bait of pleasure," since poetry is a medium of sensory gratifications: "A verse may finde him, who a sermon flies, / And turn delight into a sacrifice" (lines 3–6). Surprisingly, sensual pleasure and lyric delight are continuous with Herbert's admittedly evangelical goals. And in "The Invitation," Herbert uses the fact that the Eucharistic feast encapsulates various corporeal activities situationally identified as sinful (eating, drinking, loving) in order to suggest that Christianity includes physical pleasure in its repertoire of spiritual experience. In between these gracious invitations to sensual indulgence, the volume engages with a variety of possible pleasures. The speaker of "The Pearl" announces that he "know[s] the wayes of pleasure, the sweet strains, / The lullings and the relishes of it" (lines 21–22). For Herbert, the God who died in extreme physical pain at the hand of his creatures reveals his unearthly mercy in his willingness to license the physical pleasure of those creatures.

Throughout *The Temple*, his posthumously published volume of sacred verse, Herbert is fascinated by the relationship between God's blood—the product of immense suffering—and the Eucharistic wine—the source of great pleasure—that represents it. In "The Agonie," he discovers a kind of reverse transubstantiation, asserting that divine "Love is that liquour sweet and most divine, / Which my God feels as bloud; but I, as wine." Herbert is amazed by the startling fact that God's grisly agony is ritually represented by a sensuously delectable experience.

The body is granted its ultimate satisfaction in "Love (III)," the final lyric of *The Temple*. The poem imagines contact with Love as a corporeal experience: "Love took my hand" (line 11). Herbert, moreover, portrays a consummately gracious host who offers the speaker a meal of his own substance: "You must sit down, sayes Love, and taste my meat" (line 17). The poem places the appetites of the body at the heart of a deeply spiritual interaction. Carnivorous, even cannibalistic, violence epitomizes divine grace, as the Lord of Hosts invites a reluctant human to feast on its own flesh.

The body and its appetites also play a central role in *Paradise Lost*, John Milton's epic retelling of the Fall as a dietary transgression. In Milton's Paradise, Adam and Eve perform manual labor and have sex, two corporeal activities that many biblical commentators did not imagine occurring in Paradise. In its celebration of their fully carnal relationship, the poem explicitly repudiates the Petrarchan project of distant, disembodied desire. When Adam and Eve engage in what Milton decorously terms "the rites / Mysterious of connubial love," he consecrates the sexuality. He adjudges those who would "Defam[e] as impure what God declares / Pure" to be "Hypocrites" (Milton 1998, 4.741–742, 4.746–747). The poem then exuberantly celebrates "wedded Love" as a "Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets, / Whose bed is undefiled and chaste" (4.760–761). The narrator argues that this fully embodied sexuality is where true love "Reigns … and revels," not "in the bought smile / Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendeared," nor in the "serenade, which the starved lover sings / To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain" (4.765–770). In this final line, Milton suggests that the disembodied lyric desire inaugurated by Petrarch entails moral desolation, not spiritual idealization.

Indeed, Milton argues that "Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain / But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man" (4.748–749). In Milton's moral refashioning of bodily experience, Satan inherits the Petrarchan agony of unsatisfied desire. As he watches

Adam and Eve make love, Satan reveals the internal hell of vehemently and eternally unfulfilled longing:

> Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two,
> Imparadised in one another's arms,
> The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
> Of bliss on bliss; while I to Hell am thrust,
> Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
> Among our other torments not the least,
> Still unfulfilled with pain of longing pines. (4.505–511)

Milton brilliantly reimagines Hell not as a torture chamber but rather as an internal state of raging, insatiable desire. Milton shows how the biases of celibacy lurk invisibly within the conventions of Petrarchan adoration. Satan is the ultimate Petrarchan lover, condemned to feel unrequited desire in perpetuity.

As Milton tells it, after the Fall, Adam and Eve have sex. Most commentators accentuate the differences between pre- and post-lapsarian sex in order to emphasize the moral degradation of corporeal experience after the Fall. Admittedly, the act has changed. Adam now feels that Eve's beauty "inflame[s] my sense / With ardour to enjoy thee" (9.1031–1032). A discourse of turbulent, over-heated passion tied to Shakespeare's "My love is as a fever" invades their tender affection.[6] However imperfectly, Adam and Eve still participate in the embodied love that Milton celebrates, an act whose diminished but indubitable pleasures explicitly defy Satan's spiteful efforts to make everyone as unhappy and unfulfilled as he.

The body, then, makes a curious, uneven voyage through English Renaissance poetry. Beginning in a series of Petrarchan literary conventions that seem designed to defy bodily and emotional urges, and sporadically flaring up in various lyric episodes, it might be seen to emerge fully in Milton's epic absorption of lyric energies into a poem whose novel heroism is tied up with the better fortitude of marital existence. Certainly, after Milton, the Petrarchan legacy is never quite the same, although the purportedly romantic narrative of erotic suffering and unrequited love maintains its hold, even into the present. As Donne and Milton in particular demonstrate, those rare and wonderful moments when the gratifications of the body are synchronized with the pleasures of poetry produce a kind of transubstantiation that may even begin to touch the sacred.

Notes

1 The majority of critical work on the early modern body has focused on drama at the expense of lyric. In Traub (2016), for example, a wide-ranging collection of almost 800 pages, there are only a sprinkling of paragraphs devoted to Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry. Traub (2015) does discuss the Sonnets extensively, focusing on gender and the body.

2 Blasing (2007) offers a provocative overview of the origins of some of this pleasure in poetic form.

3 Bates (2007, 28–88) explores the Petrarchan roots of Sidney's masochism.

4 Strier (2011, 75–97) usefully emphasizes the continuities with Petrarch, where I stress the departures.

5 Selleck (2001, 159). Scarry (1988) analyzes Donne's account of the body primarily through his material encounter with language.

6 Turner (1987, 303) describes fallen sexuality as "a cracked and hectic transcription of familiar music."

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41
Poetry and the Material Text

Adam Smyth

What has the book considered as a physical object got to do with literary criticism? Traditionally, not very much. W. W. Greg's influential definitions of early twentieth-century bibliography make a separation between the two explicit, and indeed necessary for bibliography's self-conception: if "bibliography is the study of books as tangible objects," then it "is not concerned with their contents in a literary sense" (Greg 1966, 271). The bibliographer's eye scans "pieces of paper or parchment covered with certain written or printed signs," but these signs are, for him or her, "arbitrary marks; their meaning is" not his or her concern (Greg 1932, 121–122).

In the nearly two decades since the publication of D. F. McKenzie's *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, and in contrast to this Gregian fork in the road, the study of material texts has become an increasingly dominant paradigm for reading early modern literature. Indeed, attention to the material form has grown so pervasive among literary critics that there is a danger it will become naturalized as a seemingly inevitable and therefore under-interrogated set of interests and questions. This is a good moment, then, to ask what traits the study of material texts tends to exhibit, and how these traits differ from older traditions of bibliographical study.

Most fundamentally, the study of material texts brings together separate but related disciplinary strands by combining, or at least by taking some of its bearings from, bibliography (the study of books as physical objects), the history of the book (the history of the creation, dissemination, and reception of texts), and textual criticism (the analysis of different versions of a text as it was transmitted; an engagement with texts as things that exist in multiple forms). Noting that the printed book was only one of many forms for conveying text in the early modern period, and that the history of the book has been both too print-centric and too bookish, scholars of material texts have, in the spirit of a corrective, explored manuscript culture and non-book forms (such as broadside ballads), and

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also, and in particular, the various kinds of bibliographical hybridity that characterized early modern textual culture: printed books with handwritten annotations (Sherman 2008); multiple short texts bound together to produce large composite volumes, or *Sammelbände* (Knight 2013); books physically composed, in their bindings and boards, from the recycled remains of older printed volumes and medieval manuscripts; and texts patched together through a process of cutting up and reassembling, a kind of collage *avant la lettre* (Fleming, Sherman and Smyth, 2015). An investment in the transmission and dissemination of texts between different reading communities and across different media has led scholars to reconfigure the printed text (particularly the play book and the verse collection) as a collection of pieces-in-motion: less a stable whole than a collection of parts that might be crumbled and organized into new forms (Stern 2009). Prologues and epilogues might circulate separately from the rest of the text; a culture of common-placing encouraged readers to excise sententious lines from printed literary works. This interest in what we might call the social lives of texts has led critics to explore the reception of texts by examining signs of book use and creative misuse (Cormack and Mazzio 2005), including marginal annotations; and to attempt to bring to critical prominence the multiple agencies involved in the production of literary texts: not only authors, but publishers, scribes, print-shop workers (compositors, pressmen, correctors), binders, and booksellers (Straznicky 2012). Scholars have also, in recent years, shifted away from familiar and potentially Whiggish arguments about the modernity of print to emphasize links and continuities between medieval and early modern textual cultures.

Material texts scholarship is often concerned with the gap between the assumptions and discourses of modern bibliography, and early modern ways of imagining, producing, and consuming texts. The coherent, bound, unannotated, "complete" printed book, with which modern bibliographical culture has been fixated, was not yet the dominant medium for conveying text. The establishment of the book through iconic publications like Jonson's and Shakespeare's Folios (1616 and 1623) is of course one of the dominant narratives of seventeenth-century literary culture; but through much of the early modern period, that modern assumption that "the work is coterminous with the book" was not yet axiomatic (Fleming 2010, 548).

Perhaps most urgently of all, work on material texts aims to combine an attention to the material and the literary: to the text as linguistic structure, and the text as material thing (Price 2009, 120). It does this by

- taking seriously the signifying potential of the materiality of texts: the degree to which aspects of a text such as format, typography, binding, even "the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning" (McKenzie 1999, 17);
- noting that early modern literature is awash with bibliographical metaphors ("this man's brow, like to a title-leaf, / Foretells the nature of a tragic volume," Shakespeare, *Henry IV Part 2*, I.i.60–61), and thus reading literary works as texts frequently and self-reflexively engaged in describing, considering, contesting, or ironizing their material forms;
- analyzing the consequences of a literary work being conveyed with particular material traits (Chartier 2014): thinking about the difference it makes that Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) was printed in quarto; or that William Davenant's epic poem

> *Gondibert* (1651) appeared with canceled and replacement pages (cancellanda and cancellantia); or that Margaret Cavendish added her own post-print handwritten corrections and paste-in slips to many of her books; or that some copies of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) opened not with "Of Man's first disobedience and the fruit / Of that forbidden tree," but an errata list of 13 printing mistakes ("for *lost* r.[ead] *last*") and the injunction that "[o]ther literal faults the Reader of himself may Correct."

When the 1710 Statute of Queen Anne established for the first time a conception of authorial copyright, the statute dematerialized the literary text (Stallybrass and Chartier 2013), stressing (in the words of Blackstone's commentary) that the

> identity of a literary composition consists entirely in the *sentiment* and the *language*; the same conceptions, clothed in the same words, must necessarily be the same composition: and whatever method be taken of conveying that composition to the ear or the eye of another, by recital, by writing, or by printing, in any number of copies or at any period of time, it is always the identical work of the author which is so conveyed. (Blackstone 1765–1769, 406)

This is a recognizably modern and, it might feel, commonsensical idea of the literary work: that a poem is in some essential and literary sense the same poem, whether it appears online, in print, in a handwritten letter, or as a spoken performance.

On one level, though, and despite the Platonic Statute of Queen Anne, reading is of course always a material process: readers, as Roger Chartier notes, "never confront abstract, idealized texts detached from any materiality. They hold in their hands or perceive objects and forms whose structures and modalities govern their reading or hearing" (Chartier 1992, 46–47). This may be true, but a more powerful reason for considering the relationship between early modern poetry and material texts is historically sensitive: early modern writers and readers thought profoundly about media and materiality in relation to verse in a way that was particular to their era. The strongest reason for entangling the literary and the material, then, is that this is what early modern poets and literary theorists consistently did themselves.

In his *Art of English Poesy* (1589), George Puttenham discusses words as visual units and poems as texts conveyed in striking material forms. Puttenham notes an older tradition of sending short epigrams as New Year's gifts written in marchpane or marzipan, and observes the related sixteenth-century practice of painting short epigrams or poesies "upon the backsides of our fruit trenchers," or on rings (Puttenham 2007, 146). Puttenham also describes an ancient tradition of pattern poems—that is, texts which assume meaningful spatial forms on the page—within "the courts of the great princes of China and Tartary." There, poets composed brief "ocular" poems "engraven in gold, silver, or ivory, and sometimes with letters of amethyst, ruby, emerald, or topaz, curiously cemented and pieced together," which they sent "in chains, bracelets, collars, and girdles to their mistresses to wear for a remembrance" (180). Puttenham provides English renderings of these "geometrical figures," including the "Lozenge," "Spire or Taper," and "Pillar, Pilaster, or Cylinder": their formal demands not only display the author's "art" but produce poems of "briefness and subtlety of device" (179). In George Herbert's *The Temple* (1633), poems such as "Easter Wings" and "The Altar" continue this tradition, the words organized to generate striking

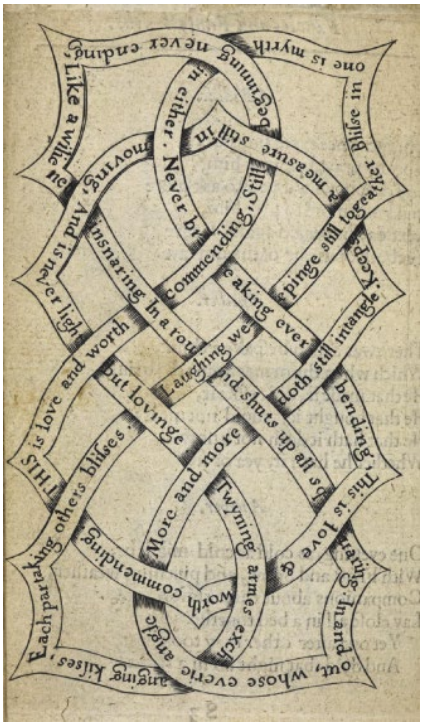

Figure 41.1 *Recreation for Ingenious Head-peeces* (1663, S3v). Source: BL 3504687 - Recreation for ingenious head-peeces, or, A pleasant grove for their wits to walk in. Witt's recreations refined 1663 (engraving), English School, (17th century) / British Library, London, UK / Bridgeman Images. Reproduced with permission.

spatial forms that thematically enact the subject of the poem, albeit with a devotional rather than an amatory subject matter. Herbert's shape poems are well known today but they are only one iteration of a broader early modern investment in the spatialized poetic word.

Thus, one extremely popular mid-seventeenth-century anthology of verse includes a poem about ensnaring love that is printed as if on a winding strip of paper (Figure 41.1): the twisting form means the poem's final words return the reader to the start, enacting the never-ending nature of love. Another anthology of love poetry includes a section of "Emblematical Fantasticks" with lines which coil in on themselves (in "Round about all in a Ring") or which are organized as a series of misdirected movements ("Ever in a wand'ring Maze") (Figure 41.2).

In part these verses engage with Reformation debates about the relationship between word and image, and a Renaissance conception of words, informed by Neoplatonism and cabalistic concerns, as "material things that belong to the same network of resemblances that endows natural objects with allegorical meaning" (Elsky 1983, 258). Just as the shape of Egyptian hieroglyphs and Hebrew text had a deep symbolic meaning, so the physical form of English letters yielded a spiritual significance. Such poems create several kinds of effect. One is wonder at the technical process of production—how did print produce these coiling lines?—which in turn evokes, for the reader, an awareness of the physical labor of book production. Such poems conjure up the work of the print shop. A second effect is that the twisting paper words force the reader to read with more of his or her body than they

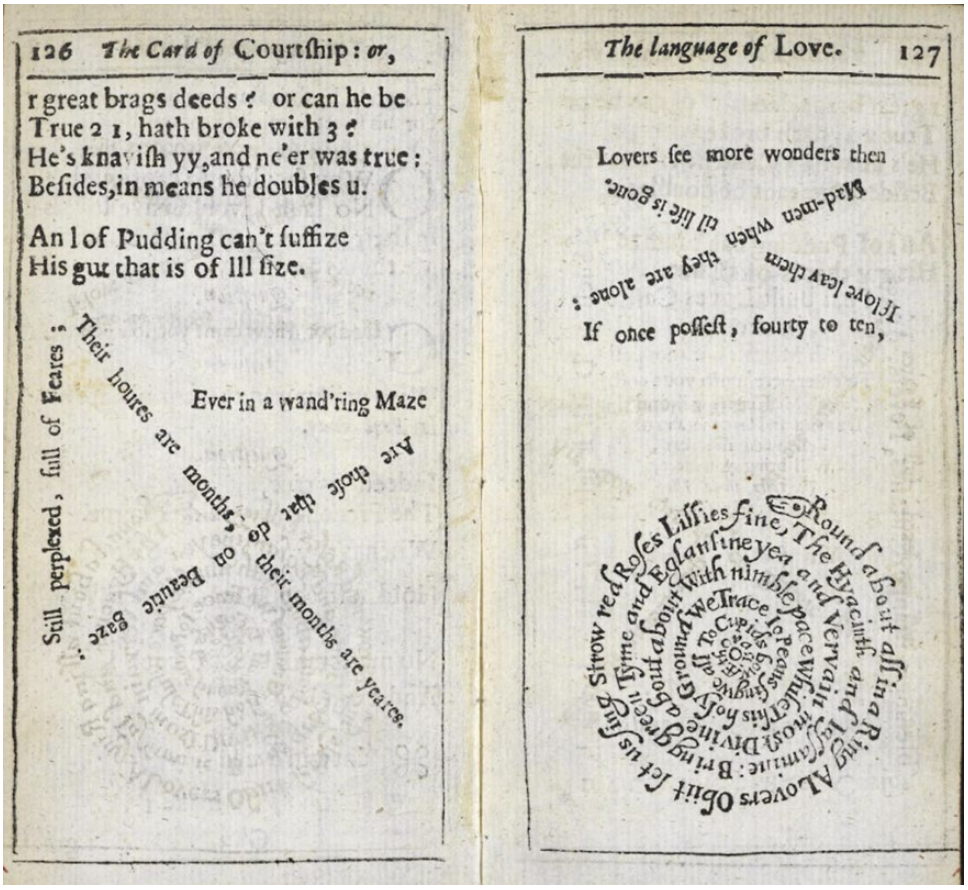

Figure 41.2 *The Card of Courtship* (1653, 126–127). Source: BL 3504686 - The Card of Courtship: or, The Language of Love' 1653 (engraving), English School, (17th century) / British Library, London, UK/Bridgeman Images. Reproduced with permission.

are probably used to: to turn the book in their hands, to move their head as they follow the shape of the line, to shift their posture as they track the 270° switch between "Ever in a wand'ring Maze" and "Are those that do on Beautie gaze."

Puttenham thus provides some traditions for considering the poem as a material form, but there were more fundamental reasons for authors to think about materiality. To write poetry in early modern England meant confronting a range of possible media—at the very least, print, manuscript, and orality—and writers continually reflect on these choices and the connotations of each. Sometimes these considerations take the form of an author anxiously trying to control the circulation of his or her poetry. Donne was famously unsettled at the prospect of his verses—which so often relied on irony and shared expectations of wit—reaching print. Thus, during his lifetime he restricted his printed poetry to three commendatory poems, an elegy on the death of Prince Henry, and two *Anniversaries* on the death of Elizabeth Drury (1611, 1612), the latter printings probably the result of pressure from Donne's patron Sir Robert Drury, father of the deceased. Donne expressed regret at these published *Anniversaries*. In a letter to George Gerrard of April 14, 1612, he wrote: "Of my Anniversaries, the fault

that I acknowledge in my self, is to have descended to print anything in verse, which though it have excuse even in our times, by men who professe, and practice much gravitie; yet I confesse I wonder how I declined to it, and do not pardon my self" (Donne 2002, 62). But an awareness of the material forms of poetry was not confined to a desire to control publication. As Juliet Fleming and others have argued, there were in fact other sites for poetic inscription beyond manuscript and print, including stone, wood, and glass (Fleming 2001), and authors used poetry as a space in which to think through the nature of the different forms that verse, and writing, might assume.

John Donne's "A Valediction of my name, in the window" imagines the now-absent poet's name cut into the glass of his mistress's window, and presents a brilliant series of meditations on what this material-bound name might represent (Donne 1996, 87–89). The first two of eleven stanzas read:

My name engraved herein
Doth contribute my firmness to this glass,
Which ever since that charm hath been
As hard, as that which graved it was;
Thine eye will give it price enough, to mock
The diamonds of either rock.

'Tis much that glass should be
As all-confessing, and through-shine as I;
'Tis more that it shows thee to thee,
And clear reflects thee to thine eye.
But all such rules love's magic can undo;
Here you see me, and I am you.

The glass is clear and so "all-confessing"; it "reflects thee to thine eye"; it layers his name on her body ("Here you see me, and I am you"); it stands for permanence and "firmness" ("So shall all times find me the same") but also, as a "ragged bony name" scratched on a surface, for the speaker's mortal, "ruinous anatomy"; it stands for presence and absence.

Donne's poem on one level documents a particular form of writing—words cut into glass—and for his poem to work, that form of writing needs to be recognizable as a real practice: as something that happened, or might happen. We know that jewelers made "writing rings" with diamonds designed for etching in glass, and other poems similarly invoke this kind of inscription. George Herbert's "The Posie," for example, contrasts the verses written by wits in windows with Herbert's biblical motto, "Lesse then the least / Of al thy mercies" (Herbert 2007, 632). But a poem is not a document, and Donne's verse records a material practice in order to think with it: the poem works through some of the philosophical potential of a name etched in glass, wondering what such a thing might represent, and how it might relate to, or might fail to relate to, Donne's love. A name in glass is a paradoxical thing—is it written on the surface, or cut within?; does the glass constrain or enable, locking it in, or allowing it to speak?; how can the text be both transparent and legible?—and that is why it is useful to Donne. Rayna Kalas is right to call the verse "a kind of prismatic study of the name as a material word" (Kalas 2007, 199), even if Donne dismisses the meditations in the final lines as the murmuring of a dying man. The final

irony is that what we are reading is a printed version of what had been a manuscript verse which describes text cut into glass: there are three material surfaces invoked, even before we consider the flickering reflections of her face over his name. Just as, 200 years later, John Keats's nameless tombstone epitaph in the Protestant cemetery in Rome—"Here lies One whose Name was writ in Water"—offered an ironic reflection on materiality (the name writ in water is cut into stone), so Donne's poem presents a multi-layered meditation on material form.

By focusing on unusual forms of inscription, poems like Donne's become ways of thinking curiously about what writing is: they become mechanisms for putting pressure on ideas of text, surface, author, and reader. We see this in Abraham Cowley's "Written in Juice of Lemmon" (Cowley 1656, part 2, 9–10),[1] a verse that recalls the practice of writing secret letters in lemon or orange juice: when heat was applied to the paper at a later date, the flames would produce legible text. Secret letters might also be written in milk, urine, vinegar, or onion, the invisible text revealed through the application of water, heat, or a fine powder such as coal dust (Daybell 2010, 55–56). This mode of writing was associated with secret correspondence by Catholics (Cowley's poem is full of the language of confession and sin), or by Royalists during the Civil Wars, and was also resonant of clandestine love. In Cowley's verse, written as an address to the paper, flames yield up letters, one by one:

> So, nothing yet in thee is seen,
> But, when a genial heat warms thee within,
> A new-born wood of various lines there grows;
> Here buds an A, and there a B,
> Here sprouts a V, and there a T,
> And all the flourishing letters stand in rows.

This kind of text-in-process troubles our sense of what writing is, and when it occurs, and also of what an author does: "Thou," writes Cowley to the page,

> … now maist change thy *Authors* name,
> And to her *Hand* lay noble claim;
> For as *She Reads*, she *Makes* the words in Thee.

Reading and writing have become contemporaneous actions; or, more accurately, reading produces writing. Cowley's verse is not itself an invisible letter but a visible poem that imagines an invisible and then becoming-visible text. This imagined materiality, which is different from the poem's actual materiality, is useful for Cowley for the purposes of poetic treatment: the conceit of writing revealed by the "[s]trange power of heat" allows Cowley to track between different kinds of fire: the martyr's flames; the lover's passion; the flames that reveal but also potentially destroy the poem.

But we could also read more literally, and approach Cowley's poem in terms of its actual material form: that is, we could return to its 1656 appearance in print, and read with a newly inclusive sense of what reading is, taking in not only formal and linguistic features of the text, but also "textual materials … not regularly studied by those interested in

'poetry': … typefaces, bindings, book prices, page format, and all those textual phenomena usually regarded as (at best) peripheral to 'poetry' or 'the text as such'" (McGann 1991, 13). We could, as one medievalist puts it, "productively bring comparable interpretative strategies to bear on the formal characteristics of both physical manuscripts [or printed texts] and literary works" (Bahr 2013, 1). Such a mode of reading is more often expressed as an admirable commitment than it is enacted; but what might it actually mean? What can widening our reading scope to take in the material tell us about a poem that we would not otherwise observe?

If we return to Cowley's poem as it was printed in 1656, we see that this eight-stanza poem runs across two pages, and that we must turn the page after line 2 of stanza 4: the layout demands this haptic interaction. We see that the poem is not "Written in Juice of Lemmon," but in printer's ink, in a mix of roman and italic type. Stanzas are numbered. We note that the poem occupies a place within a sequence, each poem separated by a horizontal line: Cowley's verse follows "The Spring" (about his mistress's absence), and is followed by "Inconstancy," and the trio of absence/secret letter/inconstancy suggests a narrative. We see that the poem is surrounded by paratextual markers: a running-title across the top of each page places this poem within a broader collection called "The MISTRESS"; page numbers and signature marks locate the poem at a particular point in this collection. If we look closely, we see that the "E" of the running-title "MISTRESS" on page 10 is a different letter form from the equivalent "E" on pages 8, 9, and 11. Is there more than one mistress? The catchword "If" at the foot of the page notes the first word of the next: it was included to guide the compositor and binder when making the book and thus, while serving no functional purpose for the reader, recalls the process of production, drawing attention to the labor behind the book and so suggesting a "material narrative" (that is, a story of the book's production) that is quite distinct from the text's literary narrative (Cloud 2000, 151). As D. F. McKenzie observed, "every book tells a story quite apart from that recounted by its text" (McKenzie 2002, 262). Catchwords might also generate aesthetic effects for the reader through their processes of repetition and emphasis (although this was not their purpose): in Cowley's poem, the "If" of "If her large mercies cruelly it restrain" becomes more conditional when read twice, as catchword and as poem.

The accumulative effect of bringing these bibliographical and paratextual features into the literary conversation—which means, very simply, reading as much of what is on the page as possible—is to raise profound questions about the nature of what we read when we read a poem. First: where does the poem begin and end? What should we include under the title "Written in Juice of Lemmon"? If every act of reading is necessarily an act of exclusion as well as inclusion—we chose *this*, but not *that*, because we cannot read everything—then what are this text's limits? How porous are the parameters between this poem and what we might think of as its material surround? And second: how is Cowley's position as the author complicated by the visible traces of the labor of compositors, binders, and press-men? Is this a single-author or a collaborative work?

Thinking about materiality has also led recent critics to read poems in the context of the collections in which they sit: a widening of the critical lens to achieve what Matthew Zarnowiecki calls "medium-close reading." Poems are read in relation to the other texts that surround them to produce "a more diversified textual effect" (Zarnowiecki 2014, 7, 41). Thus, for example, we might read the 144 poems in *Shake-speares Sonnets* (1609)

alongside their title page ("SHAKE-SPEARES SONNETS. Neuer before Imprinted") and their riddling dedication ("TO THE ONLIE BEGETTER OF THESE INSVING SONNETS"): texts that raise the themes of printing, collaboration, reproduction, and time which preoccupy the sonnets to come. We might also note that *Shake-speares Sonnets* contains not only sonnets but also the long (and critically unheralded) narrative poem "A Lover's Complaint," possibly, but by no means certainly, by Shakespeare. Shakespeare's sonnets thus appear in a book titled *Shake-speares Sonnets* which contains more than Shakespeare's sonnets, and modern editions often fail to convey these bibliographical realities of title and content. Similarly, to read Philip Sidney's sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella* in its 1591 instantiation is to encounter not only the sonnets and songs we might expect, but also a preface and title page which prescribe a moral ("Wherein the excellence of sweete Poesie is concluded"), and a book which augments Sidney's verses with "Poems and Sonets of sundrie other Noble men and Gentlemen" (Sidney 1591, 62). When Sidney's sonnet sequence appeared in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1598), it immediately followed his prose defense of the powers of English verse, *The Defence of Poesie*: the effect is to make *Astrophil and Stella* not, or not only, the fraught narrative of frustrated love, but the enactment, or proof, of the potent qualities attributed to verse in Sidney's *Defence*, including the capacity of the poet, "disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention … [to] grow, in effect, into another nature" (Sidney 2002, 85).

This attention to the location of poems within larger collections has produced productive recent work on a key early modern form of textual organization, the *Sammelband*: that is, on texts that were bound with other texts (Knight 2013). Since many early modern books were sold unbound, as folded and often (if they were short) stab-stitched sheets, readers frequently bundled several texts together and bound them as one, producing a printed but also bespoke and unique collection or miscellany often expressive of their own political, religious, or aesthetic commitments. The resulting *Sammelband* often had a unity by date (texts printed in a single year) or by genre (works on education, for example, or controversial religious prose from the 1650s), but in many ways these collections resist modern bibliographical and literary-critical assumptions. When we encounter early modern texts today, these original and meaningful organizing contexts have often been effaced or destroyed. The 1590s narrative poem we read in the British Library is, probably, a single volume in a Victorian binding, with gilded edges and a protective box: the text appears materially and so aesthetically individual, complete, settled, a far cry from the more porous conception of texts generated by *Sammelbände*. To encounter a 1624 copy of Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece* bundled with five other Ovidian texts—or to read *The Passionate Pilgrim by W. Shakespeare* (1599), William Jaggard's misleadingly titled anthology of 20 poems (of which probably only five were by Shakespeare) bound with four other poetry octavos, including Thomas Middleton's *The Ghost of Lucrece* and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*—produces new kinds of interpretations (Knight 2013, 80–81, 70–71). The book, separate and bounded in the modern imagination, emerges as a unit for compilation, augmentation, and remaking, and reading poetry means locating a poem within a network of related but different texts.

In "The Book," Henry Vaughan takes the materiality of texts about as far as it is possible to go (Vaughan 1655, 90–91). Vaughan's poem describes God's awareness of the past lives of the material components of a Bible and constitutes what Joshua Calhoun has called a

meditation on "the natural history of the book" (Calhoun 2011, 328). Addressing "Eternal God," Vaughan writes:

> Thou knew'st this *papyr*, when it was
> Mere *seed*, and after that but *grass*;
> Before 'twas *drest* or *spun*, and when
> Made *linen*, who did *wear* it then:
> What were their lifes, their thoughts & deeds
> Whither good *corn* or fruitless *weeds*.
> . . .
> Thou knew'st this harmless *beast*, when he
> Did live and feed by thy decree
> On each green thing; then slept (well fed)
> Cloath'd with this *skin*, which now lies spread
> A *Covering* o're this aged book,
> Which makes me wisely weep and look
> On my own dust; mere dust it is,
> But not so dry and clean as this.

The physical book exists in time, and the elements that compose it—the paper, the binding—recall their former existence as linen clothing, and as the skin of a cow. These recalled but also lost former lives are a cause of sadness for the speaker: object (book) reminds subject (speaker) that they will both one day pass. Like the poems of Donne and Cowley previously explored, Vaughan's poem describes actual but also metaphysically potent features of early modern material texts. Paper was made of old clothes once worn by people now dead; bindings were made of animal skins. Books were haunted by a sense of former lives. There was, too, a wider bibliographical economy of recycling: books were frequently torn apart to serve in the binding and end-papers of later books, the pages of an unwanted Bible perhaps padding the spine of an unholy prose romance, and these patchings often remained visible to the reader (Partington and Smyth 2014, 35). As Calhoun has argued, it is indeed possible to see in early modern pages evidence of the plants and flax cultivation that Vaughan's poem evokes: the blank page is never a blank page, but an already marked surface, whether through water marks, the chain lines from paper making, or the hairs, feathers, and other kinds of vegetable matter caught in the page (Calhoun 2011, 331–332).

One rich promise of research on material texts is to combine attention to the physical text in all its strange variety, with a literary critic's care for the word. Scholars can take their methodological cue from the poetry of Vaughan, Donne, Cowley, and others, who, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, entangled an investment in the literary with a deep awareness of the signifying potential of the materiality of texts.

Note

1 For a modern online text, see: http://cowley.lib.virginia.edu/works/mist5.htm. Accessed June 30, 2017.

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42
Science and Technology

Jessica Wolfe

The Astronomer in the Ditch: Science versus Poetry

It was a Renaissance commonplace that the earliest Greeks "sang their natural philosophy in verses" (Sidney 1973, 75). Yet while Thales, Empedocles, and Parmenides revealed hidden truths about the cosmos in the same dactylic hexameters and elegiac couplets employed by Homer and Archilochus, Philip Sidney and his contemporaries are divided over whether "rhyming and versing … maketh poesy," and they disagree over the related question of whether poets are bound by the same obligation to nature as natural philosophers (Sidney 1973, 100). Sidney's chiastic quip that one "may be a poet without versing, and a versifier without poetry" illustrates just how knottily entangled the disciplines of "poetry" and "science" might become for a culture that shies away from sharp distinctions between ethical and political wisdom on the one hand and knowledge of the natural world on the other, but still labors to elevate poetry over other disciplines of knowledge by distinguishing *invention*—the poet's special privilege to traffic in what Sidney calls "Foreconceits"—from mere *technique* (Sidney 1973, 100). For Sidney, that one may be a true poet without "versing" helps to promote certain philosophers, in particular Plato, to the status of poet, despite the fact that Plato's account of creation in the *Timaeus* was written in prose. Yet Sidney's accompanying argument that writers may "versify" without proving true poets enforces a distinction between poetic inspiration ("ενθουσιαμος") and labor or craft, the former rooted in prophecy and the latter rooted in mechanical skills, skills denigrated by Sidney as failing to cultivate the highest kind of wisdom (Sidney 1973, 83).

Doubts about whether natural philosophy composed in verse may be classified as poetry originate with Aristotle, whose *Poetics* (1447b 16–19), here paraphrased by William Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), maintains that Empedocles was "onely a

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naturall Philosopher" and unlike "Homer in any thing but hys meeter or number of feete" (Smith 1904, 1: 236). Yet Aristotle's sharp distinction between the mimetic art of the poet and the didactic, descriptive power of natural philosophy becomes muddled in the Renaissance, partly because the poets most revered for their metrical skill—Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Dante—are also the ones most keenly appreciated for their deep searching into the causes of things. In Europe, where Latin and vernacular scientific poems on subjects such as venereal disease (Fracastoro's *Syphilis*), silkworms (Vida's *Bombyx*), and volcanoes (Bembo's *Aetna*), inspired by the rediscovery of Lucretius and Manilius, had been popular since the late 1400s, debates over whether science is a fit subject for the poet center principally on Dante, whose *Commedia* was condemned by neo-Aristotelian critics such as Speroni and Minturno for its meticulous attention to cosmological matters and for "treating the sciences in too profound a way" to be a true poem (Weinberg 1963, 2: 822, 894).

However, other sixteenth-century Italian readers of the *Commedia*, such as Francesco Patrizi, defend Dante's use of "scientific materials [as] completely legitimate" and argue that poems about science help less learned readers remember and put into use scientific principles (Weinberg 1963, 2: 869–870). Yet if we study *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) more often and assiduously than Barnabe Googe's *Four bookes of husbandry* (1577) or his translation of Palingenius's *Zodiake of life* (1565), it is not because Spenser's poem better instructs in the appropriate seasonal activities of the farmer but rather because it better marries the lowly genre of the versified farmer's almanac to a distinguished classical ancestry (Hesiod, Virgil) and because Spenser elevates his reader spiritually and ethically, nurturing a "Georgics of the mind": a spirit of intellectual inquiry and a legitimation of intellectual labor or "tillage" akin to that which Francis Bacon discerns in Spenser's Virgilian model (Bacon 2011, 3: 419).

Sidney also grapples with the problem of how to classify "how-to" scientific poems, at one moment categorizing "Astronomicall" poets such as Manilius and Giovanni Pontano alongside Lucretius and Virgil, at the next sidestepping the question of whether these "properly be poets or no," and then scoffing a few pages later that "the astronomer, looking to the stars, might fall into a ditch" (Sidney 1973, 80, 82). Originally recounted by Socrates in Plato's *Theaetetus*, the story of Thales stumbling into a hole while gazing at the stars serves as shorthand for poets wishing to condemn the amorality or the limited use value of natural philosophy in contradistinction to the ethical utility of poetry.[1] The moral of Socrates' clumsy astronomer is recapitulated by Raphael's cosmography lesson in Book 8 of *Paradise Lost*, which advises Adam to "Dream not of other Worlds" (1931–1938, *Paradise Lost* 8.173). For Milton's Adam to remain "lowlie wise," his eyes must remain fixed on Edenic soil, rather than gaze up at the "too high" heaven whose precise structure and movements have no bearing on Adam's happiness or his capacity to manage his passions. For Raphael, who counsels Adam that "earthly sight, / If it presume, might erre in things too high," the study of natural philosophy becomes spiritually and epistemologically perilous when it ventures into "things remote / From use" or when it investigates things too "obscure or suttle" to be detected by imperfect mortal eyes (8.120–121, 191–192).

Despite the suspicion that verses on scientific subjects might not qualify as bona fide poetry, English Renaissance readers devour such works. Roger Ascham, Francis Meres, Thomas Digges, and Gabriel Harvey all praise Palingenius's versified Latin almanac (1537), and the work was printed 17 times in England between 1560 and 1639, seven

times in Googe's English translation.[2] Henry Vaughan composed an epigram on Palingenius, commending him for a vision of the heavens so acute that "the telescope is turned a common eye" (Vaughan 1976, 334). Organized into 12 books, each corresponding to a different astrological sign, the *Zodiake* offers up a hodgepodge of astronomical lore, some timeworn but some sufficiently provocative to land the poem on the first Catholic Index of prohibited books in 1559. In Book 11, Palingenius grapples with the problem that all stars are not of equal size, even if they appear that way from the earth's perspective; he explains why the moon appears "maculous" and "spotty," refutes arguments defending the eternity of the earth, and argues for the plurality of worlds, all the while managing to remain largely faithful to a Ptolemaic worldview (Palingenius 1565, 214–221).

"Reasons rend": Poetry and the Causes of Things

This is not to say that all English Renaissance writers regarded poetry as superior to, or even distinct from, natural philosophy. Although he mocks the idea that "if all sciences were lost, they might be found in Virgil," Francis Bacon praises the Roman poet as a writer who "did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes and the conquest of all fears together, as *concomitantia*" (Bacon 2011, 3: 310; 5: 178–179). Like Ovid, whose *Metamorphoses* (1916) provides mythological explanations of strange natural phenomena such as the hardening of coral or the peculiar color of a bird, Virgil's attention to *aetiologies*—narratives about the origin of things—provides a compelling model for Renaissance poets. Dubbed the "tell-cause" or the "reason rend" by Puttenham (Smith 1904, 2: 19), etiological poetry and the kindred genre of the "wonder" poem reflect a prevailing fascination with peculiarities of the English landscape: the "huge heapes of stones" described by Sidney at Stonehenge (Sidney 1962, 150), the marriage of the Thames and Medway rivers commemorated in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Spenser 1977, IV.xi), or the landmarks memorialized by Michael Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1612), a versified chorography that combines Spenserian myth-making with the observational powers of the antiquarian and natural historian. In these works, as well as in toponymic and onomastic works—fables about the origin of place names and proper names—myths coexist alongside rational, scientific explanations, the former often understood as the antecedent of the latter, a means (as Bacon argues) of parsing the book of nature for primitive cultures that concealed their teachings in "ancient Fables" (Bacon 1619, preface).

Inspired partly by Bacon's tendency to explicate natural phenomena such as the atom (Cupid) or the body of the universe (Pan) in concert with the mystic meanings hidden in myths and fables, Henry Reynolds's *Mythomystes* (1632) laments the "generall ignorance" of contemporary poets who neglect the "mysteries and hidden properties of Nature" in favor of nugatory and topical subjects (Bacon 1640, 109–121; Spingarn 1957, 1: 162, 167). Arguing that philosophers have become "all our Poets, or what our Poets should bee" while poetry has in turn become "little better than fardles of such small ware" sold by peddlers, Reynolds asserts that the "Secrets of Nature" are the "fittest matter for Poetry" (Spingarn 1957, 1: 167). A few poets do, however, pass muster even with those readers most eager to advance natural knowledge, such as Kenelm Digby's 1628 commentary on a stanza in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* that describes the mathematical foundations of the human body in

the Castle of Alma (II.ix.22). Digby praises the passage as instructing in the "the profoundest notions that any science can deliver us," and he commends Spenser as "thoroughly verst in the Mathematicall Sciences, in Philosophy, and in Divinity" (Digby 1643, 3–4), qualities emulated by Spenser's seventeenth-century English imitators such as Phineas Fletcher and Henry More, who adopt his signature stanza for poems on scientific subjects such as human anatomy (*The Purple Island*, 1633) and the plurality of worlds (*Democritus Platonissans*, 1646).

Reynolds's call for poets to study the "Generation of the Elements" and "the Courses of the Starres" (Spingarn 1957, 1: 167) would be taken up over the next three decades by some of the most prominent poets of the era. Animated to varying degrees by Bacon's Great Instauration and other scientific advances of the period, later Renaissance poets embrace Ovid's stated aim to narrate the "forms of bodies changed"; they heed Virgil's commendation of Lucretius ("Happy is he who knows the causes of things"); and they maintain a sustained physico-theological interest in biblical accounts of nature, in particular the Creation and the Flood, events widely understood as corresponding with the creation myths of Plato, Hesiod, and Ovid.

This last commitment is especially evident in hexameral poetry of the English Renaissance, which assumes many generic modes, including episodes inset into epic poems, such as Book 7 of *Paradise Lost* or Book 2, canto 6 of Davenant's *Gondibert*, and minor epics such as Drayton's *Noahs Floud*, which celebrates both the majestic variety of "the teeming earth" and nature's terrible power (Drayton 1630, 90). Hexameral poems were shaped by a complex set of literary, scientific, and theological influences, including scripture, patristic writings, encyclopedic works of natural history, and contemporary poems such as Torquato Tasso's *Le Sette Giornate del Mondo Creato* (1592–1594; printed 1607) and Guillaume Salluste Du Bartas' *Semaines* (1578; translated by Sylvester, 1605). The genre also informs both Bacon's Great Instauration and his College of the Six Days' Works in *The New Atlantis* (1626), which organize human knowledge into a sexangular scheme that mirrors nature's most mathematically elegant configurations, such as the honeycomb and the snowflake, whose "archetype [is] imprinted upon it by the creator" according to Johannes Kepler (Kepler 2010, 60–61).

The formal intricacy of verse proves an especially suitable medium for celebrating the elaborately structured, divinely ordained plan of the physical universe. Despite his warning that to fall in love with words, "but the images of matter," is to succumb to "Pygmalion's frenzy," Bacon translates six of the Psalms in 1625, dedicating them to George Herbert. Bacon's choice to translate Psalm 104, which praises the "works and wondrous ways" of the Creation, reflects his recognition that one way to "blaze th[e] Beauties" of created nature is to "Compasse heaven" in heroic couplets (Bacon 2011, 3: 284; Bacon 1625, 8–9). By making God its epic hero, hexameral poetry represents poetic invention as analogous to the divine molding of the world, praising the variety of nature's creatures alongside the poet's ability to celebrate nature's variety in rich, vivid language or yoking the power of the divine Logos to both angelic and human song, as Milton does in Book 7 of *Paradise Lost*.

By laying the books of scripture and of nature open to one another, hexameral poems labor to accommodate biblical wisdom to advances in scientific knowledge. At the end of the opening book of his *Davideis* (1656), a biblical epic, Abraham Cowley relates God's creation of the universe through the prayers of the College of Prophets at Ramah, casting

its Old Testament Patriarchs both as "charming Poets" and as natural philosophers busily uncovering the secrets of the new science. Cowley's Nathan, a post-Copernican astronomer, studies "the course and power of Stars" in order to determine by "what just steps the *wandring Lights* advance" while a Hobbesian mathematician sketches geometric solids in the "learned Dust" (Cowley 1656, 21). Like Salomon's House in *The New Atlantis* and the House of Astragon in *Gondibert*, Cowley's College of Prophets is a utopian scientific community that privileges experiment even as it also teaches a humble reverence for divine wonders: the college's library and synagogue face each other in a circular *camera*, evoking the "round of Knowledge" also traced by Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) and similarly encyclopaedic works (Browne 1928, 2: 3). Although Cowley's prophets have "professorships" akin to the Savilian chairs of astronomy and geometry established at Oxford in 1619, their college is less a public institution for the unrestricted dissemination of knowledge than a secretive cabal in which "*Elect Companions*" write in "Egyptian figures" or hieroglyphics and enjoy "mystical" dreams (Cowley 1656, 21–22). Davenant, by contrast, is more disapproving of the secretiveness of scientific practice and knowledge. Although the House of Astragon in *Gondibert* honors Egyptian, Persian, and Chaldaean thinkers in a building called "The Monument of vanish'd Mindes," some of these ancient natural philosophers are exposed as "Cous'ners" who "charm the weak" or foster an illusory sense of mystery by hiding their scientific findings in a "dark Text" (Davenant 1971, 2.5.41–44).

"Written darkly": Poetry and the Secrets of Nature

Cowley's emphasis upon the secretive labor of the natural philosopher links poetry's capacity for involution to the mysteriousness of nature itself. If "nature loves to hide," according to an aphorism attributed to Heraclitus that permeates early modern conceptions of nature, then certain poetic modes, in particular allegory, prove especially fitting for recreating the veils and integuments through which natural knowledge is mediated (see Hadot 2006). In works such as Maurice Scève's *Microcosme* (1562), Antoine Du Baïf's *Météores* (1567), Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie's *Encyclie des secrets de l'Eternite* (1571), and Jean Edouard Du Monin's *Uranologie* (1583), the sixteenth-century French poets of the *Pléiade* fashion themselves into erudite guides to heavenly motions, uniting the prophetic insight of the inspired poet with the mystical flights of the Neoplatonic philosopher. The *Pléiade* poets shape Spenser's vision of the cosmos in his *Fowre Hymnes* (1596), which narrate the marvels of the "worlds great workmaister," including God's binding together of the four elements with "Adamantine Chaines" and his construction of a universe "infinite in Largeness and in Height" (Spenser 1596, 14, 4, 37). Like Spenser, whose account of the "goodly workemanship" of the body's physical organs and mental faculties in the Castle of Alma celebrates God as a "cunning Craftesman" while also acknowledging the frailty and transitoriness of the human form (*FQ* II.ix.41, 21), John Davies of Hereford's *Microcosmos* (1603) explicates the precariously intricate nature of the body: the delicate balance of humors; the tenacious threat of the passions; the capacity of our senses to err. While Spenser and Davies follow Scève in celebrating the human form as the "masterpiece" of God's hand, they also echo the stridently Protestant Du Bartas, counterbalancing an optimism in the

works of the "Architect devine" with an emphasis upon the infirmities of the human body, a structure that Du Bartas calls a "fraile Engine of this earthen Type" (Scève 1562, 3; Du Bartas 1979, 1: 276, 283).

The most obvious instance of esoteric scientific wisdom couched in verse may be found in the many alchemical poems of the period. Already popular in the late fifteenth century, the genre enjoyed a series of revivals with the advent of Paracelsianism and of Rosicrucianism. Thomas Norton's *Ordinall of Alchemy*, first composed in 1477, was translated into Latin by Michael Maier for a 1618 anthology of alchemical writings that cautions its readers, "be wary, a serpent lies hidden everywhere … truth is concealed under the cover of shadows" (Maier 1618, 184). When Norton's *Ordinall* is printed once again, alongside other alchemical poems in Ashmole's 1652 *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, the collection is addressed to "All Ingeniously Elaborate Students [of] the most Divine Mysteries of Hermetique Learning" (Ashmole 1652, 3). Although commonly stigmatized as "bad poetry about bad science," alchemical poems could nonetheless claim a distinguished genealogy: Ashmole traces the genre to the ancient Druids, while Norton, George Ripley, and others write in rhyme royal, the metrically complex, seven-line stanza popularized by Chaucer (see Emerson 2005, 195; on early modern alchemical poetry, see also Schuler 1995).

When English Renaissance poets invoke various alchemical principles and processes, such as putrefaction and mortification, they usually do so not to instruct in alchemical practice but rather to explore alchemy's metaphorical potential mysteries and paradoxes both theological and amorous. For Donne, in the *Songs and Sonnets*, sex is both "love's limbecke" and its philosopher's stone: sex purifies but does so through mixture rather than through separation, thus proving as obscure as alchemy, a "hidden mysterie" that generates paradox, but also an "imposture" that riddlingly promises to yield a "quintessence even from nothingness" (Donne 1967, 81, 84–85). The twin brother of a practicing alchemist, Henry Vaughan marshals a vocabulary drawn from Hermetic philosophy (signature, attraction, key) to explain mundane wonders such as the crowing of the rooster at dawn, caused by a "Sunnie seed" implanted by God that in turn kindles the bird's "magnetisme" toward the light (Vaughan 1976, 251). Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* (1650, 1655) seeks the "key that opens to all mysteries" in the twin books of nature and scripture, describing the alchemical manner in which heaven is "extracted" in the Bible, a book that becomes a "hidden stone" and a "great elixir rare and choice" (Vaughan 1976, 197–198). Yet the secrets of nature do not reveal themselves easily to Vaughan: in "Vanity of Spirit," a poem about the frailty of the human intellect and the "veyls" interposed between heaven and earth, a narrator eager to know "[w]ho bent the spheres" rifles through nature's secrets, "peirc[ing] through" her "wombe" only to find himself grasping only "Hyerogliphicks quite dismembred, / And broken letters scarce remembred" that are illegible by his dim light (Vaughan 1976, 172). Like his near contemporary Browne, who voices the concern that Christians cannot parse the "mystical letters" of nature as well as their heathen counterparts, Vaughan casts doubt upon the poet's capacity to put right the disarranged alphabet of nature in the space of his verse (Browne 1928, 1:21).

The most idiosyncratic of the Cambridge Platonists, Henry More is the poet who best fulfills Sidney's claim that "there are many mysteries contained in poetry, which of purpose were written darkly" (Sidney 1973, 121). In a series of allegorical poems about the

immortality of the soul (*Psychathanasia*), the life of the soul (*Psychozoia*), and the doctrine of soul-sleep (*Antipsychopannychia*), published in 1642 under the general title *Psychodia Platonica*, More penetrates the "covert of dame Natures cell" while mocking those who "think they'r shrowded, and the mystery / Of her deep secrets they can wisely spell" (More 1642, E7: *Psychathanasia* 1.1.9). More's determination to explain these doctrines in verse reflects his conviction that fancy and enthusiasm play a powerful role in the construction of natural knowledge, while the senses, often regarded as the chief arbiters of scientific truth, may for More "hinder the free work of th' *Intellect*" such that when

> … th'eye growes dim and dark that it uneath
> Can see through age, the mind then close collect
> Into it self, such mysteries doth detect
> By her far-piercing beams …
> (More 1642, N5: *Antipsychopannychia* 1.34)

Although a critic of alchemical and cabbalistic writing, often composed in verse in order to legitimate their secrecy and selectivity, More draws inspiration in his scientific poems from a more ancient model—Plato—whose allegorizing tendencies in the *Timaeus* and *Ion* enlist myth-making in the service of scientific truth.

Revived by medieval allegorists, the Platonic tradition of poetic cosmogony and cosmology reaches its post-classical apex with Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596), in turn a key model for More's Platonic allegories of the soul. Several episodes in Spenser's poem generate allegories of nature that testify to the underlying order of the cosmos by dramatizing how its underlying forces or principles guarantee harmony and stability despite the apparent pervasiveness of discord, flux, or decay. Both the Garden of Adonis (III.vi) and the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* (first published in the 1609 folio of *The Faerie Queene*) are closely indebted to the allegorized figures of nature in Bernardus Silvestris's twelfth-century poem *Cosmographia*, where *Natura* asks *Noys* (Divine Providence) to help impose order upon *Hyle* (primordial matter), a task accomplished with the assistance of *Silva*, *Urania*, and *Physis*. Spenser's Garden of Adonis presents a similar allegory about the continuous imposition of form upon matter: while matter remains unchanged, "formes are variable and decay" (an argument that foreshadows the crux at the unfinished end of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*), and sublunary nature is revealed to be "eterne in mutabilitie" (III.vi.38, line 47). Spenser stresses the orderliness of nature in both episodes: the unborn seedlings of the Garden of Adonis are "ranckt in comely rew," while at Mutability's trial, Order plays "Nature's Sargeant" by ensuring that the witnesses are "well disposed" (III.vi.35; VII.vii.4). Yet even as Spenser assures us that nature obeys laws so as to guarantee the "stedfast rest of all things firmely stayd," he also repeatedly acknowledges those laws to be inscrutable to the human eye and intellect (VII.viii.2). Spenser's representation of nature as veiled is a Renaissance commonplace with flexible implications. Veiled either to "hide the terror of her uncouth hew" or because her face is too beautiful to "be seene, but like an image in a glass," Spenser's Dame Nature is at once "Unseene of any, yet of all beheld," a paradox that strives to reconcile the universality of nature's laws with their mysteriousness (VII.vii.6, line 13).

Poetry and the New Science

Calling upon the poet to repair the "correspondence" eroded by the new astronomical and medical theories of Copernicus and Paracelsus, Donne laments in the *First Anniversary* that the "new Philosophy cals all in doubt" such that "commerce twixt heaven and earth" is "Embarr'd" (Donne 1978, 27, 33). This refrain is echoed by many a poet skeptical of the new science or of the capacity of the human intellect to establish truth claims with certainty. Arguing that the human mind is "too narrow, wretch, to comprehend / Even thy selfe," Donne's *Second Anniversary* mocks the idea that the most insoluble mysteries of human physiology—circulation and respiration, the growth of nails and hair—might ever be understood in a universe that only allows us to "peepe through lattices of eies" (Donne 1978, 48–49). Even the telescope, despite its obvious value, might not deliver on its promise for those Renaissance poets dubious that it enhances human vision or that it will (in Donne's words) reveal "all things despoyld of fallacies" (49). In their *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620) and *The Eye* (1621), Ben Jonson and Richard Brathwait mock telescopes as "perplexive Glasses" and expose their limitations as tools for correcting moral blindness (Jonson 1941, 7: 516; Brathwait 1621, N1–N2).

Fulke Greville adopts the mitigated skepticism of Donne and Bacon and then wields this philosophical outlook against the promised advancement of scientific learning. In his *Treatie of Humane Learning*, Greville argues that science is founded upon error and preoccupies itself with "Obscurities of Nature" rather than practical outcomes (Greville 1633, 51). Although Greville criticizes those natural philosophers who "confident pretend, / All generall, uniforme Axioms scientificall," his solution is not to "Science scorne" but rather, in advice foreshadowing that of Milton's Raphael, to "choose, and read with care" (27, 35). A half-century later, both John Denham (in his *Progress of Learning*) and Samuel Butler (in various verse satires) resuscitate similar claims in order to satirize the newly established Royal Society, an institution whose "bold Inspectors" discover nothing, according to Denham, but "new worlds of Ignorance" as they wade through "Seas of knowledg" (Denham 1668, 184). Butler is even more scathing, mocking the arrogance of scientific *virtuosi* in a manner reminiscent of Donne's *Second Anniversary*: he catalogues all the mysteries still not solved by the new science: why grass is green, how magnetism works, and "What is the nat'ral Cause why Fish, / That always drink, do never piss" (Butler 1879, 2: 176). In Butler's *Elephant in the Moon*, a satirical fable about the overconfidence of the new science, the acclaimed member of a "learned society" peers through the "optic engine" of a microscope and reports his ridiculous findings: a battle between two lunar factions and a large elephant that, the scientist warns, must be examined hastily "lest the sight of us / Should cause the startled beast t'imboss" (Butler 1879, 2: 136–141).

Despite the satirical barbs of skeptics eager to deflate the proponents of the new science as excessively dogmatic, sectarian, or arrogant, poets often herald new scientific discoveries of the era and seek to cure its new diseases: Girolamo Fracastoro's *Syphilis sive morbus gallicus* (1530) mythologizes the disease as a punishment sent from Apollo and also establishes a compelling new theory of contagion that would endure for almost three centuries. Bacon had reinvented the scientist as a Promethean hero, and seventeenth-century poets follow suit, memorializing scientific investigation as a heroic labor. The scientists of *Gondibert*'s House of Astragon, "busie as intentive Emmets," labor away in mines and laboratories, and

observe the moon with "Vaste Tubes, which like long Cedars mounted lie," a new-fangled spear for a modern hero (Davenant 1971, 152–153). In poems dedicated to William Harvey and to one of Harvey's earliest and most ardent supporters, George Ent, John Collop praises the former for passing beyond "Hercules pillars" and outdoing the labor of the Augean stables by "cleans[ing] the Jakes of all antiquitie" while praising Ent for being "Great *Harvy*'s second, teeming Natures friend" (Collop 1656, 57–59). In a Pindaric ode, a mode long associated with moral and athletic heroism that was repurposed by English Renaissance poets to celebrate new models of heroic action, Cowley's 1667 ode "To the Royal Society" compares Bacon to Moses, leading England out of the "barren Wilderness" of error and helping to create new champions of scientific knowledge such as Thomas Sprat, in turn a new Hercules who "purge[s] the Body of Philosophy" from "all Modern folies" with his "candid style" (Cowley 1668, 38–42). Cowley's ode to William Harvey, written before the physician's death in 1657 but not published (with the addition of a gloomy final stanza) until 1663, depicts Harvey as a "heroic voyager of the microcosm" who undresses "Coy Nature" to reveal all her "mighty mysteries" and then ravishes her in an act more daring, if not also more sexually promiscuous, than Apollo's attempted rape of Daphne: "our Apollo stopt not so, / Into the Bark and Root after her did go" (Cowley 1668, 12; see Sawday 1996, 240).

Poetry as *Technê*

Although Sidney argues that poetry, in contradistinction to rhetoric, is a "divine gift, and no human skill" (Sidney 1973, 111), many in the period understand poetic skill as acquired, not innate, and as reliant on mathematical knowledge and on techniques essential for the practice of applied sciences such as carpentry. Jonson, who was apprenticed as a bricklayer before becoming a playwright and poet, compares the "congruent and harmonious fitting of parts in a sentence" to the builder's construction of "stones well squar'd" (Spingarn 1957, 1: 39). Although Jonson would later come to blows with Inigo Jones over the relative value of poetry and scenic machinery, his choice of simile in *Timber* reveals Jonson's commitment to a conception of poetic labor that is as mechanical as it is intellective, a commitment also on display in his metrically complex odes and epistles. In Book 2 of his *Arte of English Poesie*, Puttenham's extended discussion of poetical proportion grounds versification in "the Mathematicall Sciences" (Smith 1904, 2: 67), arguing that the "good symmetrie" of verse grows out of geometrical principles such that poems may be "reduced into certaine Geometricall figures" (95) including the pyramid, the rhombus, and the sphere.

Concrete poets such as George Herbert put these precepts into practice explicitly, while others employ them implicitly when mathematical conceptions of symmetry or perfection give shape to their works. A particularly striking example is the complex system of Pythagorean number symbolism that governs Spenser's *Epithalamion*, a poem whose number of lines and stanzas corresponds to the progress of the sun over the course of a single, particular day and to its revolution around the earth in a year. The poem's mathematical structure, moreover, reflects its celebration of the ceremony of marriage. The "sacred ceremonies" that "do endlesse matrimony make" occur at line 216 (the so-called

marriage number, according to Plato), while the pair of lines usually held to be the second climactic midpoint of the *Epithalamion*—"This day is holy; doe ye write it downe, / That ye for ever it remember may" (Spenser 1595, 62–63; lines 263–264)—divides the poem according to the golden ratio (*sectio aurea* or *divina*): the ratio that classical philosophers held to be the most binding of all mathematical relationships.[3] As a symbol of the marriage bond or the union of opposites, the number five likewise preoccupies Renaissance poets including Donne (in "The Primrose") and George Chapman: as the latter explains in the fifth Sestiad of his *Hero and Leander*, five is an "odd disparent number" that symbolizes "the union married loves should use, / Since in two equal parts it will not sever, / But the midst holds one to rejoin it ever" (Chapman 1598, L4).

If poetic form is structured upon mathematical harmonies and ratios understood during the Renaissance as the revelation of a divinely appointed order, poems also emulate artifactual objects, products of human *technê* that in turn rival the work of God and nature. Echoing Du Bartas' famous catalogue of mechanical devices in his *Semaines*, a passage that apostrophizes the German metalsmith Regiomontanus for constructing a tiny and remarkably lifelike iron fly, later poets compose epigrams, sonnets, and other short poems about clocks, spheres, and similarly intricate mechanical devices, compositions that stage a *paragone* between art and nature while also celebrating the poet's witty brevity by yoking his elaborate artistry to that of the engineer (Du Bartas 1979, 1: 287). In an epigram about an extremely short yet erudite man, John Hall invokes "Monte-regio's flying gnat" and the miniscule texts inscribed within "the cloister of a nut" as technological replicas of nature's own capacity to "striv[e] in so small a piece / To sum the arts and sciences," a characteristic also manifested by Hall's epigram itself (Hall 1647, 13–14). As if to testify to the rhetorical implications of Bacon's claim that the "nature of every thing is best seen in his smallest portions," William Strode's epigram "On a Watch Made by a Blacksmith" links the lyric poet's "industrious skill" to that of Vulcan, who forges a lock for Venus "soe small that sence will ake / In searching every wire and subtile sphere" (Strode 1907, 38; Bacon 2011: 3: 332).

Particularly in the wake of the invention of the microscope, poems about insects, clocks, atoms, and other subtle or inscrutable objects abound. Insect-poetry was an ancient genre, reanimated in the Renaissance by the growth of the silkworm industry as well as by a burgeoning interest in the semi-visible world. The first of these developments is evident in Thomas Moffett's *The Silkwormes and their Flies* (1599), a georgic poem about English sericulture, while the latter may be detected throughout Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648), a collection whose landscape is populated by amber-encased bees, fairies, idol-crickets, and other tiny creatures. In the microcosmic worlds of Margaret Cavendish's *Poems and Fancies* (1653), the poet strives to explain the behavior of invisible atoms by means of similitudes forged by her fancy. As Cavendish spies a world hidden inside an earring, discerns imperceptible "Atomes in the Aire," compares human fancy to a gnat, and imagines the "little Hookes, that in the Load-stone bee" that served as a common explanation for magnetism, she deploys a Donnean wit in attenuating some key Renaissance commonplaces about nature—the analogy between macrocosm and microcosm, or the idea that nature is structured in a "concentrique nest of boxes"—to their most imaginative extremes (Cavendish 1653, 43–44, 126). By contrast to Milton's Raphael, who cautions against allowing the "mind or fancy" to "rove / Uncheck'd" in the pursuit of scientific knowledge (*Paradise Lost* 8.188–189), Cavendish treats the poetic imagination as an essential tool for envisaging

those objects too small, or too distant from earth, to be seen with the eyes. Similarly, in "Shadows in the Water," Traherne's imagination enables him to spy "Another world" within a puddle of rainwater (Traherne 1958, 2: 127). When he contemplates the infinity of the cosmos in "Consummation," Traherne concedes that conceptualizing infinity depends upon the mind's capacity to imagine the unseen:

> We sundry Things invent,
> That may our Fancy giv content;
> See Points of Space beyond the Sky,
> And in those Points see Creatures ly
> (Traherne 1958, 2: 147).

Although the faculty of the imagination would ultimately enforce a barrier between literary fiction and scientific fact, for many Renaissance poets, fancy was capable of knitting the two disciplines together.

Notes

1 See Plato (1921, 174a): "While [Thales] was studying the stars and looking upwards, he fell into a pit … because he was so eager to know the things in the sky that he could not see what was there before him at his very feet."

2 Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* groups Palingenius with Ovid and Seneca (Smith 1904, 1: 30), while Meres classifies him as a "Neoterick" or neo-Latin poet alongside Poliziano and Pontano, and compares Googe's translation of the poem to Turberville's Ovid and Chapman's "inchoate Homer" (Smith 1904, 2: 315, 322–323). Leonard Digges's *A perfit description of the Caelestiall Orbes*, appended to his 1576 revised edition of *A Prognostication everlasting or right good effecte*, cites Palingenius's text frequently; Gabriel Harvey writes of Digges in his copy of Chaucer's 1598 *Workes* that he "esteemes [Palingenius] above all moderne poets" (Smith 1913, 161). On the importance of Palingenius's poem to Elizabethan poetry, see Tuve (1935).

3 On the significance to Spenser of the golden ratio and the marriage number—the number six cubed, or three squared (27) plus four squared (64) plus five squared (125)—see Fowler (1964) and Hieatt (1972).

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43
Economic Criticism

William J. Kennedy

England's economy in the early sixteenth century was rural and agrarian; by the late seventeenth century, it had become urban and mercantile (see Finkelstein 2000; Wrightson 2000; Hawkes 2001; Shepard 2015). Its history charts the rise of a literary marketplace and the commodification of printed texts, as well as tensions between late medieval and ascendant humanist habits of thought. Considerations of just price, fair wage, and labor theories of value originating in Scholastic moral philosophy; questions of group identification, patronage, and support systems in the arts arising in humanist circles; and evolving modes of professionalization, cultural exchange, and commercial innovation exert their impact upon lyric poetry (see Kennedy 2016). Derived from ecclesiastical, university, and Inns of Court culture, from the gift economy of court and household culture, and from the exchange economy of commercial culture, these questions prove relevant to an economics-based criticism of English Renaissance lyric.

Subtending them is the shift of humanist poetics from its Platonic grounding in *furor* and divine inspiration to an Aristotelian emphasis upon the material form and function of art, requiring a mastery of craft, skill, and specialized technique. This shift bears economic consequences. Platonic *furor* invokes the privileged value or worth of a divinely endowed talent, to be rewarded through the autocratic largesse of high-ranking patrons; Aristotelian craft aligns training, specialization, and accomplishment with their possible exchange values, with the degree of labor power expended on writing and revision, and with the satisfaction or utility value inherent in the outcome. Our modern and deeply theorized categories of aesthetics (as distinct from formal poetics) and of economics (as distinct from moral philosophy anchored in classical and medieval concepts of justice) are anachronistic to Renaissance thought. Still, recurrent features of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poetic practice interact with early modern economic practice and share its critical discourse.

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The first feature is membership in an academy, society, or literary salon, where the presence of like-minded writers, artists, and musicians bolsters a sense of personal confidence as well as of fairness and self-worth (see Wojciehowski 2011, 46–75). Another feature is entrepreneurship, informing the transition from an artistic economy of patronage and gift obligation to one of market exchange dominated by monetary payment and the maximization of profit. A third feature, derived from the other two, entails a degree of self-definition and self-critique that replaces idealizing illusion with a social commitment to labor in pursuit of use value and exchange value (see Warley 2014, 1–28). Two remaining features relate to behavioral characteristics of individual writers. Foremost is their association of craftsmanship and technique with the process of revision and redaction. It acknowledges seams, imperfections, and unfinished thought, directing attention toward them as markers of social conflict and economic antagonisms (see Culler 2015, 296–348). The final recurrent feature is the writer's capacity to reflect upon the competing claims of studied craftsmanship against fleeting inspiration. Some Renaissance writers see labor as the origin of value, but they resist quantifying it as raw activity. They instead envision an abstracted and highly differentiated "labor power" and a labor *theory* of value based upon its redistribution of intellectual energy.

Breaking into Print: From Tottel to Spenser

For Renaissance lyric poetry, features of group identity and entrepreneurship take shape with a business venture at the end of the Marian era by Richard Tottel, a London printer-turned-publisher who had held an exclusive royal patent for selling books on English common law. In 1557 he published *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other* that was aimed at a readership of students and attorneys at the Inns of Court, "for profit of the studious of Englishe eloquence" (Tottel 2011, 3). This venture brought into print the work of courtly poets from Henry VIII's era which "horders up of such treasure" had kept from public consumption (Bates 2013b). Its contents range from Surrey's and Thomas Wyatt's translations of sonnets by Petrarch to Wyatt's terza rima satire "Myne owne Jhon Poins," and Nicolas Grimald's rhymed stanzas on classical themes. In addition, Tottel solicited "anonymous" poems from Inns of Court students to respond to his aristocratic models in dialogic exchange (see Warner 2013).

Tottel's format and selections made an impact upon George Gascoigne and Thomas Churchyard. In 1573 the former published his semi-autobiographical but unsigned *A hundreth sundrie flowres* in the guise of a Tottel-esque compilation by several hands. It comprises two translated plays, a ribald novella (*The Adventures of Master F. J.*), 100 poems (including his self-deprecating *Gascoigne's Woodmanship*), and a series of stanzas about the amatory tribulations of "Dan Bartholomew of Bath." Two years later he issued a revised and expanded version, *The posies of George Gascoigne Esquire* (1575), which identifies the author and elaborates upon his profligate lifestyle, economic hardships, and failed entrepreneurship (see Bates 2013a).

In the same year Churchyard wove similar themes into his *Churchyard's Chippes* (1575) as he recounts his youthful service in Surrey's household. Since 1552 his complaints about economic inequality had circulated widely in the broadside ballad "Davy Dycar's Dreame,"

with its hopes for a future "When hongre hides his head, and plenty plese the poore" (Churchyard 1552? line 11). Between 1560 and 1604, he would expand his output in 28 volumes of collected verse. Toward the end of his career, *Churchyards Challenge* (1593) reprises his hand-to-mouth struggle in the brilliant light of Edmund Spenser's celebrity, concluding with a generous tribute to the latter: "A little Lamp may not compare with Starre" (Churchyard 1593, A4v). For all his modesty, Churchyard had made a living as a poet. That same year Elizabeth I awarded him an annual pension of £27-3s, which by the decade's end she would increase to £30-4s, both less than the annual pension of £50 that she awarded to Spenser in 1591.

The influence of Gascoigne and Churchyard propelled Spenser toward his poetic career in 1579, when he published his *Shepheardes Calender* anonymously (emulating Gascoigne's unsigned *Sundrie flowres*) and invested it with pastoral trappings (emulating Churchyard's "Dreame"). As secretary to the bishop of Rochester, Spenser bore witness to the clerical corruption that looms large in his *Calender* (see Lane 1993). In its September Eclogue, Diggon Davie attributes the poverty, vagrancy, and economic inequality that he has seen in England and Wales to abuses of authority by ecclesiastical "shepheardes": "For eyther the shepeherds bene ydle and still … / Or they bene false and full of covetise" (Spenser 1989, lines 80–82). Its October Eclogue shows the shepherd-poets Piers and Cuddie aspiring to a significant role for poetry, as the former advocates for the dignity of a Platonic aesthetics (his readers will "flye backe to heaven apace," line 84), while the latter invokes Aristotelian craftsmanship with its underlying economics of social utility. Despite their competing claims, both agree that poetry is a métier worthy of professional recognition.

This agreement might explain Spenser's dedication of his *Calender* to Philip Sidney. In October 1579 Spenser wrote to Gabriel Harvey about Sidney's correspondence with Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer on topics of prosody and style, as though they had professionally belonged to a virtual "Areopagus." Sidney's pastoral experiments with style and form in his *Old Arcadia* (1577–1580) project a courtly poetics quite removed from Spenser's social and economic concerns. Around 1581 Sidney alluded to his own "unelected vocation" as a poet in his *Defence of Poesy*, perhaps to signal a more reflective turn in his verse. Designating the poet "a maker" with "high and incomparable … title" (Sidney 1989, 215), he valorizes Aristotle's position that poetry requires "art, imitation, and exercise" (242). Sonnet 74 of *Astrophil and Stella* dismisses the Platonic doctrine of divine inspiration ("Some do I hear of poet's fury tell, / But [God wot] wot not what they mean by it"), but with the trope of thievery ("I am no pickpurse of another's wit") he confounds Aristotle's doctrine of mimetic imitation with simple plagiarism. Sidney can only assume that his coterie readers know enough about him to judge the distance between himself and his artfully constructed persona. They will laugh with him, not at him, as he recounts Astrophil's missteps and reversals on the road to maturity.

Spenser began negotiating his differences from Sidney in 1580 when, after having drafted parts of *The Faerie Queene*, he moved to Ireland as secretary to Gascoigne's former dedicatee, Lord Grey of Wilton. Unlike Sidney, Spenser conceived his work for an emergent and diverse readership, an upwardly mobile book-buying public drawn from the mercantile and professional population of an urban middle class (see Murrin 2014, 207–225). The virtue of Holiness examined in Book I contrasts the economy of Orgoglio's castle "all within full rich arayd" (Spenser 2001, I.viii.35) against that of the House of Holiness

"both plaine and pleasaunt" (I.x.6). Book II, devoted to Temperance, surveys the distribution of property in Medina's castle "rich arayd, and yet in modest guize" (II.ii.14), wealth in Mammon's "vncouth, saluage, and vnciuile" cave (II.vii.3), "goodly" austerity in Alma's household (II.ix.20–21), and sensuous excess in the Bower of Bliss (see Kitch 2011, 19–47). Book III, concerned with Chastity, examines marriage in relation to aristocratic lineage, inheritance, and the management of a household economy.

The second installment of *The Faerie Queene* (1596) relates lineage and inheritance to the virtue of Friendship in Book IV. In Book V, prudent husbandry and self-sufficiency forestall the "wretched ruine of so high estate" (V.ix.46) as economic concomitants of Justice and, as ancillaries of Courtesy in Book VI, they enable Meliboe, a former courtier and now the shepherds' patriarch, "to love more deare / This lowly quiet life, which I inherite here" (VI.ix.25). Between these installments, the poet renounced any lingering vestiges of a courtly aesthetic in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1595). In his mature sonnet sequence *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595), his erstwhile Petrarchan lover finds refuge in his companionate marriage, acceding to a private household economy based on Reformist values.

Stages to Pages: Poet-Dramatists from Marlowe to Jonson

Amid the hurly-burly of public theater, a new class of poets pursued commercial strategies of self-promotion and profit-earning. They include the era's three greatest dramatists, Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, and others casually associated with them such as Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton, John Marston, and George Chapman. As predecessors, the so-called University Wits prepared the way. From the mid-1580s through the early 1590s, the Oxford-educated John Lyly, Thomas Lodge, and George Peele and the Cambridge-educated Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe, along with Marlowe, came down to London as a breed of scholars preening for careers in the emergent bureaucratic state (see Halasz 1997). Each displayed his literary skill through a combination of print publication and play-writing. Lyly, the first to arrive in the late 1570s, won plaudits in 1580 for his prose fiction *Euphues* and then for his plays performed by children's companies at court, subsequently staged for the public at the Blackfriars Playhouse, and thereafter published, aggrandizing each medium of print and performance to set up and promote the other (see Keeson 2014).

Lyly's strategic approach to publication influenced both Marlowe and Shakespeare in 1593, resulting in the former's *Hero and Leander* and the latter's *Venus and Adonis*. Cashing in on the popularity of Ovidian narrative introduced by Lodge's *Scylla's Metamorphosis* (1589), Marlowe offers a witty Epicurean riposte to convention laced with materialist skepticism and an irreverent deflation of marketplace values (see Kitch 2011, 49–65). Its first section ends with a tale about quick-witted Mercury, the tutelary deity of orators, scholars, and poets (but also of merchants whose designation as *mercatores* derives from an archaic form of his name, *Mercurius*). For stealing Jove's nectar, he and his learned followers suffer endless penury while uncouth tradesmen wallow in prosperity: "And to this day is every scholler poor; / Gross gold from them runs headlong to the boor" (Marlowe 2007, lines 469–472).

Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* shares Marlowe's playful, cheeky, tone-shifting attitude toward the protagonists' sexual pratfalls, nowhere more so than by investing their sophistry with economic tropes ("gold that's put to use more gold begets," Shakespeare 2002, line 778). A year later his *Lucrece* projects darker, more self-conscious, and culturally loaded associations. A battery of economic tropes propels that poem's action as its heroine leaves a legacy of revenge: "My stained blood to Tarquin I'll bequeath, / Which by him tainted shall by him be spent" (lines 1181–1182). Both her father and her husband contaminate this legacy as they squabble over rights to her corpse ("The one doth call her his, the other his, / Yet neither may possess the claim they lay," lines 1793–1794). In the end, Brutus upends their argument with subversive intent to concentrate power and wealth in his patrician clique, "wherein deep policy did him disguise" (line 1815).

Shakespeare's success as a poet-playwright offered a model for non-dramatic poets to shape their careers within the public arena. Consider the trajectory that Daniel took after he likely collaborated in 1591 with the printer Thomas Newman on an unauthorized publication of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* which included 28 sonnets from his *Delia*. In 1594 he dedicated to Mary Sidney a revised *Delia* along with the *Complaint of Rosamond* (in Shakespeare's narrative mode) and his closet drama *Cleopatra* (establishing him as a playwright). Subsequent dedications of his collected *Works* to Mary Sidney through 1598 exemplify the good-faith rituals of a gift economy to earn her support and that of her circle. Daniel proved himself a writer of serious poetry in eight books of *The Civil Wars* (1595–1609) supported through the benefaction of Lord Mountjoy and the Countess of Cumberland. With James I's approval, he composed court masques, a controversial *Tragedie of Philotas* (1604), and a pastoral tragicomedy, *The Queen's Arcadia* (1605). In 1607 he reached his pinnacle as groom of Queen Anne's privy chamber.

Quite the opposite befell Drayton. With no university or Inns of Court education and with few courtly connections, he failed to crack the code for obtaining patronage or preferment. Embracing the norms of an exchange economy, he promoted his literary work with an amazing variety of genres and styles. They included his early pastoral eclogues of *Idea: The Shepheards Garland* (1593), his sonnet sequence *Ideas Mirrour* (1594), and the historical narratives *Piers Gaveston* (1593) and *Matilda* (1594), individually dedicated to James I's grandees. To Lucy Harington, later countess of Bedford, he dedicated *Endymion and Phoebe* (1595) emulating Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, his historical *Mortimeriados* (1596) emulating Daniel's *Civil Wars*, and *England's Heroical Epistles* (1596) emulating Ovid's *Heroides*.

Between 1597 and 1602, Drayton turned toward public theater. Philip Henslowe's diary records authorial payments for 26 plays in which he collaborated with seven other dramatists, each play yielding between £4 and £8 to be divided among them. At this rate Drayton's income would have averaged £8-6s-7d per year, little more than the medium between a manual laborer at £5 and a skilled artisan at £10. In 1604 he returned to poetry with some support from a royal favorite, Sir Walter Aston, who sustained him through his collected *Poems* in 1619. In a 1621 elegy to George Sandys, Drayton confesses his blunders in seeking preferment: "It was my hap before all other men / To suffer shipwrack by my forward pen" (Drayton 1961, 3, lines 19–20). Attaining neither Shakespeare's success on the stage nor Daniel's in patronage, Drayton admits his failed entrepreneurship in a clientage system that was nearing extinction.

The economic future of lyric poetry lay in commercial publication, as Ben Jonson had sensed at the turn of the century. A key event was the publication of Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr* (1601) with a miscellany of 14 poems appended to it to honor the knighthood of Sir John Salusbury. They include four by Jonson who apparently persuaded Marston, Chapman, and Shakespeare to join him. Their endeavor projects a spirit of entrepreneurship among playwrights who were experimenting with new styles and modes. Jonson introduced his experiments in Horatian ode and epode, while Marston and Chapman offered theirs in epideictic verse. Shakespeare contributed "The Phoenix and the Turtle" as an "anthem" to Love and Constancy in which personifications of economic Property, "thus appalled / That the self was not the same" (lines 37–38), and of logic-laden Reason, "in itself confounded" (line 41), debate rationales for the birds' self-immolation.

Shakespeare seems to have been working simultaneously on sonnets 104–126 that resonate with social and economic concerns at the turn of the century. Earlier he composed several short sonnet sequences, one concerning a Dark Lady, another addressed to a young man, and still others about eternal fame and a rival poet or poets (see Kennedy 2016, 221–242). Their amalgamation (perhaps with some revisions) and publication with *A Lover's Complaint* (1609) may have triggered Jonson's decision to include a sampling of lyric poetry in his own collected *Works* (1616) (see Loewenstein 2002, 133–209). Divided into two sections, the first consists of *Epigrammes* dedicated to William Herbert, the third Earl of Pembroke. They range from a frank economic assessment of their worth—"Thou, that mak'st gaine thy end, and wisely well, / Call'st a booke good, or bad, as it doth sell" (Jonson 2012, epigram 3)—to satiric depictions of anonymous individuals; warm-hearted vignettes about family and friends; and full-throated commendations of James I, the Countess of Bedford, and potential court patrons. The second, titled *The Forrest*, offers longer poems in various meters and forms (including epistle, ode, epode, and song), three of them with extended commendations to the Herbert family.

Upon its publication, the Earl of Pembroke awarded Jonson an annual New Year's gift of £22, while James I granted him a royal pension of £66-13s-4d per year for life, bearing witness to his success in the patronage system. In 1631 Jonson began planning a second volume of his *Works* (published posthumously in 1640), for which he selected another 90 poems for a section titled *Under-wood*. Aiming at a commercial market and displaying a greater variety and depth than his earlier verse, their speaker replaces his deference to benefactors with a sense of companionable friendship and social equivalence. Patrons who expect a sycophantic return are "hunters of false fame," while poets who cater to them act as though "their very trade / Is borrowing" ("Epistle to Sir Edward Sackvile," lines 65–80).

With Jonson, coterie associations between poets and patrons give way to selective associations among writers invested in their craft. Not the least result was to create a broader literary public with an accent upon domestic economies and the inclusion of women writers in them (see Korda 2002, 15–51). Lady Mary Wroth, a friend of Jonson, extended the literary pursuits of her aunt, Mary Sidney. The latter, completing her brother Philip's plans for an English verse metaphrase of Psalms, anchored her economic profile in dynastic concerns about noble pedigree, estate management, and loyalty to the crown. Dedicating her *Psalms* to Elizabeth I in 1599, she positioned herself as subject and servant of a queen who herself is God's subject and servant in a "small parcell of that undischarged rent, / from

which nor paines, nor paiments can us free" (Clarke 2000, lines 35–36). Monarch, nation, family, and kin merge in her commitment to shared values and beliefs.

Wroth entered boldly into a secular orbit pioneered by Isabella Whitney. The latter's verse epistles in *A Sweet Nosgay* (1573) offer advice on household economy to siblings and friends in the urban gentry class. The satiric "The maner of her Wyll" bequeaths to Londoners "such things, / as I shal leave behind" (Clarke 2000, lines 21–22), including commodities peddled by goldsmiths "for Ladies meete" (line 52) and marriage contracts drawn up "for wealthy Widdowes … / to help yong Gentylmen" (lines 201–206). To herself, she grants a prayer to "Rejoyce in God that I am gon, / out of this vale so vile" (lines 273–274), iterating the city's growing reputation for commercial exploitation and mercantile self-interest (see Ingram 2006, 73–90).

Unlike Sidney and Whitney, Wroth depicts erotic love. Manuscript poems from *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, appended to her prose romance *Urania* (1621), demonstrate that for publication Wroth had revised passages and whole poems that originally implied frankly sexual relations between the speaker and her lover-cousin William Herbert (see Bell 2013). In this context where a woman's chastity has material consequences for the lineage of her offspring, Wroth's airbrushing imparts a pragmatic respectability that delimits her options. The economics of the literary marketplace had commissioned this respectability without really enforcing it, as ensuing decades would prove.

Poet-Churchmen: From Donne to Herrick

London's seventeenth-century book trade sustained a healthy market for devotional poetry written by women as well as men. Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judeorum* (1611), for example, implies a seamless link between women's religious and domestic lives, perhaps because it overvalues their virtuous conduct. Lanyer addresses a community of women readers and writers who share her convictions about economic injustice and disputed property rights (see Ingram 2006, 90–98). She frames her narrative of Christ's crucifixion with commendations of these women as exemplars of a sanctified attitude toward material wealth: "Thou being thus rich, no riches do'st respect," she exclaims to the Countess of Cumberland, adding "Nor do'st thou care for any outward showe" (Clarke 2000, lines 1385–1386).

Among male poets, Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, and Herrick relate their devotional practices to the worldly rhetoric of trade, commerce, astronomy, alchemy, science, and theology. Donne's migration across genres in the 1590s and early 1600s parallels his movement from one social community to another (see Landreth 2012, 184–206; Warley 2014, 73–120). In each case he decries the hypocrisy that disfigures gift as well as exchange economies. His preferred forms at Lincoln's Inn (1592–1595) are elegy and satire, the first with an emphasis on the spurious value of gold—as in elegy 11, "The Bracelet," whose speaker remonstrates with his mistress about the worth of her lost jewelry and the cost of replacing it—and the second on mutable standards of value, as in satire 2 with the debasement of value by avaricious lawyers and "poor, disarm'd" poets alike, who write only "rewards to get" (Donne 2010, lines 10, 21). For potential patrons at the turn of the century, Donne composes "Songs and Sonnets" that contrast the hypocrisy of false lovers—as in "Love's

Exchange," which faults Cupid for negating a property contract that "would for a given Soul give something too" (line 2)—with the constancy of true lovers, as in "Love's Infiniteness," where shared agreement multiplies the lovers' benefits in their property contract: "The ground, thy heart is mine, what ever shall / Grow there, deare, I should have it all" (lines 21–22). Weighing the possibility of a religious calling, he later appropriates these tropes for philosophical and devotional purposes, as in *The First Anniversarie* where "a true religious Alchimy" will "purifie / All" (lines 181–182) or in Holy Sonnet 14 where the twists and turns of sonnet forms trail dizzying recalculations of value and worth: "I, like a usurped town, to another due, / Labour to admit you, but oh, to no end."

Published posthumously in 1633 like Donne's *Poems*, George Herbert's *The Temple* conveys its speaker's rigorous self-critique. Economic entanglements weigh heavily upon his examinations of social position, religious vocation, the divisions of labor, and the economy of God's grace. Thanks to a family annuity of £30 that supported him at Cambridge from matriculation in 1609 to his University Oratorship in 1620–1624, Herbert relegates money to a quantitative trope measured against a skilled London wage-earner's annual income of £10: "Who cannot live on twentie pound a yeare, / Cannot on fourtie" (Herbert 2007, "Church Poarch," lines 176–177). In the throes of wrestling with a religious vocation, he assists the poor in a transaction motivated by divine grace: "If thou dost give me wealth, I will restore / All back unto thee" ("Thanksgiving," lines 19–20). In "Redemption" he steps forth as the "tenant long to a rich Lord" (line 1) who seeks to renegotiate his lease, only to find that his Lord's death upon the cross "buy[s] back" this lease. The title of "Businesse" plays upon an economic conceit of "commercial transaction," but also upon the vanity of "hectic but fruitless activity." Similar tropes inform Herbert's metacritical reflections. "The Quidditie" (whose manuscript title is simply "Poetry") aligns the stages of writing a poem with divisions of labor in business or economic transactions: "It is no office, art, or news, / Nor the Exchange, or busie Hall" (lines 9–10). His writing mutates into a colloquy with God that confers incalculable value "which while I use / I am with thee, and *most take all*" (lines 11–12). "The Elixir" equates his composition of devotional verse—however mean or humble it may be—to a "tincture" that transforms base metals into precious ones: "This is the famous stone / that turneth all to gold" (lines 21–22).

Richard Crashaw aligns his conception of poetry with the critical labor of assessing God's relationship to humankind. After his *Steps to the Temple* (1646, whose title echoes Herbert's *The Temple*), a revised and expanded edition (1648) appeared in London and another revised and retitled edition, *Carmen deo nostro* (1652), appeared in Paris where he had fled and converted to Catholicism during England's Civil Wars. Rejecting the notion that poetry embodies an afflatus of divine inspiration, Crashaw affirms his commitment to the work of revision, elaboration, and expansion. Thematically, he revives the pre-Reformation doctrine of an "economy of salvation," whereby the Church—embodying a repository of faith and of surplus merit earned by its saints—redistributes this surplus to worthy penitents. The final version of his early poem about Mary Magdalene, "The Weeper," echoes this doctrine by representing the Magdalene as "thy Lord's fair store" (Crashaw 2013, line 115). Her "rich and rare expenses" of tears rival "the wealth of princes"; tears that wash the feet of Jesus count as "silver" while her hair that dries them counts as "gold" (lines 118–120). Jesus redistributes this wealth to others as from "a voluntary mint," stocked by the saint who is a "precious prodigal" and "fair spendthrift" (lines 125–128).

At opposite extremes, Robert Herrick joins company with Ben Jonson for his secular epigrams and lyric poems in *Hesperides*, but also with Donne, Herbert, and Crashaw for his devotional epigrams in *His Noble Numbers*. His poetic and economic transpositions evolve from Cambridge (BA, 1617, MA, 1620) to London and Westminster (1620–1629), to a vicarage in Devonshire (1629–1647) and, upon displacement by Puritan militia, back to London and Westminster (1647–1660). After publishing both collections in 1648, Herrick abandoned further composition. His poems at Cambridge likely include his Anacreontic lyrics and Martialian epigrams. Those composed during his early years in London record friendships with such poets, scholars, and musicians as Jonson, John Selden, Henry and William Lawes, and such aristocrats as Endimion Porter, George Villiers, and Philip, Earl of Pembroke. Herrick's goal was not to secure patronage but to identify a dispersed Royalist community of intellectual and sacerdotal compeers.

The many variants, revisions, and expansions of individual poems in extant manuscripts (especially "Welcome to Sack," "The Birth of Prince Charles," and "Oberon's Feast") testify to Herrick's painstaking artistry. His "Farewell to Sack" acknowledges Horace's and Anacreon's wine-induced *furor* as inspiration for his verse but then renounces it in favor of sobriety and self-restraint: "What's done by me / Hereafter, shall smell of the lamp, not thee" (lines 53–54). An epigram upon Ben Jonson alludes to his "Holy rage, or frantic fires," but "A Bacchanalian Verse" affirms that genuine poets cannot "thrive / In frenzie" (Herrick 2013, lines 11–12). Although an aversion to provincialism in "this dull *Devon-shire*" ("Discontents in Devon," line 4) turns Herrick against "a people churrish" ("To Dean-bourn," line 11), his "Content in the Country" celebrates a refuge where "no Rent / We pay for our poore Tenement" (lines 7–8). There he would preserve for his disparate readership the values of an already bygone Elizabethan and Jacobean era.

The Age of Milton

Economic criticism might finally address the challenges of the Civil War and Parliamentarian eras to social, cultural, and economic order. Amid calamitous upheaval, Milton and his contemporaries assessed their work with heightened self-assertion. Milton's father was a successful scrivener whose profession as a contract lawyer, lending agent, and notary brought him into contact with London's wealthy gentry and merchant elite. His associations as a skillful amateur musician and trustee of the Blackfriars Playhouse paid off in his son's first important composition, *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle*, written in 1634 and published in 1637. It marked the astonishing debut of a poet who shaped his concerns about chastity and seduction into a dialogue about the unequal distribution of wealth. When the tempter Comus extols an economy of plenitude and abundance in which "Beauty is natures coyn, must not be hoorded," the harassed Lady denounces "that which lewdly pamper'd Luxury / Now heaps upon som few with vast excess" (Milton 1997, lines 739–771).

Eight years of continental travel, tutoring responsibilities, and the composition of prose tracts on religion, education, and public censorship preceded Milton's publication of his youthful *Poems … Compos'd at several times* (1645). Encompassing devotional verse, experiments in Jonsonian epigram, the companion poems "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," the pastoral entertainment *Arcades*, the pastoral elegy *Lycidas*, and a reprinting of *Comus*,

the volume ends with 25 selections in Latin whose final triptych iterates the poet's literary vocation: *Mansus* reveals his plans for an Arthurian epic in English; *Ad patrem* petitions his father to support his poetic career, contrasting it with commercial alternatives in business, law, and church office; and *Epitaphium Damonis* appropriates as an inheritance the poetic aspirations of his deceased friend Charles Diodati. The volume's range and variety situate these goals in an economic context, epitomized in *Lycidas* by the uncouth Swain's vow "To scorn delights, and live laborious dayes" (line 72). Here the poet reimagines his vocation as one that rejects aristocratic preferment and tenders egalitarian access to the fruits of labor (see Warley 2014, 121–140).

The poet-dramatist William Davenant offers a contrast. As London's most widely regarded ascendant author in the 1630s and early 1640s, he exemplifies a drive toward commercial success diametrically opposed to Milton's equitable counterpoise. In 1638 Charles I anointed him Jonson's successor as (unofficial) poet laureate with a pension of £100 per year. Captured by Cromwellians in 1650, he completed in prison his five-book heroic poem in quatrain stanzas, *Gondibert* (1652). Its Preface repudiates the doctrine of poetic *furor* and emphasizes the importance of acquiring craftsmanship, technique, and prosodic skill. Poetry in this view becomes a commodity ripe for sale in the public marketplace and, like every commodity, worthy of compensation proportionate to marketplace values.

Royalist poetry found some market success during and after the Civil War in its nostalgic evocation of an imperiled and defeated ethos. The posthumously published Thomas Carew and John Suckling built their carpe diem counsels upon economic tropes of earlier poets. Carew's "A Rapture" echoes Donne on the merchant class's idealization of marriage for the transmission of wealth, "greedy men that seek to enclose the common, / And within private arms impale free woman" (Howarth 1931, lines 19–20). Wives who once resisted adultery shall "for their time mis-spent / Pay into Love's exchequer double rent" (lines 145–146). An "Elegy upon the Death of John Donne" tallies "The debts of our penurious bankrupt age" against the craftsmanship that made "poetic rage / A mimic fury" (lines 29–31). Suckling's "A Sessions of the Poets" tallies an account of gain and loss that pays tribute to Carew, Jonson, Selden, Waller, and Davenant by lampooning the trope of starving poet-scholars. Now Apollo awards laureateship to a merchant Alderman who "openly declar'd that it was the best sign / Of goodly store of wit to have a good store of coin" (Howarth 1931, lines 114–115). Succeeding them, Richard Lovelace records the trauma of the Cromwellian era in "The Grasshopper," whose titular figure luxuriates in the delights of a Royalist summer before its eventual survivors huddle for protection in a Parliamentarian winter: "Thus richer than untempted Kings are we, / That asking nothing, nothing need" (Howarth 1931, lines 37–38). "The Ant" typifies unavailing Puritanical drudgery as it succumbs to devouring crows: "Thus we unthrifty survive within the earth's tomb / For some more rav'nous and ambitious jaw" (lines 31–32). "The Snail" armors itself with "economic virtues," though in a bleakly determinist balance its protective shell will "in a jelly thee dissolve" (lines 38–64).

Fluid economic relationships among Parliamentarians and Royalists emerge from the work of Katherine Philips. Born into a Puritan merchant family in London, she married a Member of Parliament from Welsh gentry. Apparently with his consent she befriended prominent Royalists in London, expending such sociability as a function of her role in household management. In her posthumously published *Poems* (1667) the elegiac couplets of "Friendship" express amity as a consequence of "heaven's mintage on a worthy soule,"

for whom "it is not bought by money, paines, or wit" (Philips 2007, lines 18–23). Echoing Spenser's Proem to Book IV of *The Faerie Queene*, friendship displays an "abstracted flame" that nourishes and sustains a companionate marriage and, echoing Donne's "The Elixir," it shows that "two souls are chang'd and mixed soe, / It is what they and none but they can doe" (lines 25–27).

Like Philips, Andrew Marvell associated with Parliamentarian, Protectorate, and Restoration factions while pledging allegiance to none of them. His concern for mediation and accommodation in his political poetry directs its references toward economic functions. In "The Garden," the speaker's pre-Civil War concern for adequating mind and body prompts his retreat from the "incessant Labours" of society into a cultivated enclosure of intellect (Marvell 2006, line 3). The later "Horatian Ode" contrasts Cromwell's intervention against Charles I's dereliction and finds that its calculus of cost and benefit cancels out both gain and loss. A similar ambivalence complicates "Upon Appleton House," whose speaker weighs the values of an active life against those of a contemplative life and finds both forms necessary and both deficient. Upon the Restoration, Marvell directed his poetic efforts toward satire aimed at the pursuit of luxurious furnishings by the leisured aristocracy and wealthy merchant elites.

Across these years, Milton had cultivated a friendship with Marvell, but also with Davenant, Cowley, Waller, and Dryden, whose endorsement of well-managed craftsmanship sat at odds with his poetics of inspired sublimity. Milton's concept of inspiration evolved with his attitudes toward an expansionist economy, alienated labor, and an active citizenry (see Hoxby 2002, 138–233). Upon publishing *Paradise Lost in Ten Books* in August 1667, Milton negotiated the first legal contract on record between a writer and a printer, protecting his ownership of the poem with an advanced payment of £5 before publication and a payment of £5 for each of three editions amounting to 1500 copies priced at 3 shillings apiece (see Dobranski 1999, 82–103). The "Heav'nly Muse" that dominates the invocation of Book 1 (Milton 2007, line 6) gives way in Book 3 to a "holy Light" (line 1) that may yet "Shine inward" (line 52) and to an alignment with Urania, the muse of Astronomy, who in Book 7 "Visit'st my slumbers Nightly" (line 29) and in Book 9 "inspires / Easie my unpremeditated verse" (lines 23–24). More active than passive, the poet struggles against external forces that threaten to "damp my intended wind / Deprest" (9.45–46). In economic terms, these pressures reposition his labor power as one that is mediated by divine will, human frailty, and Satanic rebellion.

Analogously, the action of his epic enquires into the dignity of work, service to the state, and collective labor, and it probes the fluidity of difference, inequality, and social class (see Warley 2014, 141–178). Satan vents his grievances against toiling under a usurious debt to God's will, "the debt immense of endless gratitude, / So burthensome, still paying, still to owe" (4.52–53). Eve weighs her Edenic drudgery against its practical use value: "The work under our labour grows, / Luxurious by restraint" (9.208–209). After the fall, the penitent Adam squares his labor with its exchange value: "With labour I must earn / My bread; what harm? Idleness had bin worse" (10.1054–1055). *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* extend these meditations upon alienated labor. In the former, as Satan tempts Jesus to renounce his work as prophet of truth, Jesus shores up his mission in relation to divinity: "He who reigns within himself, and rules / Passions, Desires, and Fears, is more a King" (Milton 2008, 2.466–467). The chorus of *Samson* commends its blinded hero for his

"plain Heroic magnitude of mind" while "labouring thy mind / More then the working day thy hands" (lines 1279–1299). Like Adam, he professes "by labour / Honest, and lawful" (lines 1365–1366) a positive relation to his work as an agent of God's will.

Marvell and Milton stretch to the limit and then ambiguate the economic features of Renaissance poetry. Both poets cast a skeptical eye on Platonic inspiration and Aristotelian craftsmanship by pointing to shortcomings of each without endorsing the other's priority. Both isolate themselves from the literary agendas of their contemporaries, while befriending each other and sustaining personal relationships with their competitors. Marvell left no manuscript or print evidence of revision, but the crystalline surface of his poetry suggests careful attention to it. His work might have been lost to history if his housekeeper had not presented herself as his widow and sold his manuscripts to a printer for a nugatory sum. Milton struck opportune deals with his publishers to reach a wide and ideologically varied readership. The 115 years between the publication of Tottel's Miscellany and *Paradise Lost* saw the rise in England of economic institutions that prompted poets to critique the functions and claims of these institutions and enabled them to pursue diverse forms of authorship. In doing so they established patterns of literary production and distribution that endured well into modernity.

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44
New Historicism, New Formalism, and Thy Darling in an Urn

Richard Strier

Our profession seems to demand a series of "new" approaches to our objects of study. Formalism must now be new, just as historicism had to be. This is not necessarily a bad thing. It is good to rethink our basic terms and approaches. In the little essay that follows—and I am afraid that it will really be both little and an essay—I want to present some thoughts about what it might mean or look like to do "formalist" analysis of literary works now—after New Criticism, after deconstruction, after (it seems) New Historicism. But while the prefixing of "new" before various hallowed terms seems harmless enough (when it is not too invidious), and may even be useful, the ritual of killing the parents (fathers always?) is not. Our profession seems to enjoy turning on its previous beloveds. Maybe this, too, is inevitable, but it is not admirable. So rather than celebrating our "liberation" from New Historicism, I want to state and celebrate some of its achievements.[1] It did some wonderful things for us: sent young scholars scurrying into the libraries and archives (and now to EEBO, Early English Books Online) to read old books, the obscurer the better, and that is good (the "archive" is now a fetishized term, but I can imagine worse fetishes). It opened up literary studies to the discourse of the social sciences, and that is good too (it is good to know Foucault, Geertz, Bourdieu, and others). It even made the world safe for Old Historicism. By this I mean the study of biographical contexts and local occasions—exactly the sorts of issues that preoccupied literary scholars before the advent of New Criticism (as a brief look at early issues of *PMLA* or *Modern Philology* will confirm)—and that is good (Leah Marcus, for instance, always found it amusing that her work on occasions of composition and performance was thought to be "new"). And speaking of the Old becoming New, we are now in a world where textual studies—one of the oldest sorts of literary scholarship—is "new" (we have the New Bibliography, and the new New Bibliography). But do we have a new New Criticism? And should we? Those are the questions that I want to consider.

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The first thing that I want to say—and I have said it before, so I will not dwell on it—is that we must not confuse close reading with New Criticism, especially as practiced by critics like Cleanth Brooks.[2] I am interested in the current possibilities for close reading, not for New Criticism as such ("new formalism" is better, more neutral, but "post-historicist formalism"—though it's a mouthful—would be better still). American New Criticism—in the Cleanth Brooks mode—was a particular kind of close reading.[3] It sought to be distinctively "literary," and therefore privileged patterns of images above all other features of texts;[4] its version of close reading had an aesthetic ideology, seeing itself as in competition with science, on the one hand, and with history on the other.

But close reading need not adopt either this practice or this ideology. What it must preserve is interest in the individual work or text as an object of study.[5] In the days of New Criticism, I would have added "in itself" after "object of study." But that was part of the ideology. As the example of Erich Auerbach and others shows us, we need not lose interest in the culture at large while studying individual works in detail, and we need not isolate literary works from their (many) contexts.[6] What we are in a position to do now in literary studies is not to go "beyond" close reading—"beyond" was a major word in titles for a while—but to recover its full potential, free of New Critical practice on the one hand and aesthetic ideology on the other. If we can, in other words, recover—or, better, attain—relatively full formal awareness without formalist ideology, we can take advantage of where we are and where we have been in literary studies. We now have, I think, the possibility of really uninhibited close reading.[7] We do not have to privilege imagery over discourse; nor do we need (à la deconstruction) to see them as necessarily in tension (though they might be); we do not, as I have said, have to stay strictly "within" individual works in reading them; we do not have to (though we might wish to) speak of *personae* rather than authors; we do not have to maximize coherence, or, for that matter, incoherence; we do not have to see works in relation to power structures (though, again, we might wish to do so). To repeat and summarize, I think that instead of going "beyond" close reading, we ought to take advantage of our situation to do it in a truly uninhibited way. If I am once again taking William Empson as my hero, so be it.[8]

I want to try an experiment in this essay—an *essai* in Montaigne's sense. I want to see what would happen if I were to turn to the favorite poem of the American New Critics and see what might be done with it now. I am referring to John Donne's "The Canonization"—"thy darling in an urn," as Empson called it in his review of Brooks's volume.[9]

To do this would mean, first of all, that in approaching this poem, we should bear in mind everything we know (or think we know) about Donne, his work, and his age. But it also means that we cannot know how—or whether—what we know or think we know will be relevant. Knowledge, even when we have it, cannot do the work of interpretation. Only the work of interpretation can do that. We must hold our knowledge loosely—as a pool of resources—not tightly, as a scheme that forecloses possibilities as impossible or "unthinkable."[10] We cannot know, for instance (with Brooks), that the poem will be serious in its exaltation of love and religion above politics and social life, nor can we know in advance (with Arthur Marotti) that it cannot be serious in doing this (see Brooks 1947, 11; Marotti 1986, 158–161). The issues of "seriousness," on the one hand, and "disingenuousness," on the other, must be up for grabs, to be settled—or, if such matters cannot be "settled," to be argued for—on the basis of close analysis. We cannot know how the issue of religion will play

out in the poem (or even, initially, if the title is not authorial, whether it will figure).[11] Unlike the New Critics, we will have to be interested in verse as well as Poetry. We will want to have a clear picture of the basic formal features of the poem: its extraordinary rhyme scheme—I wonder how many readers of the poem can say, without looking or with only briefly looking, what its rhyme scheme is—and the way in which its scheme of line lengths relates to (and does not relate to) this rhyme scheme. We would also want to keep track of how the syntax of each stanza relates to the invariant formal pattern. That the poem should flaunt some of its formal features—having an octosyllabic couplet with a new ("c") rhyme followed by a long (pentameter) line that creates a triple rhyme in the middle of each stanza; returning to the "a" rhyme with a tetrameter after this odd triplet, and doing so yet again with a final (ninth) line that is the shortest of the stanza (trimeter) and ends by repeating the word that ends the opening pentameter of the stanza (of course, the word "love")—must be a part of whatever we come to think the poem is saying or doing.

So, what would such a formally aware but non-ideological formalist and "post-historicist" reading of "The Canonization" look like? The explosive comic energy and mild blasphemy of the opening ("For Godsake hold your tongue"), connecting as it does to the world of the satires and elegies, has long been noted.[12] But "and let me love" perhaps requires more comment, suggesting a vulnerability on the part of the speaker, an anxiety—as if the antagonistic interlocutor's voice could have this inhibitory power, could stop the speaker from acting on or even feeling his emotion. Our criticism, in other words, would have to have rhetorical and psychological as well as semantic and literary-historical awareness. The second line of the poem begins to suggest alternative forms of behavior for the apparently verbose and disapproving interlocutor. The speaker would prefer that he (male pronoun for convenience and also historical likelihood) "chide my palsie or my gout." Some historicist work on "palsie" and especially "gout" might be called for here (with the implication that "gout" is connected to what the newly crowned Prince Hal calls "gourmandizing"). The speaker seems to be presenting himself as old and sick, so that the interlocutor's "chiding" might seem hard-hearted (though less so with "gout" than with "palsie"). But the next half-line makes it clear that "palsie" is a joke. To have only "five gray haires" in a full head of hair makes one hardly old enough to have a "palsie."[13] Again, the interlocutor seems foolish to "chide" these. But the second half of the second pentameter line (rhyming with the pentameter opening) is of a different sort. Arthur Marotti is surely right that the mention of "ruined fortune" (line 3) is meant to be autobiographically transparent (and here the whole story of the coterie circulation of Donne's poems, and the whole saga of his financially and socially disastrous marriage, would come into play). One might still think that this is hardly something to "flout." But if the speaker is prematurely aging, and has "ruined" his fortune by his own willful activity, one can imagine a serious, if still rather hard-hearted, moral position being brought to bear. The speaker—I would rather call him "the Donne persona," to keep both the autobiography and the awareness of art—then turns to positive recommendations for the interlocutor. "With wealth your state, your minde with Arts improve" (line 4) may be innocently sensible suggestions or may slyly suggest that the interlocutor is not doing so well himself, and perhaps is none too bright. In any case, the line is not overtly satirical. This is a world in which self-fashioning and social mobility seem to be fully possible (work on those might come in here). And I am not sure that "Observe his honour, or his grace" is satirical. Recent work on the Elizabethan and Jacobean court

suggests how normal such "observation" is, and its implications are behavioral rather than intellectual (as in "observing the rules" rather than observing an object). I am not sure that there is anything *méchant* here in the equation of secular and sacred great ones ("his honour, or his grace")—but the question could be raised.

Satire might emerge in the next line, the long line that completes the triple rhyme and adds alternative "courses"—"Or the Kings reall, or his stampèd face"—oddly equating the two.[14] Surely satire emerges when the strongly enjambed line is completed with the long word that begins the next line and takes up fully half of that line: "Contemplate."[15] Contemplating is different from observing. It fully moves into the intellectual and spiritual realm. The idea of contemplating—à la the opening of *Volpone*—the king's "stampèd face" (on coins) certainly constitutes satire. But is it equally open to satire to "contemplate" the king's "reall" face? Perhaps so, since that "face," in either of its manifestations, would not seem to be a normal object of *contemplation*. Surely that kind of "contemplation" is part of the active life. The speaker—shall we just call him "Donne"?—arrives at a moment of grand indifference—"what you will, approve"—before returning, in the diminuendo of the final trimeter ninth line, to the odd need for permission that establishes the circular structure of the stanza.[16] Some sort of psychic stability seems to have been reached here. "So you will let me love" suggests a bargain—Donne will give the interlocutor permission to do whatever (worldly) thing the interlocutor wishes if the interlocutor will reciprocally grant his permission for the speaker to love—though the oddness of the need for this permission remains (if the poem is written after Donne's marriage in 1601, and biography is allowed, the oddness is explained, if not mitigated; the casual reference to "the King's … face" would seem to locate the poem after 1603).

Stability seems lost in the surprising emotionality of the opening of the next stanza. "Alas, alas," says the speaker, as if he is suffering or lamenting something. But the line turns, oddly, from lamentation to legal self-defense—"who's injured by my love?" Here work on the legal context of *injuria* would surely be relevant. The speaker is proclaiming his legal innocence, though taking the line as a whole, with the two "alases," suggests that the speaker is evading an obvious point—one that was at issue in the opening of the first stanza—namely, the possibility that it is the speaker himself who is being "injured." But the stanza moves entirely in the other direction, toward "doing no harm" to others. The speaker contrasts the microcosm with the macrocosm, his own body with "the world." The microcosmic (emotional) versions of wind (sighs), floods (tears), cold ("colds"), heat ("heats") are contrasted with the dangerous macrocosmic versions of them which destroy property (commercial and domestic), produce bad weather, and cause the most dreaded of all public events, plague (work on this might come in here). The "world" seems full of disasters.

All that is true, but it does not take into account the rhetoric of the lines. We have fallen back into—or, less punitively, found ourselves doing—New Criticism. We have focused on patterns of imagery—though since these are strongly emphasized here, that does not itself seem like a mistake. But what needs to be added is an awareness of the rhetoric and syntax of the lines. The first six lines of the stanza, which we have been (non-heretically) paraphrasing, consist entirely of a series of questions. Five of the six lines end in question marks, and the one that does not is simply part of a question that extends over two lines. A series of "rhetorical" questions like this always seems defensive. "What have I done? Have I …?" The evasion of the real injury question is palpable. The speaker seems really

flustered by the attack on his behavior and feelings in a way that, for instance, Sidney's speaker (Sidney?) in equivalent poems in *Astrophil and Stella* does not.[17] Donne's stanza seems to arrive at some stability when the speaker turns to assertions or observations rather than questions. The pentameter line of the second half of the stanza, the line that creates the triple rhyme, starts a new thought and rhetorical mode rather than continuing the mode of the lines with which it rhymes: "Soldiers find warres, and Lawyers finde out still / Litigious men, which quarrels move, / Though she and I do love" (lines 16–18). The suggestion here seems to be not only that the world goes about its business without any interference from the lovers but that such interference might be positive, as if it were surprising that aggression of the military and legal sorts continue despite the existence of a potential counter-force. Donne's intimate knowledge of "lawyers" might be relevant to the negative picture of "the world" here, since it should be noted that the speaker presents the lawyers as seeking out clients rather than vice versa.

The next stanza of the poem is its center (literally—the third stanza of five). It was the focus of both New Critical and Old Historical attention. The reason for this is that the stanza presents a complex succession of images or emblems, each of which has a rich tradition. But again, I would say that the key issue is that of tone, not of imagistic coherence, fascinating and even spectacular as that may be. One question would be: does "Call us what you will" (line 19a) have the same grand indifference as "what you will approve"? Or is there more defensiveness here? The strategy seems to be what one might call defensive—or is it aggressive?—capitulation. Donne is willing to accept whatever slanders and insults the interlocutor might have, and, it seems, only claim them as intrinsic to his situation: "Call us what you will, we are made such by love." He is willing to have himself and his beloved portrayed as "flies" (which were, as in Lear's "small gilded" versions, notoriously lecherous), and he now seems willing to accept the self-destructiveness that the previous stanza evaded ("We're tapers too, and at our own cost die," line 21). Regarding the sequence of images, it might be worth noting, again rhetorically or dramatistically, that the speaker is presented as hypothesizing rather than reporting the terms of abuse, so the fact that the movement from one to the next is coherent can be seen as a rhetorical design. The self-immolating quality seems to continue the claim of harmlessness (to others) of the previous stanza: "at our own cost." There is sex here—the pun on "die" does seem to be at work—but the point seems to be not the sex itself but the lovers' acceptance of its "cost." But suddenly—as if there were no change in point of view (the line begins with "And")—the lovers are granted their own perspective; they are now explicitly the purveyors of the images of them: "And we in us find the'Eagle and the dove" (line 22).

What are we to make of the insistence on extreme (shared) subjectivity here, in "we in us find"? There is a claim being made here, but it looks as if it is not a claim about reality. The next image is another that the lovers claim for themselves, the phoenix image that ties together, as has been well noted, all the previous images.[18] Here Donne uses the octosyllabic medial couplet as a unit for the first time: "The Phoenix ridle hath more wit / By us, we two being one, are it" (lines 23–24). The tone of this is almost impossible to capture (as is, perhaps not coincidentally, the scansion of line 24). Knowledge of the Christological and other uses of the phoenix is certainly desirable, perhaps even necessary. But such knowledge does not in itself help us come to terms with the speaker's overt skepticism about the myth, which he calls a "ridle" and clearly sees as, in itself, not having a lot

of "wit." Why would Donne want to mock this figure even as he is using it? Should we consider that all of this is just light-hearted fun?

"So, to one neutrall thing both sexes fit" (line 25): this is the most brilliant and assertive triple rhyme in the poem, and uses the pentameter as a full sentence on its own, a comment on "it."[1919] The "it," the "neutrall thing" to which "both sexes fit," may indeed be the hermaphrodite of footnote fame. But the sense of precise, even clinical, sexual description is much more strongly and distinctly present. When Spenser invokes the figure of the hermaphrodite, he does so explicitly and emphasizes beauty and ecstasy as well as immobility.[20] Donne, truly using "the language of paradox" here, gives us an "it," a paradoxically sexless (neuter) and nameless object, a "thing" (like "it," "thing" is strongly stressed, both metrically and rhetorically). In "Wee die and rise the same" (line 26a), the sexual in the famous pun is front and center (so to speak), insisted upon. Perhaps this is the place to bring in the issue of Donne's ambivalence about sex, especially about orgasm.[21] To take "We die and rise the same" in the sexual context as worthy of what Wilbur Sanders rightly calls "the momentous line-end pause" on "prove" and the "unctuous parsonical tremolo" of "Mysterious" is surely to be taken in (Sanders 1971, 22). It does not even seem whole-hearted as blasphemy. Poor Cleanth Brooks, committed as he is to seeing all this as "serious," is forced to argue with a straight face that there is something remarkable in a relationship that continues past consummation (Brooks 1947, 16). But this would only be true for the most committed rake. Donne has basically told us that this is all just "wit" at work. But to what end?

In the next stanza, the "canonization" conceit emerges (or is revealed if John A. Clair, in a very Old Historicist piece, is right that Donne has been following the contemporary Catholic procedures for canonization all along; see Clair 1965). Donne seems to decide to take the joke in the previous stanza seriously. The meter becomes determinative. If line 28, the opening line of the stanza, is seen as metrically regular, we get the effect of Donne acknowledging that the non-sexual meaning of "die" is actually what is important to him: "We cán die by it." But the tone is still a problem. Are we to read "legend" in line 30—"And if unfit for tombs and hearse / Our legend be"—in our modern, skeptical, Protestant sense (like "ridle" in stanza 3), or, as in Brooks's view, "serious"? Can "verse" sustain the metrical and semantic stress it receives in the second half of the line—"it will be fit for verse" (and can "fit" be so quickly cleaned up)? Can "pretty roomes" be taken as a "serious" positive image (even with the Italian pun on stanzas as rooms)? Surely the flimsiness and sense of triviality here are relevant. And the strategy of compensation for discounted options ("if unfit … if no piece") is hardly a reassuring one. Again, tone and rhetoric rather than imagery are crucial. We finally get a definite assertion, and the tone stabilizes at "As well a well wrought urn" (line 33). Donne is stating something that he might actually, "seriously" be taken to believe. The object in question, the urn, has solidity as well as beauty, and its small size becomes a virtue (when juxtaposed to the pomposity of "half-acre tombes"). Perhaps with this phrase the elaborateness and ostentatiousness of the poem's construction—how it is "wrought"—can be seen to take on symbolic point. Some work on funeral urns and whether they were seen in the period as having strongly classical associations would be helpful here.[22] The focus on non-revolting bodily remains—"the greatest ashes"—has a serene feeling, though, as Joshua Scodel has pointed out to me, the phrase is something of an oxymoron, since ashes are often contrasted with greatness.[23] But the poem lurches back, ignoring the urn, into the poetical and Christian framework.

Suddenly the form that is relevant is not that of "verse" in general, or "sonnets" in particular, but "hymnes." Donne returns to the rhyme word in this position from stanza one—he is running out of "love" rhymes—and claims that everyone ("all"), now Catholic, "shall approve / Us *Canoniz'd* for Love." The italicization is in the original printed edition, but does this make the claim more "serious" or more outrageous?

The final stanza continues the conceit, "And thus invoke us." The importance of saints, Donne knows, is that they can be invoked. Whether, in regard to this, Donne is drawing on Protestant mockery or Catholic piety becomes the issue. "Both" does not seem like a possible answer. The attempt at settling this—at least locally—must rely on the content of the postulated invocation. The answer seems to be that Donne is relying on Catholic piety, since whatever we make of "reverend love," "hermitage" is not a word of mockery ("You whom reverend love / Made one anothers hermitage," lines 37b–38). The lovers are imagined as dead now. Their "legend" is in the past rather than the future. The sense of retreat from the world as a positive action is developed here, picked up from the end of the second stanza, perhaps from the irony of "Contemplate" in the first, and from the sense of willing martyrdom more or less at work in the third and fourth. But what exactly is the claim being made? The sense of the danger and violence of "the world" strongly present in stanza two exists only in the word that ends the line that explains "hermitage"—"You to whom love was peace, that now is rage" (line 39). "Rage" has to do a lot of work here, but is not very clear in its implications. The obvious meaning is lust, but it is hard to see how that resolves the matter. Maybe the idea is that the sex is satisfying to the couple, and that is the "peace." Or, if Helen Gardner is right to allude to Donne saying in a sermon that "To desire without fruition, is a rage," then the claim is now not for surviving sexual fulfillment but for attaining it (Gardner 1965, 204).

But surely sex is no longer meant to be the focus as the imagined invocation continues, taking on greater intellectual density. And formal density as well. The syntax and versification of the poem attain their greatest complexity, with subordinated as well as coordinated clauses, and with, for the first time in the poem, two (really three) enjambed lines in a row—a brilliant use of the triplet.[24] The display of arcane knowledge—"the whole worlds soul"; the possible alchemical context ("extract … glasses")—seems to have some real point. The speaker is able to acknowledge his interest in the world as well as his psychological distance from it—"all" in "all to you epitomize" is not cosmological but sociopolitical: "Countries, Townes, Courts." And the gesture of invocation is made with theological precision: the saints are invoked not as objects of worship but as intercessors. Platonism nicely merges with Catholicism in the plea that the lover-saints themselves plead to the higher powers for a usable "patterne" of the love the "saints" shared, where "patterne" functions in an ethical as well as a Platonic sense.

I will return to the religious issue in the poem, but before doing so (and concluding) it is worth noting that with regard to this stanza we can take advantage of another aspect of where we are in literary studies today. Years ago, when I first started working on and teaching this poem, I found it quite annoying that there were uncertainties in the text of the poem. I remember wishing profoundly that the editors would just make up their minds as to whether what the lovers did to the "whole worlds soule" in line 40 was "extract" (with most of the manuscripts) or "contract" it (with the 1633 printed edition).[25] Likewise, I was troubled by the 1633 text printing "our" rather than "your" love in the final line (it has "A patterne of our love"). But now, I am happy to have the variants, and I would

print (or make available online) two versions. The ambiguities in the text seem to me to point usefully to complexities and possibilities in the poem, in either version. "Extract" and "contract" are words that do slightly different but very much related work (both relevant), and even the pronoun shift in the last line—while it may well be, as Grierson convincingly argued (despite his normal preference for 1633), merely a mistake—helps us recognize how difficult it is for the poem to maintain the second-person vocative stance of the opening of the stanza, and not to shift into direct self-praise. The "mistake" serves to give the poem a more triumphant ending—"our love"—and draws attention away from the extreme grammatical complexity of the imagined invocation.[26]

But why *do* such an exercise in close reading, even granting my premise that we are in a position now to do this exercise in a happily well-informed and uninhibited way? From an aesthetic point of view, we can see the poem as both a tour de force and a mess (perhaps trying to use the first to cover up the second): an overly wrought urn, rather than a well-wrought one, a magnificent oddity rather than a monument. If I sound like Dr. Johnson here, so much the better.[27] One thing that an uninhibited approach can allow is value judgments about individual works. How energizing it might be for such judgments—with appropriate argumentation—to come back into literary studies!

If we are interested in Donne's life and in his attitudes toward courtly ambition and toward religion, and if we do not go the *persona* route, it is hard to know how else—other than through such close reading—we could gain access to such a pool of ambivalences and contradictory impulses as this poem allows us to see at work (and perhaps at play). If, from a cultural studies point of view, we are interested in the imaginative power of structures of belief, it is hard to know where we would get a better example of the continuing power in an individual's mind of a structure of belief that he has "officially" explicitly rejected. Becoming a Protestant was hard for Donne, and for many others as well.[28] Only through close reading can we gain access to the intimate struggles and ambivalences and resolutions of past minds.[29] The urn can contain more than inert matter if we are willing to look carefully and uninhibitedly at how it is wrought. We can go as far "outside" the poem as we need to, and make use of any sort of material that we wish to—biography, social history, legal history, rhetorical theory, intellectual history, religious history—but we will gain most if we bring all this back "inside" and coordinate such forays with detailed attention to tone, meter, syntax, and other such "literary" matters. We might give up our self-consciousness about "the literary," and neither overvalue nor undervalue its status. It is tempting to say that we are now in a position to give up the "inside/outside" distinction. But I think that to do so—to give up the distinction—would be a mistake. It would, in fact, be exactly the mistake that the New Formalism distinguishes itself from the New Historicism by not making.

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Notes

1 For my own take on the strengths and limitations of "New Historicism," see Strier (1995a, ch. 4).

2 For the American New Criticism as one particular kind of formalism, and not definitive of the term, see Strier (2002). For an overview of "the new formalism" (that takes that essay into account), see Levinson (2007).

3 See Paul de Man, "Form and Intent in American New Criticism," in de Man (1983, 20–35).

4 On this practice, as the basis for both poetry and criticism, see Strier (1975).

5 For an argument (and attempted demonstration) that "close reading" can be productively applied not only to non-literary works (which is obvious), but also to historical "documents," see Strier (1995b).

6 Auerbach is a key "formalist" discussed in Strier (2002). For a similar argument, see Otter (2008).

7 Joshua Adams took me to be recommending critical pluralism. While I am indeed in favor of critical pluralism, I understand it to be something other than what I am recommending in this essay. Critical pluralism seems to me to be the view that there are any number of coherent frameworks that can be applied to literary works, and that each of these in valid in its own terms. My recommendation is for what might be called critical promiscuity, where the critic is free to draw, simultaneously, on tools from any framework that seems relevant and potentially illuminating in relation to the particular work or works being examined.

8 Empson is another model discussed in my essay cited in Strier (2002); he is also discussed in Strier (1995a, 13–26). For Empson's practice as a way out of "The Dead-End of Formalist Criticism," see de Man (1983, 229–245). For a sense similar to mine of where we are now, see Serpell (2015), whose hero is Rita Felski rather than William Empson. I should add that I am also an admirer of Felski (2008), as well as her analytical articles, though I am less committed to a version of "phenomenology."

9 "Thy Darling in an Urn" first appeared in *Sewanee Review* 55 (1947); it is reprinted in Empson (1987, 282–288). See also the comments on W. K. Wimsatt and R. P. Blackmur in "Still the Strange Necessity," in Empson (1987, 120–128).

10 This is a major argument of Strier (1995a).

11 Both Gardner (1966, 1: 189–207) and Shawcross (1988) are uncertain whether we can take any of the titles as authorial, and are certain that in some cases we cannot. In manuscript circulation, "The Canonization" did not always have a title, but when it did it always had this one, though sometimes without the definite article. No conclusion about the source of the title can be drawn. Since the title is a perfectly appropriate one but not unmistakably authorial—the way witty or surprising titles (like some of George Herbert's) are—we simply do not know whether the title is authorial or not.

12 See, for instance, Hunt (1954, 73). For the text of the poem, I have used Shawcross (1967, 96–98). But see the discussion of textual issues below.

13 It has been pointed out to me that the phrase could imply that the speaker has only five gray hairs left on his head, so that he is actually old, or prematurely so. I think this semantically possible but dramatically and rhetorically unlikely, given the speaker's tone and stance.

14 I have followed the first printed edition of the poem, Donne (1633, 202), and the editions of Shawcross (1967) and Grierson (1912, 1: 14–15), in accepting "Or the Kings reall" in line 7 here, so that the speaker is suggesting another alternative. The manuscripts have "And" at the beginning of the line as does Gardner in her edition (1965, 73). In that case, the line continues the thought of "Observe his honour …" rather than suggesting an alternative. Both readings make perfect sense.

15 The medial stress in "contémplate" strikes us as odd and awkward (and perhaps therefore satirical), but my colleague Lisa Ruddick, on a fine hunch, pointed me to the *OED*, which states that the stress on the penult was normal in the period, though not absolutely dominant. Henry Weinfield has suggested that one could postulate a trochaic substitution at the beginning of this line, so that "contemplate" would be pronounced as we do, but this seems to me unlikely in the immediate metrical context (where one tends to expect the strong iambic pattern of the last three feet of the previous line to continue through the enjambment), and unlikely in general if the *OED*'s claim about the history of the pronunciation is true.

16 Shawcross's note (1967, 97) that "approve" means "try out" (rather than "consider favorably") seems apt here.

17 See, for instance, *Astrophil and Stella* 21 (Sidney 1962), "Your words, my friends (right healthful caustiks)." Here the "antagonist" is given quite full representation—where he is given none directly in the Donne poem—and yet Sidney's "speaker" seems perfectly at ease, or at least affects being so, in dismissing the interlocutor's criticisms with a mocking concession ("Sure you say well") followed by an impertinent assertion of the commanding pertinence of "Stella's" physical charms ("Hath this world ought so faire as *Stella* is?"). This is a long way from Donne's "speaker," who wants to *argue* his points.

18 The footnotes to this image seem to derive from Chambers (1960), though Gardner has her own set of notes on this image and sequence (1965, 203–204).

19 I am following Donne (1633) and Shawcross (1967) in assuming a full stop, a period, after "two being one, are it" and after "both sexes fit" (lines 24–25). Gardner (1965) places a comma after "are it" (an editorial emendation), and Grierson (1912) (following some of the manuscripts) places a comma after "fit."

20 The original published edition of *The Faerie Queene* (1590), consisting of the first three Books, ended with a vision of two lovers embracing so "streightly" and in such immobile ecstasy that "Had ye them seene, ye would have surely thought, / That they had beene that faire *Hermaphrodite* / Which that rich *Romane* of white marble wrought." See Spenser (1964, 1: 517).

21 I have tried to address the issue of Donne's ambivalence about sex in the lyrics in Strier (2017). For Donne's "dislike of having come," see Ricks (1988, 33).

22 Sir Thomas Browne's *Hydriotaphia: Urn-Burial* (1658) would be an obvious source of material, as would, presumably, relevant works by antiquaries.

23 Scodel, in conversation, has directed me to, inter alia, Ovid (1976), *Metamorphoses* 12.615: *iam cinis est, et de tam magno restat Achille / nescio quid parvum, quod non bene conpleat urnam* ("Now he is but dust; and of Achilles, once so great, there remains a pitiful handful, hardly enough to fill an urn") (though the next line explains that Achilles' *gloria conpleat orbem* [his "glory fills the whole world"]). Donne seems to use the phrase ("greatest ashes") without irony here.

24 For an argument that the poem in general lacks subordination of its clauses and claims, see Rooney (1975, esp. 276).

25 Grierson (1912, 2: 16) follows Donne (1633) in printing "contract," and makes a strong case for it, citing Donne's very positive use of the word in a textual context in a sermon. Gardner (1965, 204) insists on the manuscript reading of "extract," and strongly asserts that the 1633/Grierson reading makes the lines "unintelligible." Shawcross (1967) prints "extract" without comment.

26 Grierson (1912) puts parentheses around lines 42–43—"So made such mirrors, and such spies, / That they did all to you epitomize"—to clarify the tortured syntax. This certainly helps, but is an emendation.

27 Compare: "What they lacked of the sublime, they endeavoured to supply by hyperbole … and produced combinations of confused magnificence," from Johnson's "Life of Abraham Cowley," in Johnson (1925, 1: 12). I would not apply this judgment as widely in Donne's poetry as Dr. Johnson does, but I would do so here, as does Sanders (1971, chs. 3 and 5).

28 On Donne's problems with maintaining a consistent Protestant perspective, see Strier (1989). On the general issue, see, inter alia, Murray (2009).

29 Tim Harrison has urged me to relate this position to that articulated in Theodor Adorno's well-known essay "On Lyric Poetry and Society," in Adorno (1991, 1: 37–54). The positions are similar in simultaneously recommending an "immanent" approach and insisting that such an approach, properly carried out, requires both knowledge "of the interior of the works of art" and knowledge of other matters (39). But where my position is different is that it does not see a conception of "the domination of human beings by commodities" (40) as necessarily the central fact of the modern period, and it does not make the extraordinary demand on individual experience to transcend itself that Adorno does. I do not know whether it is significant that Adorno's sample readings in the essay do not attend much to verbal details, with the exception of one key word in each poem treated. The analyses depend heavily on conceptions of period styles and of levels of style: on the way in which the style of each poem supposedly evokes an earlier period style and mode of being.

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45
Allegory

Kenneth Borris

By often treating allegory as if it were somehow sub-literary, the twentieth-century Anglo-American literary academy discounted several millennia of Western thought and creativity. Though revisionist accounts began appearing around 1960, false assumptions underlying "modern allegoriphobia" (Van Dyke 1985, 247)—whereby allegory is supposed to be mechanically metaphoric rather than symbolic, just a means of expression rather than of thought, and necessarily schematic, simplistic, and authoritarian—still persist. During early modernity, allegory was not just a fading medieval hangover (*pace* Weinberg 1961, 198, 207; Raymond 2010, 358–359; Tambling 2010, 55), but underwent vigorous redevelopment. Not at all monolithic, it accommodates diverse literary styles, including "realistic" ones, and its major English early modern exponents were Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, and John Milton. Without an informed appreciation for allegorism in that period, we would misunderstand much of its literature, poetics, visual art, and culture.

Conceptions of Allegory

Allegory's devaluation arose mainly from Romantic misapprehensions. Whereas allegory depends upon arbitrary correspondences, Coleridge maintained, symbol "abides as a living part in that Unity of which it is the representative," so that it is intrinsically motivated or synecdochic (Coleridge 1816, 37). This claim became an Anglo-American literary dogma. Though accepting Coleridge's distinction, Paul de Man reversed its hierarchy of value, because he found allegory's presumed arbitrariness preferable to the mystifications entailed by symbol's appearances of essential aptness (de Man 1969, 191–192). Nevertheless,

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allegory and symbol resist any mutually exclusive distinctions that claim transhistorical validity (see Borris 2000, 56; 2010, 437–444; Machosky 2013, 168–169). Any allegory involves images that may be considered in some sense symbolic, and allegory in general is far more complex than Coleridge and de Man assumed. Generalizations about literary allegory are largely heuristic, for its characteristics mercurially vary according to its cultural circumstances and textual context, particularly the genres with which it is combined. This frequently oversimplified discursive phenomenon requires diverse means of conceptualization.

Coleridge's criterion of synecdochic intrinsicality that many have used to differentiate symbol from allegory—as if the latter were simply "continued metaphor"—is actually relative, not necessarily definitive. As Peter Daly observes, "what is deemed intrinsic in one world-view may not be so in another" (Daly 1998, 104). Historically considered, early modern allegory functions much more according to Coleridge's and de Man's notions of symbol than their notions of allegory. For many early modern reasons, Una's significations of Truth and the Church in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, for example, can be profoundly motivated and intrinsic. Her role had well-known precedents in what seemed to be God's Word; God appeared to be the creator of humankind in his image (of which vestiges endured the Fall) and of a unique immortal soul for each person; beauty and the virtues, splendidly instanced in Una, appeared to originate in God. And authorial creativity appeared to echo God's (see Sidney 1973a, 79). Hence for many in Spenser's time Una's relation to what she signifies would not have seemed arbitrary or metaphoric or merely conventional, but rather to abide as some living part of that Unity of which she appears to be the representative. Such examples from early modern allegories could be multiplied endlessly. From theistic viewpoints, nature appeared to be its Creator's book inscribed with his signatures, so that intrinsic "higher meanings" were ubiquitous. Whereas any distinction must be answerable to the exemplars it claims to categorize, Coleridge's between allegory and symbol is not. And allegory, *pace* de Man, can mystify just as much as symbol, because allegory's signs do not necessarily disclaim essential aptness.

Literary allegory is best distinguished from symbol not by suppositions of any necessary, transhistorical, and intrinsic difference in the status of allegory's signs versus those of symbol but rather by some ongoing polysemous interplay of diverse senses. "Allegory" etymologically denominates "other speech" or polyphonic discourse that enables secretively encoded public utterance (see Borris 2000, 59–60). Whether intermittent or relatively continuous, allegory is necessarily syntagmatic or extended and thus requires some implied or explicit narrative. As it adumbrates one or more patterns of alternate signification it tends to be more or less programmatic, hence quasi-intentional. Texts that are structurally allegorical, to some extent composed allegorically (whether in toto or in part), should be distinguished from texts interpretively allegorized. Dante's *Divina commedia*, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, for example, involve structural allegory to differing extents. Allegorical interpretation in general may be termed "allegoresis." Depending on the extent to which an allegory explicitly structures a narrative, it assumes some position in a spectrum of possibilities ranging from "simple" to "complex" (see Frye 1965), and may shift across that range in successive passages, as in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Whereas simpler allegory tends to use personified abstractions with identities name-tagged in the same language as the text

(such as Error, but not Orgoglio), complex allegories are relatively subliminal, mythic, and fraught with the suggestiveness commonly associated with symbol instead.

"Simple" and "complex" are provisional and exploratory terms here, not evaluative. So-called simple or "naïve" allegories still asymmetrically involve ironies, local contradictions, ambivalences, and ambiguities. In structural allegories the verbal and imagistic matter never wholly conforms to the allegorical animus, because allegory always involves an extended interplay of varied senses.

Although rhetorical approaches to allegory often treat it as continued or extended metaphor (like Anderson 2008), it would thus be a relatively mechanical device inferior to symbol. Instead, allegorism assimilates verbal discourse to a variety of tropes and schemes enabling oblique reference or multiple meanings, including irony, periphrasis, puns, synecdoche, metonymy, paronomasia, hyperbole, and enigma (see Borris 2000, 55–56, 101–106; Machosky 2013, 190–196). Yet even this broadened perspective is insufficient. Allegory is also "a game designed by the writer and played by the reader" (Teskey 1990, 16–22). Enabling many metamorphic effects of playfulness and performance, it is a unique means of thought, not, as was often assumed in the last century, just a means of expression.

Despite being sometimes considered authoritarian, allegory can circumvent restrictions upon public expression and produce new cognitive possibilities. By soliciting recognition of allegorized patterns of thought, codes, and conventions, resituating them in a fabulous context, and mixing ordinarily heterogeneous discursive materials, allegory invites their reconsideration and can thus become a means of "authorized transgression" like parody (Hutcheon 1985, 26). Moreover, by thus newly interrelating and reconfiguring varied discourses, allegory tends to foster experimental reassessment of the norms and limits of discourse, and to constitute, in effect, a meta-discourse providing a new and distinctive arena of reflection. In allegorizing philosophical and religious concepts, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* does not simply report, sample, or evoke them, but narratively transfigures them into lively images, through redevelopment of literary and non-literary intertexts and generic precedents, so that these diverse ingredients become newly interactive. Allegorism often further conduces to meta-allegory reflecting upon the text, its signifying practices, their interpretation, and its relation to the world and readers. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* immediately presents Error and the confusing illusionist Archimago; Sidney's *Arcadia*s present encounters between Pamela and the disguised Musidorus in which she must decode his oblique discourse, just as the reader must Sidney's. Early modern literary allegories tend to be thought-experiments wherein readers may experience moral and interpretive challenges under to some extent controlled conditions (such as provision of poetic justice, or serendipitous outcomes). Extensive complex allegories like Spenser's epitomize, rewrite, and rethink their cultures.

From a formal standpoint, literary allegory is best conceived as a mode, like parody and satire, for it appropriates "host" forms and their conventional repertoires of themes and features so as to transform them into vehicles of new significance. Insofar as allegory involves the assemblage and coded, aestheticized reconfiguration of cultural materials, it is somewhat akin to pastiche, cento, collage, montage, palimpsests, and the bricolage of Claude Lévi-Strauss. Yet over the history of allegory's development it has accumulated a particular modal repertoire of diachronically variable options and characteristics (see Borris 2000, chs. 2–3; 2010, 446–448). Just as literary allegory is fundamentally a procedure for

intermixing diverse discourses so that one or more appear in terms of another, so historicized study of its formal aspects most fully reveals its operations, functions, and cultural significance. Thus we can better identify the ingredients of an allegory, perceive how they are assembled, assess how they interact, and comparatively evaluate the relevant precedents. This approach is especially productive in periods that strongly valorize concepts of genre and generic decorum, such as the Renaissance. If allegory became ruinous in the unique context of seventeenth-century German *Trauerspiel* or "mourning play" as Walter Benjamin proposes (Benjamin 1928; cf. Borris 2000, 2–3; Whitman 2000, 295–299), it otherwise remained strongly linked with personal and social edification ("building up") in early modernity.

Allegorism in Renaissance Poetics

Allegory appears in diverse early modern media, including pageants, architecture, and the visual, verbal, and decorative arts. Humanism and the recovery of numerous ancient sources unknown in the Middle Ages—especially the Homeric epics, Greek Homeric commentary, many of Plato's dialogues, and ancient Neoplatonic writings—profoundly transfigured conceptions of allegorism's potential. Concepts and practices of literary and mythic allegory could newly mix Platonic, Stoic, Epicurean, Christian, and Jewish currents in various mutually informative proportions, as in the syncretisms of the Platonic philosophers Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Leone Ebreo; or privilege one or more approaches, as would a Protestant allegorical poetics modeled solely on the presumed biblical precedents, such as the Song of Songs and Book of Revelation.

Allegory's importance in Renaissance poetics arose not only from the prevalence of otherworldly beliefs and notions of divinely authorized cosmic correspondences (see Borris 2000, 189–190), but also from its perceived value for defending literary fiction. Accusations of corrupting audiences by arousing passions and promoting vain pleasures had long dogged the art, and around 1450 this antipoetic discourse added Plato's *Republic* to its patristic and medieval repertoire of Christian objections. As in Horace's *Ars poetica*, advocates of literature still emphasized its conjoint delight and utility, whereby worthy texts both attracted and bettered individuals and communities. At least since the ancients had begun defending Homer's *Iliad* against allegations of sacrilege, before 500 BCE, assertions of Western fiction's value had depended much upon allegoresis. The Platonic revival of the Renaissance strengthened this approach, for not only could it counter the antipoetic critiques of the newly recovered *Republic*, but it gained new topicality, exemplars, and inspiration from Plato's philosophical fables and the ancient Neoplatonic promotion of veiled fabulation (see Borris 2017, ch. 1).

Although early modern commentators on poetics typically assumed that a worthy fiction must fulfill utilitarian criteria at least as much pleasurable ones, allegory also appealed to humanist valorization of ingenious, exploratory wit and learning that recreatively challenged understanding. Inspired in part by Plato's parabolic dialogism, such serious discursive play animates Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, Andrea Alciato's and Achille Bocchi's emblem books (Figures 45.1 and 45.2), and Spenser's major poems, among many

Figure 45.1 *Pictura* and *inscriptio* for the emblem *The First Wisdom Apprehends the First Reasons of Things*. Source: Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum* (Bologna: Societatem Typographiae Bononiensis, 1574), 60. Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto.

other verbal and verbal-visual creations of the time, such as *imprese* (Figure 45.3). These productions, including particular emblems, are at least "allegorical" in the general sense of constituting substantially developed veiled discourse, and allegory strongly appealed to this distinctive Renaissance taste.

Figure 45.2 *Pictura* and *inscriptio* for the emblem *Worship God in Silence*. Source: Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum* (Bologna: Societatem Typographiae Bononiensis, 1574), 138. Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto.

From around 1400 until long after Milton, the Western recovery of the Homeric epics and ancient commentaries on them further magnified allegory's literary prestige (see Borris 2000, ch. 1; 2010, 449–450). In the Renaissance Homer was predominantly understood as a primal poetic genius who surveyed the domains of knowledge by allegorizing profound truths about the psyche, the nature and structure of the universe, and theology. Based on

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ogni cosa amando Dio. E tanto più ciò viene à proposito, quanto che'l Diamãte importa indomita fortezza contra fuoco e martello, come miracolosamente il prefato Magnifico fu saldo contro le congiure, & iusidie di M. Luca Pitti.

Vsò il Magnifico Pietro figliuolo di Lorenzo, come giouane & innamorato i tronconi verdi incaualciati, iquali mostrauano fiamme e vãpi di fuoco intrinseco, per dire che'l suo ardor d'amore era incomparabile, poi ch'egli abbruciaua le legna verdi. E fu questa inuentione del dottissimo M. Angelo Politiano, il quale gli fece anchor questo motto d'vn verso Latino,

INVIRIDI TENERAS EXVRIT FLAMMA MEDVLLAS.

D

Figure 45.3 The impresa *This Flame Consumes the Tender Midst Within the Green Branch*. Source: Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Lyons: Guillaume Rouillé, 1574), 49. Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto.

precedents of antiquity, such notions of Homer had already shaped ancient understandings of Virgil and their medieval developments. Hence both these exemplars of perceived poetic greatness affected early modern conceptions of literary excellence accordingly. Homer continued to be identified with allegory until well into the eighteenth century.

Moreover, through Ovidian reception and otherwise, allegorical mythography broadly affected early modern culture in diverse media. While this vogue channeled ancient Stoic and Neoplatonic precedents as well as medieval Christian adaptations, it was not just retrospective, but reinterpreted according to contemporary tastes and concerns. Renaissance mythographical allegorists such as Vincenzo Cartari and Natale Conti differ greatly in content, style, and tone from their medieval precursors, such as Pierre Bersuire or the *Ovide moralisé*.

Hence for various reasons early modern understandings of worthy literature tended to promote allegorism (see Weinberg 1961, Index, s.v. "allegory"; Allen 1970). Italian literary theory long led European poetics in this period, and in Lodovico Ricchieri's encyclopedic miscellany, published in at least 12 editions between 1516 and 1620, true poetry veils "profound matters … in the wrappings of fables … almost put away with the more hidden secrets of sanctuaries." Poetry's allegorical suggestiveness spurs us to seek knowledge, he argues, and worthy poetry is a *narratio fabulosa* representing truth through fiction (Ricchieri 1550, 219; Book 7, chapter 1). "Commonly in poetry one thing seems to be said and another truly signified," the Horatian Lilio Gregorio Giraldi declared in 1545, and "the meaning is hidden, as it were, by a certain veil" (Giraldi 1545, 9). Worthy poetry is allegorical by definition, Gabriele Zinano argued in 1590, so that it may both instruct and delight (see Weinberg 1961, 671–672).

Likewise in England, when rebutting Stephen Gosson's condemnation of most poetry in 1579, Thomas Lodge adduces Homeric, Virgilian, and Ovidian allegoresis to show that, though "the vanitie of tales is wonderful, yet if we advisedly looke into them they wil seeme and prove wise" (Lodge 1579, A2–A4v). Writing between 1567 and 1598, Arthur Golding, Henry Dethick, Richard Wills, Sidney, Spenser, George Puttenham, William Webbe, Thomas Nashe, Sir John Harington, and George Chapman all similarly link poetry with a legitimating delivery of wisdom, and hence, to varying extents, with allegory (for references, see Borris 2017, ch. 1). Such views were so culturally standard that they were often briefly epitomized. For Nashe, worthy poetry is "a more hidden and divine kinde of Philosophy, enwrapped in blinde Fables" (Nashe 1589, B4v–C1). And the delight of literariness involved allegory, for veiled poetic meaning "is more sweete," Golding observed in the mid-1560s, "and makes the mynde more glad" (Golding 1567, A2v). Such views inspirit much early modern literary culture, production, and reception.

If Protestant furtherance of anti-allegorical traditions of biblical hermeneutics had significantly impaired literary allegorism's appeal in England, as some claim (such as Stillman 2008), these Protestant writers would not have used allegory to defend literature. Just as the Geneva Bible's Argument for the Song of Songs applauds its "most swete and comfortable allegories," so the Reformers did not simply oppose scriptural allegoresis (see Borris 2000, 39–41). Sidney assumed that the Song imitates "the … excellencies of God," and could not have done so unless he understood it allegorically (Sidney 1973a, 80). Biblical and literary hermeneutics were different domains, and Protestants did not generally tend to devalue allegory in literature. Otherwise the allegorical mythographies of Stephen Batman, Abraham Fraunce, George Sandys, and Henry Reynolds, as well as Spenser's allegorical heroic poem celebrating Protestant England, its considerable literary acclaim, and his royal pension would all have been impossible.

Yet despite allegorism's broad convergence with perceivedly worthy poesis, it was more aligned with some literary forms than others, and especially with heroic poetry and pastoral (see Borris 2000, ch. 1; 2010, 447–450, 452–456). "Heroic poetry" here denotes the Renaissance conceptual expansion of epic to include romantic, biblical, and other variants: "epic" designates classical or classicizing exemplars; "romantic epic" the especial confluence of epic with chivalric romance; and "heroic romance" the broader mixtures of epic with the varieties of romance, as in Sidney's *Arcadia*s. As efforts to codify major literary genres proceeded, further stimulated by Aristotle's *Poetics* after around 1550, the

predominance of allegoresis in Homeric and Virgilian reception tended to make heroic poetry appear allegorical *by definition*. Since the Homeric epics continued to be considered allegories long into the 1700s, even by Alexander Pope, allegory's formalization in epic continued likewise, and remained as prestigious in heroic applications as Homer himself (see Borris 2000, ch. 1). Early modern heroic poems and their situation in literary history cannot well be understood without serious allowance for these factors.

Whenever allegory's relationships to particular literary genres became extensive and formalized, it developed particular genre-specific thematic and expressive repertoires. Knowledge of them clarifies the codes, conventions, and innovations of particular texts—their conceptual norms of play, as it were (see Borris 2000, ch. 3). As Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* indicates, early modern bucolic allegorism had certain conventional topics (such as ecclesiastical critiques, governance of the passions, a ruler's effect on national life), some common foundational tropes (care or abuse of sheep, figuring attitudes toward some social responsibility), and standard models (Virgilian precedents, Mantuanesque satire, the Parable of the Good Shepherd, among others). Not only transhistorical but "transgeneric" claims about allegory can thus be problematic, so that historically formalist approaches to this mode are most revealing. The close relationship between sixteenth-century heroic allegory and moral philosophy accounts for Spenser's focus on allegorization of the virtues in *The Faerie Queene*. Insofar as Sidney's *Arcadia*s and Milton's *Paradise Lost* have heroic and pastoral affinities, the allegorism of these texts, too, rewards such formal contextualization not only for interpreting them but also their relations with literary history.

Sidney

In keeping with former allegoriphobia, some of Sidney's twentieth-century admirers sought to promote him by claiming that he rejected allegory so as to advocate provision of behavioral exemplars instead (as when a hero acting with fortitude may appear to instance heroic fortitude), as if this procedure were somehow a major advance in poetics (see Borris 2000, 109–114). Although this view still has adherents (such as Stillman 2008, ch. 2), allegorism is integral to Sidney's poetics and poesis, and its growing literary rehabilitation has stimulated reassessment of his major fictions—the so-called *Old Arcadia* and *New Arcadia*—and his role in literary history.

Sidney's *Defence of Poetry* provides no evidence sufficient to demonstrate promotion of a new exemplarist poetics contrary to allegory. If Sidney had wished his *Defence* to advocate a literary usage of exemplars that would exclude or devalue allegory, he would have had to present this agenda clearly. As in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, allegory often subsumed literary exemplars in Sidney's time or appeared complementary. Just as allegory was fundamental to much advocacy of literature throughout Sidney's life, his *Defence* promotes poetic allegorism as well as exemplars, never explicitly privileges them, and never denies allegory's literary value (see Borris 2000, 109–114; 2015, 100–101). Also, whereas Robert Stillman supposes that the *Defence* rejects allegory to espouse expository *claritas* instead (Stillman 2008, ch. 2), Sidney propounds no such program either. This lapidary writer of ornate fictions, who enjoyed expressing meanings indirectly through his created *imprese* and otherwise (Borris 2015, 101), splendidly instantiates the Renaissance esthetics of discursive obliquity.

Sidney's own circle appreciated this principle of his poetics (Borris 2015, 101–102). His own personal secretary, the learned William Temple, analyzed the *Defence* for Sidney himself, and found that his employer defines "poetry" as "an allegorical fiction" of "truth" (Temple 1984, 135–139). Sidney's protégé Abraham Fraunce testifies likewise by dedicating to him and his sister a work of allegorical mythography as Sidney's posthumous commemoration (Fraunce 1592). Allegoresis of Sidney's *Arcadia*s began at least as early as 1581, when Thomas Howell, an employee of Sidney's own sister, stated in print that in Sidney's "learned booke," an apt reader "syftes eche sence," for its "Discourse of Lovers, and such as folde sheepe," indeed "shrowds misteries deepe" (Howell 1581, E4v–F1). "Philophilippos" introduces some of the *Arcadia*'s seventeenth-century editions by observing that Sidney shadows "moral and politick" meanings through figures concealing "choicest learning," much "as the antient Egyptians presented secrets under their mystical hieroglyphicks" ("Philophilippos" 1655, b3–b3v).

Allegorism is much to be expected from Sidney's *Arcadia*s, because it suffused the poetics and reception of the genres and texts fundamental for his creative enterprise: pastoral and heroic poetry, pastoral romances, ancient Greek romances, and the *Amadis* cycle (see Borris 2000, chs. 4–5; 2015, 100). Thus he declares that his Arcadian shepherds "under hidden forms utter such matters as otherwise were not fit for … delivery," and under the "veil" of pastoral conditions "there may be hidden things to be esteemed" (Sidney 1973b, 56, 106; 1987, 24, 136).

Since the mid-1990s, study of this aspect of his art has variously considered Arcadian political allegory (Worden 1996); the "intrinsic" allegorism of "erotic romance" in its ancient Greco-Roman and Sidneian manifestations (Skretkowicz 2010); and the capacities of the *Arcadia*s for allegorizing moral philosophy and former religious controversies (Borris 2000, 2015; Brumbaugh 2017). Referring to heroic and pastoral conventions, and to early modern concepts of self-government and the soul, I have identified specific textual devices in the *Arcadia*s that typify Sidney's own particular style of allegorism (see Borris 2000, chs. 4–5; 2015, 102–105). One of allegory's major early modern exponents, Sidney tends to write complex allegory more consistently than Spenser. The representation of ancient Greece requires more apparent "realism" than that of faery, which enables an imaginative freedom whereby fantastic inventions and personifications such as Error or Despair may mingle with relatively full characterizations such as Arthur, Redcross, Britomart, and Calidore (see Borris 2015, 103–104). To appreciate the full riches and resourcefulness of Sidney's art, his situation in literary history, and the development of English Renaissance poetics, we cannot neglect his Arcadian allegorism.

Spenser

Mainly within pastoral and heroic texts, *The Shepheardes Calender* and *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser too evolved a unique allegorical style involving preferred strategies of allusion, expressive techniques, and choices of scope (see Borris 2000, 101–106). Yet his personifications ensured that, even when allegory had little literary status, his allegorism always had to be acknowledged. An extraordinarily supple, learned, resourceful, and witty means of thought, Spenserian allegory assimilates Western culture to the transfigurations of exploratory poesis.

Unlike the relatively "realistic" *mises en scènes* of Sidney's *Arcadia*s, the wholly imagined faery of Spenser's romantic epic accommodates allegorism's total representative scope from simple to complex. Thus he subsumes the techniques of simple allegory within complex allegorical practice. His personified abstractions such as Despair and Contemplation appear within narratives involving diverse representative characterizations, including "subcharacters" (Fletcher's term, 1964) projecting psychic and other potentials of his protagonists. Una, Britomart, Disdain, and Orgoglio each have a distinctive allegorical status, and Malbecco's metamorphosis into Jealousy modulates allegorical registers to express that passion's dehumanizing effects (Spenser 2007, *FQ* III.x.55–60).

Moreover, Spenser varies his allegorical style between different texts and parts of them. Acutely self-conscious and allusive, his allegorism coordinates manifold literary and non-literary materials. While still remaining distinctively Spenserian, his *Calender*'s allegorism differs substantially from that of *The Faerie Queene*; that of each book therein from the others; and even that of an episode from its surrounding complements. Each book has its own distinctive symbology, domain of allegorical reference, and commensurate style. As in the eclogues of Virgil, Petrarch, Mantuan, and others, the *Calender* expresses allegory through characters that are loosely related by their mutual proximity and sometimes acquaintance. Yet as Spenser's Letter to Ralegh affirms, the allegory of *The Faerie Queene* depends on a "composite heroism" adumbrating Arthur's inclusive virtue through representatives of particular virtues such as Redcross and Guyon, who in turn have various subcharacters. Developed from analogous precedents in the allegoresis of Ariosto's and Tasso's heroic poetry, this structure affords an allegorical unity of action subsumed in Arthur and his prospective union with Gloriana (see Borris 2000, 84–89; 2010, 454–456).

Besides enhancing scope for writerly performance, Spenser's resourceful variations of allegory reflect his abiding concerns with the possibilities of language itself, how it may best be used and assessed, and how and how far its limits may be pressed (e.g., *FQ* I.x.54–55; III. Proem.1–5). So too does the self-reflexiveness of his allegorical style, whereby we encounter characters who epitomize issues of interpretation (such as Error, Archimago, Duessa) within labyrinthine settings featuring deceptive doubles.

While referring to topical affairs and personages, moral and natural philosophy, current religious considerations, and the capabilities of language and interpretation, like Sidney's Arcadian allegory, Spenser's allegorism has a more emphatic transcendental aspect. From his *Calender* to his *Fowre Hymnes* (1596), he repeatedly claimed Platonic poetic *furor*, hence ecstatic insight veiled by recourse to language, and his allegorism is partly a means of pursuing aspirations to attain sublimity (see Borris 2017, introduction, and ch. 1). In his *Calender*, his proxy Colin claims super-celestial vision (Spenser 1999, *November*, lines 177–179). In *The Faerie Queene*, Arthur's unveiled shield brilliantly reveals Truth (I.vii.35), and Una's lifted veil discloses no particular physiognomy but a solar radiance like "brightest skye" surpassing language's descriptive powers (I.iii.4, vi.4, xii.23). Such light positioned both in and beyond the text putatively orders and authenticates the allegory's signs, while yet transcending them. Radiant Gloriana herself refers to divine glory through and beyond her topical referent Elizabeth, who was then commonly defined as God's chosen image and viceroy (compare I.Proem.4 and II.ii.41; see Borris 2017, ch. 5). Hence the traditional fourfold taxonomy of biblical allegoresis (which many Protestants still approved for edification) has Spenserian investigative and descriptive value (see Borris 2010, 448–449).

For example, the reception of Redcross at the liberated Eden that closes Book I involves anagogy, which addresses the glories attributed to afterlife, as does Pastorella's at Belgard (see Borris 2006).

Much remains to be understood about Spenserian allegory. Even the basics of his faery queen's significance are still debated: is it simply regnant Elizabeth's glory, as some claim, or also adumbrated "grace and majesty diuine" (I.Proem.4; see Borris 2017, ch. 5)? Whereas critics of the late twentieth century often assumed that the investment of *The Faerie Queene* in allegory declines, especially in Book VI, recent scholarship tends to find it becoming more subtly complex. The *Mutabilitie Cantos* have been said to interrogate pre-modern allegory's metaphysical foundations, construction, and costs (see Teskey 1990, 22; 1996, ch. 8). Although the Proems of *The Faerie Queene* depend on amorous Platonic idealism by extrapolating radiant ideals from an avowedly "deare" feminine cynosure (I.Proem. 4), the importance of this procedure for the poem's metaphysics and signifying structure has yet to be fully appreciated (see Borris 2017, chs. 4 and 5).

Milton

Although Samuel Johnson misjudged *Paradise Lost*'s allegory of Sin and Death as "one of the greatest faults of the poem," he grasped that for its inclusion "there was no temptation, but the author's opinion of its beauty" (Johnson 1783, 1: 253). It appears in *Paradise Lost* because Milton valued it and, at least in some applications, allegory. Yet before Andrew Escobedo superbly expounds this "allegorical episode" or "allegory" (his terms), he calls Milton "this most non-allegorical of poets" (Escobedo 2008, 798, 804, 812). Surprisingly widespread in Milton studies, such doublethink as Escobedo's here presumably arises from assimilations of former allegoriphobia and related misconceptions, such as allegory's putative seventeenth-century "obsolescence." But definition of Milton's relation to the history of allegorism is no longer so foreordained. If the poet uses allegory in this episode, as most Miltonists agree, then Milton is an allegorist to some extent.

Epic allegorism certainly piqued Milton's interest. He acquired ancient Heraclitus's *Homeric Allegories* in 1637 and extensively annotated this copy, still extant, in Greek; and he studied Eustathius's mammoth Byzantine commentary surveying Homeric reception, including allegoresis (see Borris 2000, 20, n.260). Noting a standard principle of early modern poetics, Milton's nephew and former student Edward Phillips declared in 1675 that the "Invention" of "a *Heroic Poem*" consists "principally" in "feigning … probable circumstances" and in "Allegorie," for it enables "a kind of truth, even in the midst of Fiction" (Phillips 1675, **5v–**6). In accord with apparent Homeric and Virgilian precedents, definition of epic still commonly required allegory. René Le Bossu's *Traité du poëme épique* of 1675 defines epic as "a discourse invented by Art, to form the Manners by … the Allegories of some one important Action," wherein it is "most usual and proper" for "Doctrine" to be thus "disguised" (Le Bossu 1695, 6, 131). Although not universal, this view remained normative for both English and French epic theory *and practice* for decades thereafter (see Borris 2000, 51–53).

Often attributed to Spenser's influence, Milton's usage of some allegory in his early *Lycidas* and *Comus* seems widely accepted (topically religious in the former, moral and theological in the latter), and also in sections of *Paradise Lost* involving Chaos, Death,

and Sin (whose depiction recalls Spenser's Error). Though some deny the allegorism of those latter passages, these fulfill fundamental criteria for allegory by constituting extended narratives involving the significant interaction of symbolic personages, made obvious by usage of some name-tagged personifications. Many further details contribute to this extensive allegory: Sin spawns hounds that gnaw her innards, for example, as sin may incur pangs of conscience. This episode comments allegorically on Satan's primal sin, on rejection of God, on Adam and Eve's fall, and on the origins, processes, and effects of sin generally. In Satan's subsequent erratic flutter through Chaos, involving further personifications, Milton satirically adapts the age-old trope of cosmic mental flight to allegorize the mental impact of sin and forsaking God, the source of good and order in Milton's universe (see Borris 1990).

Although *Paradise Lost* affords little scope to simply personified characters afterward, this textual characteristic cannot itself show that Milton's poem thus becomes non-allegorical. Satan is involved in the allegory of Sin and Death, and his role is extensive. Moreover, as in Sidney's *Arcadia*, many parts of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and Renaissance allegoresis of Homer and Virgil as well as other writers, allegory could be complex and naturalistic, rather than relatively patent or "simple." Although Miltonists often assume that allegory must be incompatible with apparent literary "realism," the total scope of this mode includes much more than personification allegory (see Borris 2000, 64–65; Murrin 2010, 174–176).

Whereas some still follow Anne Ferry in assuming that Milton confined allegory to the fallen realms of his epic because he considered it fallen discourse (see Ferry 1963, 131, 138–139; Raymond 2010, 359), in his view all postlapsarian human discourse is more or less fallen, not just allegory. His poem nonetheless seeks provisionally to represent the precincts of heaven and prelapsarian Eden by following biblical precedents, claiming divine inspiration, and using techniques of poetic accommodation to represent things heavenly to humankind, insofar as possible, by likening them to earthly experience, as Raphael tells Adam (Milton 2007, *PL* 5.574–576). Miltonic accommodative techniques do not exclude allegory. The poet's diverse representations of God include his compact allegory of the "lordly" sun (based on biblical and Neoplatonic traditions of the sun as an analogue of God), surrounded by the constellations' "starry dance" as it "warms / The universe," filling "each inward part" with "invisible virtue even to the deep." Coordinating various symbolic elements in a figurative micro-narrative (a particular trope that was called "allegoria"), this "splendor likest heaven" expresses God's nature and cosmic diffusion of grace and providential benevolence (3.576–587). If allegorism in Milton's view were merely hellish, he would never have described God in such a way.

Raphael's comment to Adam and consequent discursive method indeed evokes, at least pragmatically, the doctrine of universal correspondences that underwrote allegorism in early modernity (see Borris 2000, 189–190). Moreover, as Milton's nephew Phillips remarks, allegory's figurative truth was commonly thought to justify fictional invention, and Milton had to invent much of the narrative of *Paradise Lost*. Recent scholarship increasingly explores how *Paradise Lost* involves allegory beyond Sin, Death, and Chaos (see Treip 1994; Borris 1990, 1995, 2000; Martin 1998; Silver 2001; Hillier 2011). "Milton's allegorized reality everywhere intimates its ever-unfinished shaping of what he calls truth" (Anderson 2008, 279). Yet Milton's known reading in Homeric allegoresis has yet to be investigated. As understanding of literary allegory has long been inadequate, so the early modern usages of this mode, particularly by the major exponents of heroic and pastoral

poetry, afford many opportunities for momentous new research. The more substantial early modern allegorical commentaries on major canonical texts, such as Simone Fornari's on Ariosto, still need much study. So do early modern assumptions of allegory's potential compatibility with the period's evolving standards of literary "realism," expressed both in former allegories and allegoresis.

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46
The Sublime

Patrick Cheney

Accent in place: your voyce as needth,
Note number, poynte, and time:
Both lyfe and grace: good reading breedth,
Flat verse it reysth sublime.
Matthew Parker, *Whole Psalter* (1567)

Now all these Laureats standing at her gate,
Own offices did, and her love dilate,
In straines, conceits, and stile alike sublime,
As love could ravish nature up divine!
John Lane, *Alarum to Poets*
(*c*.1616; pub 1648)

I too transported by the mode offend,
And while I meant to praise thee must commend.
Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rhyme.
Andrew Marvell, "On Mr Milton's
Paradise Lost" (1674)

For this final essay to the volume, the epigraphs above open up a startling, unexamined conclusion about "Renaissance poetry": between 1567 and 1674, the "sublime" is a constant word, concept, and poetic. Given that Matthew Parker, John Lane, and Andrew Marvell all formally discuss the topic of "verse," we might go so far as to classify Renaissance poetry as *sublime*. Indeed, all three authors use a stylistic word conceptually to mark off a poetics, dilating (respectively) on the poetry of the Protestant Church Psalter, of Spenser

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(Lane's real topic), and of course Milton. As such, Parker, Lane, and Marvell all invite us to reconceive the "straines, conceits, and stile" of English Renaissance poetry—its "number, poynte, and time," its "number, weight, and measure"—in terms of what David L. Sedley calls "the preeminent modern aesthetic category": the sublime (Sedley 2005, 153). This reconception is important because it helps classify Renaissance poetry within a wider professional current now surging through the humanities, arts, social sciences, and even sciences.

According to received wisdom, the sublime has been a major topic of philosophical discourse since the eighteenth century, producing major statements by Burke and Kant, as well as by Coleridge, Hegel, Schiller, Schelling, Nietzsche, Freud, Adorno, Derrida, Lyotard, Deleuze, and Žižek (see Shaw 2006; Guyer 2012). Yet two recent collections of essays challenge this wisdom, which locates the sublime in the philosophical "subject" and restricts it to modernity, by alternatively signaling an expansive drive to open up the sublime as the center of work across the professional fields, from the Greeks and Hebrews to today, including a transposition of the subject to the "author" (see Cheney 2009, 2011, 2017). In 2011, Roald Hoffmann and Iain Boyd Whyte edit *Beyond the Finite: The Sublime in Art and Science*, which "represents a first attempt to extend the discussion of the sublime into the realm of the natural scientist" (Hoffmann and Whyte 2011, vii). Such an attempt grounds the first formal discussion of the sublime, by Longinus in the first century CE (more of whom presently), in current work in physics, biology, chemistry, neuroscience, and astronomy, for all demonstrate that "creation" itself is sublime: "Through acts of small human creation … we carve out the sublime, and so join in the mandate of Genesis," the goal of which is "Connectivity, Solace" (Hoffmann 2011, 159, 161). In 2012, Timothy M. Costelloe edits *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present*, which calls for revisionary work in art history, architecture, geography, philosophy, religion, history, and literature, once again linking Longinus to today: "the sublime has insinuated itself into a range of disciplines and has taken on a rich variety of perspectives, and through its various liaisons has undergone a process of change and maturity" (Costelloe 2012, 7). In particular, he adds, the "sublime" is important to the academy's intellectual project because it "carries the long history of the relationship between human beings and those aspects of their world that excite in them particular emotions, powerful enough to evoke transcendence, shock, awe, and terror" (2). Even in the field where the sublime is most popularly known, the British Romantic era, scholars are calling for a "reevaluation": "We need a more detailed and thorough analysis of the sublime, as a concept and as a practice, in the male Romantics as well as in their female counterparts" (Potkay 2012, 216).

Indeed, within the past few years, classicists, medievalists, and continental Renaissance scholars have been doing groundbreaking work on the sublime. In classics, scholars have written studies on the sublimity not merely of Longinus (see Halliwell 2011; Goyet 2012; Heath 2012; Doran 2015), but also of Lucretius (Porter 2007), of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid (Hardie 2009), of Lucan (Day 2013), and of Seneca (Gunderson 2015). Monumentally, in 2016 James I. Porter brings all of this work to bear in *The Sublime in Antiquity*, a comprehensive account that does two things invaluably for English Renaissance studies. First, Porter untethers the sublime from its foundational theoretical formulation in Longinus' *On Sublimity* (*Peri hupsous*), arguing that the sublime is a cardinal feature of classical literature, philosophy, religion, and science, Homer (Porter 2016, 360–381, 542–547) to Augustine (19, 38–39, 42, 51, 111). And second, Porter locates the sublime not merely in all the

classical authors thus far named but also in Aristotle (289–303, 554–557) and especially Plato (557–617): "Sublimity … is not a novel creation of the first century BCE. On the contrary, it was one of the most familiar experiences available throughout the whole of Greek and Roman antiquity" (618). To discover that the founding figures of English Renaissance literary criticism—Plato, Aristotle, Horace—all tap into a sublime poetics is to *change everything*.

In medieval studies, C. Stephen Jaeger has been instrumental in pivoting off earlier work by Erich Auerbach (1965), Ernst Robert Curtius (1953), and Piero Boitani (1989) to chart a "medieval sublime." In his 2010 collection of essays, *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music*, Jaeger's team traces the "prominence of Magnificence and the Sublime in the early and high Middle Ages," bringing together two concepts that cohere in their emphasis on "exaltation and wonder" (Jaeger 2010a, 3): "The human creature, made with a natural inclination to the sublime and magnificent, creates sublime and magnificent works of art and imagines them as wakening kindred qualities slumbering in the observer" (5). Jaeger positions his collection against a view of the Middle Ages as "diminutive," to which his contributors offer the counter view of an era characterized by multiple grand art forms, including "Gothic architecture as sublime and magnificent" (6). Recognizing that "the absence of Longinus does not mean the absence of the Sublime" (8), Jaeger concludes: "The upshot of this volume is that the Magnificent and the Sublime were active forces in representation in the Middle Ages" (13).

In continental Renaissance studies, Caroline van Eck, Stijn Bussels, Maarten Delbeke, and Jürgen Pieters edit a 2012 collection, *Translations of the Sublime: The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' "Peri Hupsous" in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre*, which, although tethering transmission to Longinus, nonetheless does invaluable work on several topics bearing on English Renaissance poetry: on "Longinus and Poetic Imagination in Late Renaissance Literary Theory," by Eugenio Refini; on "The Sublime and the Bible: Longinus, Protestant Dogmatics, and the 'Sublime Style'," by Dietmar Till; and even on such allied topics as "'Baroque' British Visual Culture," by Lydia Hamlett, and "English Church Architecture 1640–1730," by van Eck. Refini's essay is particularly vital for following up on the earlier work of Bernard Weinberg (1950) and Gustavo Costa (1985), showing how the Longinian sublime infiltrates literary theory during the Italian Renaissance, including Neoplatonism: "the history of the Longinus manuscript tradition is in fact mainly humanistic … copied during the Renaissance" (Refini 2012, 34).

To this work must be added the valuable essay by Éva Madeleine Martin on "The 'Prehistory' of the Sublime in Early Modern France." Recalling that Antoine de Muret translated Longinus into Latin around 1550, Martin argues that "Muret's encounter with Longinus can be glimpsed in the works of his students and friends, such as the poet Pierre Ronsard, the playwright Étienne Jodelle, the essayist Michel de Montaigne, and the historiographer Joseph Scaliger" (Martin 2012, 78).[1] Intriguingly, Martin suggests that "most of the early modern translators and publishers of the *Peri hupsous* known in France—Muret (1554), Andreas Dudith (1560), Gabriel de Petra (1612), Le Fèvre (1663)—had either been accused of Calvinism or had reputations for heresy": "the *Peri hupsous* was promoted by early modern French dissenters" (79). Not merely is the sublime (Longinian and non-Longinian) central to Italian Renaissance literary theory; it is important to French Reformation theology.

For the present volume, the key conclusion is clear: we need to rethink the English Renaissance—and Renaissance poetry in particular—in terms of a new concept: *the Renaissance sublime*. Long before Nicolas Boileau's influential 1674 French translation, both Longinus' *On Sublimity* and a much broader classical, medieval, and continental sublimity affect English poets as a revolutionary poetic theory.[2]

In English Renaissance studies, we lack a detailed analysis of the sublime, including of poetry.[3] Yet David Norbrook has pioneered work on the Lucanian sublime in the mid- to late seventeenth century, especially Milton (see Norbrook 1999), as well as on the Lucretian sublime in both Lucy Hutchinson and Milton (Norbrook 2010). I have moved this project back to Christopher Marlowe, the first in English to translate Lucan (Cheney 2009) and "the Lucretius of the English language" (Ellis-Fermor 1967, xi). Yet, as classicists demonstrate, the Lucretian and Lucanian sublimes, important as they are, form only the tip of an iceberg, with work needing to be done on the Renaissance reception of the sublime not merely in such important authors as Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Seneca, but also on the foundational literary critics Plato, Aristotle, and Horace, as well as on the philosophies of both Plato and Aristotle. The present essay began with its third epigraph on the sublimity of *Paradise Lost* by Marvell in part to underscore the received wisdom about the Miltonic origin of the sublime in English Renaissance literary history, but also to reveal that Milton is not the starting point: he is the *midpoint*.[4] As this essay is arguing, we need to move the starting point for the English literary sublime back one century earlier, at least to Parker's 1567 versification.[5] From this time forward, and all the way to Milton, poets, playwrights, and prose writers *write the sublime*: during the Renaissance, the sublime becomes a key poetic, and, I am trying to suggest, *the* key poetic.

In the remainder of this essay, I would like to treat the much-discussed problem of defining the sublime, and then offer three sets of evidence for locating the sublime in English Renaissance poetry: first, Longinus' *On Sublimity* is recovered (after being lost for centuries) during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and, by the mid-1570s, makes its way to England, after which its transmission accelerates; second, the English word "sublime" is fundamentally a fifteenth- and sixteenth-century invention, and, as the period develops, increases in both intensity and importance; and third, irrespective of the presence of either Longinus or the word "sublime," during the Renaissance poets script a sublime poetics, making literary sublimity arguably the hallmark of the period. English Renaissance sublime poetry, I argue, joins that in drama and prose to become the chief aesthetic legacy to modernity, inherited by John Dryden: "Art being strengthned by the knowledge of things may … be sublim'd into a pure Genius" (Dryden 1695, 7).[6]

Defining the Sublime

What, specifically, is the sublime? *No one knows*. As Philip Shaw puts it, "We are never certain of the sublime" (Shaw 2006, 11). Harold Bloom is even more emphatic: "the literary Sublime can be exemplified but not defined" (Bloom 2010, xv). Yet no doubt Porter is also correct: "No approach to the sublime can hope to get off the ground without a working definition," and here is his: "Defined most broadly as a sense of absolute structural impossibility and of total deadlock, the sublime produces profound mental or

spiritual disruption … it is like a shock of the Real" (Porter 2016, 5). Yet Porter also knows what *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2003) emphasizes, when recalling that the word derives from the Latin *sublimitas* and comes to mean "that quality of genius in great literary works which irresistibly delights, inspires, and overwhelms the reader" (1450). Specifically, as the *Oxford English Dictionary* records, the word "sublime" combines the Latin *sub* (up to) with *limen* (lintel, the top beam of a door), meaning *up to the lintel*. This etymology speaks to something vital: *ascendant motion within architectural space*, which helps explain why images of both *height* and *flight* become central to it (Hardie 2009, 78–82). The sublime is that special "interval between earth and heaven" (Longinus 1972, 150), where the *transcendent* and the *immanent* meet (Shaw 2006, 3). It is in this "interval," I suggest, that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poets chart a poetics that comes to define the apex of the Renaissance sublime.

Fortuitously, the *OED*'s first recorded example under definition 6 ("Of language, style, or a literary work: expressing noble ideas in a grand and elevated manner. Also of a writer: skilled in or noted for such a style") traces to Angel Day, who, in his 1586 *English Secretorie*, discusses the three styles of rhetoric: low, middle, and high or "sublime." The sublime style, Day says, is "the highest and statelyest maner, and loftiest deliuerance of anye thing that maye be, expressing the heroicall and mighty actions of Kings, Princes, and other honorable personages, the stile whereof is sayde to be tragicall, swelling in choyse, and those the most hautiest termes" (Day 1586, 21). One of the sticking points of criticism has been whether authors in Renaissance England understand the sublime merely as a "style," or whether it accrues the kind of "thought" to which Enlightenment figures like Kant lend to it, Kant being "the most important milestone in the Lucretian–Longinian tradition" (Porter 2016, 466). Day makes plain that he talks about the sublime style by expressing its content: it is a heightened style designed to depict the most elevated of topics, the politics of kings, within the high genre of tragedy.[7]

Here is Longinus' own attempt at a definition:

> Sublimity is a kind of eminence or excellence of discourse. It is the source of the distinction of the very greatest poets and prose writers and the means by which they have given eternal life to their own fame. For grandeur produces ecstasy rather than persuasion in the hearer; and the combination of wonder and astonishment always proves superior to the merely persuasive and pleasant. (Longinus 1972, 143)

However unsatisfactory this might be as a definition, Longinus cues us to think of the sublime as fundamentally a counter-rhetorical mode of "discourse"—a form of language, the *expression* of emotional and cognitive "experience"—and further, to emphasize the linguistic form of the sublime as *literary*, exemplified by "the very greatest poets." In effect, *On Sublimity* does not advance philosophy but poetics, and its cardinal markers are his key terms here: *eminence*, *excellence*, *eternity*, *fame*, *grandeur*, *ecstasy*, *wonder*, *astonishment*.

Accordingly, Longinus organizes *On Sublimity* around "five … sources":

1 "the power to conceive great thoughts";
2 "strong and inspired emotion";

3 elevated "figures of thought and figures of speech";
4 "Noble diction";
5 "dignified and elevated word-arrangement." (149)

Longinus calls the first two sources "natural" and the last three "art[istic]" (149). To us, thought and emotion pertain to subjectivity, while figuration, diction, and syntax pertain to authorship. The combination of the two lines directs us to a subjective process that is fundamentally literary, relating author and reader to work and its afterlife. As is well known, the paradigm of art and nature is central to Renaissance poetics, a paradigm Longinus specifies later: "Art is perfect when it looks like nature, nature is felicitous when it embraces concealed art" (167). In other words, literature is sublime when, as Shakespeare (2016) puts it in *The Winter's Tale*, "The art itself is nature" (IV.iv4.97).

For Longinus, the process of literary sublimity has four phases. The first pertains to the author, who has "the power to conceive great thoughts" and possesses "inspired emotion," which he generates, significantly, through "imitation … of great writers of the past" (Longinus 1972, 158). In other words, the process originates in textuality, and through intertextuality becomes cognitive, with the author relying on previous texts to form his own intellectual and emotional subjectivity. The second phase pertains to the author's style: relying on "figures," "diction," and "word-arrangement" (149), the author composes a sublime literary image or representation. The third phase pertains to the effect of the author's sublime image on the reader: "amazement and wonder exert invincible power and force and get the better of every hearer" (143). The fourth and final phase pertains to the consequence of the reader's exalted condition for the author himself: he acquires "posthumous fame" (159). Hence, Longinus designs the complete literary process of sublimity to be immortalizing.

Longinus sees immortalizing, sublime, or "great" literature as "hard to bring under the rule of law" (176): as willing to "incur … danger" (175) and "travel beyond the boundaries" (178). He thereby raises a grave challenge to any theory of poetry that emphasizes simply civic-building goals. Recurrently, English writers intertwine the patriotic goal of literature with *astoniment*, to borrow a sublime word from Spenser (*FQ* I.vi.9). In *The Defence of Poetry*, Sidney lets the discourse of the sublime infiltrate his nominally Horatian project of having poetry delight, teach, and move the reader to virtue: not simply is poetry "the companion of camps" but it "strike[s], pierce[s], [and] possess[es] the sight of the soul" (Vickers 1999, 373, 351).[8] It is intriguing to discover how writers during the English Renaissance produce poetry and other forms of "great" literature that is at once patriotic and sublime, advancing both citizenship and godhood. Above all, the sublime becomes the Renaissance register for representing a new poetic, which I call *literary greatness*. If Kant "call[s] sublime that which is absolutely great" (Kant 2000, 131), Longinus locates sublime greatness in *literariness*.

Transmitting the Sublime

The story of just why we are having this conversation depends on the curious transmission history of *On Sublimity*. While most scholars believe that Longinus lived during the first century CE, not a single reference to him comes out of antiquity (see Jaeger 2010a, 1–2).

The earliest and most reliable of 11 extant manuscripts dates to a Paris codex of the tenth century (MS 2036), even though one-third is missing (see Macksey 1993). Still, enough exists for Neil Hertz to categorize *On Sublimity* as a work of "great intelligence and energy" (Hertz 1983, 580). Sometime in the fifteenth century, the manuscript "resurfaces in Renaissance Italy," writes Porter, "where it is again copied (1468 and 1491), translated into Latin (not long before 1554) and edited (1554), and from there enters the modern world of letters" (Porter 2016, 18). The *editio princeps* of 1554 comes from Franciscus Robortello, while another edition appears in 1555, and still another in 1569–1570.[9] Two lost Latin translations date to 1554 and 1560, while the first extant Latin edition dates to 1566, and another appears in 1572. The total number of sixteenth-century continental editions, then, comes to seven. The first English edition does not appear until 1636, in Gerard Langbaine's combined Greek and Latin text, while the first English translation, by John Hall (Milton's disciple), emerges in 1652. This publishing history helps explain why many today mistakenly think that the sublime becomes significant in England only in the late seventeenth century. The printing of Longinus on the Continent during the sixteenth century suggests that something was in the water much earlier.

As yet, no one has determined whether Robortello and Company migrated to sixteenth-century England, but two pieces of evidence suggest that they did. First, Elisabeth Leedham-Green has found for me two copies of the Portus edition of Longinus in the 1578 Cambridge bookshop of John Denys (Leedham-Green 2011, pers. comm.; Cheney 2011, 141). Second, in 1938 William Ringler published a note reporting that in 1573/4 John Rainolds was lecturing on Longinus in Oxford. To my knowledge, no one has followed up on Ringler's clue.[10] Moreover, I speculate that one author whom I have discovered to be committed to the sublime, George Chapman, might not have waited to read Longinus until 1614, when he discusses *On Sublimity* in his dedicatory epistle to *The Whole Works of Homer* (see Vickers 1999, 522–523), since Chapman was writing sublime poems in the mid-1590s. Not merely does Chapman translate part of one of Longinus' preferred texts for the sublime as early as 1598, Homer's *Iliad*, but he himself habitually lapses into the sublime: "Whereat his [Ovid's] wit assumed fiery wings, / Soaring above the temper of his soul; / And he the purifying rapture sings / Of his ears' sense, takes full the Thespian bowl" (Chapman 1904, *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* 15, lines 1–4).

T. J. B. Spencer has also reminded us that knowledge of Longinus precedes editions of *On Sublimity* published in England. Spencer singles out the 1624 *Index Rhetoricus, scholis & institutioni tenerioris aetatis accommodatus* of Thomas Farnaby, "a rhetorical compendium" (reprinted 1633, 1634, 1650) that sees Longinus as an authority on *amplificatio* and on the high or sublime style (Spencer 1957, 137). Spencer especially features "the younger Francis Junius, an honoured name among the founders of English studies" (138) and "'almost certainly … a personal acquaintance of Milton's'" (143), who, in his 1637 *De Pictura Veterum*,

> appreciates Longinus for his views on the imagination and ἐνάργεια; the false sublime; parenthyrsus and turbid imagery; the relation of nature and art; the notion of maturity of judgement; and the stimulating and creative influence of older "classical" writers on the moderns—in fact, most of those things for which Longinus was to be admired by Boileau, Dryden, Addison, Pope, and so on to the present day. (Spencer 1957, 141–142)[11]

Englishing the Sublime

It is probably in light of this transmission history that the word "sublime" begins to intensify during the mid-sixteenth century. Parker, in his 1567 usage, talks about a heightened form of poetry. Somewhat astonishingly for so early a representation, he *versifies versification*, and in the process elevates the whole idea of a godly English sublime "verse." In addition to Parker and Day, many sixteenth-century writers use the word "sublime" as a term of *height*, *elevation*, *the soul*, *God*, or a *heightened style*, often with distinct literariness: Roger Ascham (1570), Thomas Newton (1581), Nicol Burne (1581), Philip Sidney (*c*.1582, 1593), Thomas Churchyard (1587), William Fowler (1587), Robert Greene (1589, 1589), Thomas Bilson (1589), Fulke Greville (1589), King James VI (1591), Sir John Davies (*c*.1594), Spenser (1596), Thomas Bell (1596), Francis Meres (1598, translating Luis de Granada), and Edward Fairfax (1600, translating Tasso).[12]

Among the examples, Sidney's use in *Astrophil and Stella* (1962) is especially notable, spoken by the stargazer himself: "Those words, which do sublime the quintessence of blisse" (sonnet 77, line 8). As the word "quintessence" indicates, Sidney appears to understand the sublime simply as an alchemical term, meaning "extract" (Sidney 1962, 481); but closer inspection reveals a potential Longinian influence, for Astrophil's topic is not alchemy but language, and, in the context of Petrarchan sonneteering, poetic language. Specifically, Astrophil praises Stella's "beautie" (line 2) for its divinity—"That grace, which *Venus* weepes that she her selfe doth misse" (line 4)—and his praise settles on Stella's own language: "words" (line 8), "voyce" (line 9), "conversation" (line 10), and "true speech, the name of heav'n it beares" (line 11). As the final line of the sonnet clarifies, Sidney talks about an inspired poetic representation of female beauty: "Yet ah, my Mayd'n Muse doth blush to tell the best" (line 14). In context, then, the word "sublime" is artistic and authorial: Stella's poetical language has the power to sublime, extract, refine the essence of bliss in Astrophil. The alchemical discourse of sublimity is Petrarchan, designed to heighten the poet's skill to celebrate female beauty and virtue, especially her power to speak eloquently. As Astrophil adds, Stella's linguistic sublimity has a (pre-)Kantian edge, for it "Makes me in my best thoughts and quietst judgement see," adding that such sublimity makes him truly "blest" (lines 12, 13).[13]

During the early seventeenth century, Donne, Jonson, and their heirs in poetry, drama, and prose prepare for Milton toward the end of the century, in making the "sublime" a major word, concept, and poetic.[14] A specific subliming of Spenser appears in our second epigraph, from Lane's *Alarum to Poets*. In a Spenserian allegory removed to "Faiery Land" (Lane 1648, 229, 236), Lane tells of a Duessa-like character named Delfisa who tries to deceive a Una-like character named Averdi, a high-soaring lady who finally settles at Belforma Castle, where

> Whole chirmes of *Poets* thither congregate,
> To serve that soveraigne Beauty [named Oneida], which had power,
> To ravish each observing Paramour (lines 246–248)

For this Spenserian-sounding laureate choir, poetry is "sublime"—not just its "stile" but also its "straines" or poetic forms and its "conceits" or metaphoric representations—because it performs a miracle: "love … ravish[es] nature" into a "divine" state.

Jonson makes sublimity central to Renaissance poetics in both his poetry and his literary criticism. For instance, in the unit on "The Mind" in "Eupheme" (part of *Underwood*) he offers a stunning defense of poetry against the art of the painter: Jonson's Muse "would pull / Us forth, by some celestial slight, / Up to her own sublimèd height" (Jonson 2012, 7: 266, 84.4, lines 46–48). That last phrase looks redundant, since "sublime" means "height," but Jonson appears to be drawing on the alchemical meaning of "sublimed," to represent something like *refined height*. For this author, one imagines, the "height" is less metaphysical than artistic, and the "celestial slight" not the art of God but the magic trick of the Jonsonian sublime. His "Muse" raises him up, as if by magic, to purify his lofty art. Sublimity is important to Jonson's poetics, here and in a play like *The Alchemist* (which uses cognates of the word seven times), because it supplies a focusing lens for an elevated art: sublimity is lawful when pure and refined.

Similarly, in *Discoveries* Jonson uses the concept of sublimity to offset his poetics from that of Spenser, in a famed passage not always contextualized in terms of the Jonsonian sublime:

> Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language; yet I would have him read for his matter; but as Virgil read Ennius. The reading of Homer and Virgil is counselled by Quintilian as the best way of informing youth and confirming man. For besides that, the mind is raised with the height and sublimity of such a verse, it takes spirit from the greatness of the matter, and is tincted with the best things. Tragic and lyric poetry is good too, and comic with the best, if the manners of the reader be once in safety. (Jonson 2012, 7: 559)

Here, Jonson brings "sublimity" into conformity with his poetics of "manners," when the poet uses his art to "raise" the "mind" to the "height and sublimity of … verse." Not merely Homer and Virgil, or Quintilian, but Spenser is brought into alignment with such a sublime poetics, along with the genres of tragedy, comedy, and lyric. Jonson's last phrase above is notable, because it speaks against what the Longinian text at times allows: art that exceeds the "rule of law." Jonson, in his literary criticism, as in his poetry, aims to harness the height of sublime art for ethical ends (for details, see Cheney 2017, ch. 6). From Jonson, we can conclude that, while the word "sublime" has a sturdy first presence among sixteenth-century authors, it becomes especially significant during the seventeenth century, and certainly by the time Milton bequeaths it to the Romantics.

In our third epigraph, Marvell is right to mark off Milton's achievement in *Paradise Lost* as precisely wedding a sublime "verse" to his "theme sublime"; yet Milton does not wait to 1674 to write the sublime. In the 1641 *Reason of Church-government*, after proceeding through all the genres fit for the Christian author to imitate, he singles out "whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration" (Vickers 1999, 594). The next year, in *Smectymnuus* Milton refers to Dante and Petrarch as "the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura … displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression" (Vickers 1999, 598), and he goes on to identify as "abstracted sublimities" (sublimities divined by contemplation) Plato and Xenophon, "producing those happy twins of her divine generation, knowledge and virtue" (599). Finally, in the 1644 *Of Education* Milton sees "Longinus" joining Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and the "Italian commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni" as "graceful and ornate rhetoric[ians]" of "sublime art," outlining "what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of

a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe" (Vickers 1999, 605). Importantly, Milton's use of the classical word "sublime" is consonant with his Christian faith.

Milton's utterances are important because they represent a pre-1650 author we do not always remember: Milton is a mid-seventeenth-century poet who tries to reconcile Longinian sublimity with classical and Christian ideas of poetry. The equation of sublimity with holiness and purity especially shows Milton harnessing the Longinian concept to Christian theology. Specifically, Milton locates a sublime holiness in poetic authorship itself: first in Dante's and Petrarch's artistic images of beautiful women (Beatrice and Laura), with each poet and his feminine image alike displaying an intellectual character at once elevated and pure, "without transgression"; and second, in Plato and Xenophon, who use philosophy to render the human "divine" by promoting both "knowledge and virtue." Finally, Milton takes what are primarily cues in Longinus to situate "sublime art" in literary form—epic, drama, and lyric—scripted into a mold of "decorum": a formulation that suggests how easily Milton can reconcile Longinus with the main theorists of poetry linking antiquity and the Italian Renaissance, from Plato and Aristotle to Castlevetro and Tasso.

Instead of charting the Renaissance in terms of a trajectory from a pre-Miltonic poetics *devoid* of the sublime to a post-Miltonic poetics *of* the sublime, as is the received wisdom, we may track the emergence of English Renaissance sublime authorship as it reaches Milton via Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, and others. To put it another way: what prompts the much-documented later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sublime *is* the sublime achievement of the authors to whom Milton is indebted. We can infer this conclusion from the fact that Edmund Burke, in his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1759), illustrates the sublime by quoting both Spenser and Shakespeare, as well as Milton (and Homer and Virgil).[15] Such a reception model, rather than positing an advent to the sublime in the eighteenth century, more accurately historicizes the concept during the English Renaissance: the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *originate* the eighteenth-century model.

The English Renaissance Sublime

Recent scholarship on the sublime, which emphasizes the methodological mistake of narrowing the sublime to the presence of the word, opens the sublime up *as a concept*: an English Renaissance sublime. We have space for only a single example: from *The Faerie Queene*. The example is not arbitrary, since Spenser is the first truly sublime poet in modern English. Although he uses the word only once (*FQ* V.viii.30), he has been hailed as a sublime poet from the inception of modern criticism to today. Between Matthew Prior in 1706 and Joseph Campana in 2012, critics align with the judgment of Angus Fletcher, who calls *The Faerie Queene* a great English Renaissance "sublime poem" (Fletcher 1964, 236n): it "is extraordinarily spacious and grand in design; it is enigmatic; it challenges all our powers of imagination and speculation; it 'proves, in a peremptory manner, our moral independence' [quoting Schiller]; it further is marked by ambivalence of attitude toward moral dichotomies" (269).[16] Fletcher's five criteria for the sublimity of *The Faerie Queene*—spacious design, enigmatic representation, imaginative challenge, ethical freedom, and

ambivalence—are important, but, as his quotation of Schiller indicates, he works from a Romantic model. We may build on this model by relying on recent work on the classical and medieval sublime.

If the classical sublime represents the tension between "literary aspiration" and "deflation," figured in the myths of Icarus, Phaethon, and Pygmalion (Hardie 2009, 201), and the "medieval sublime" represents "renunciation and self-denial," figured in Christ, the prophets, and the saints (Jaeger 2010b, 175), the English Renaissance sublime (I propose) brings classical and medieval together, forming a potent new cultural myth: the "Renaissance" hero, like the author, *aspires to Christian greatness in a free state*.[17] The hero who sets the template for this model is Spenser's Prince Arthur, whom subsequent authors rewrite: tragically, in Marlowe's Faustus; parodically, in Jonson's Sir Epicure Mammon; romantically, in Shakespeare's Prospero. In the Renaissance, "Christian greatness" certainly pertains to military prowess, social grace, national leadership, and humanist education, but finally it means *free aspiration to the Christian divine*, the quest to be eternal on earth—that is, not transcendentally but immanently: a divine human acts heroically in the formation of state, church, and family. By fusing classical to medieval notions, the Renaissance sublime is a form of authorship unfolding a fiction about the epoch itself.

Nowhere is the sublime more *magnificent* than in Spenser's heroic icon of "magnificence," Prince Arthur, "the image of a braue knight" and "the perfection of all the rest" (*Letter to Ralegh*, in Hamilton 2001, 715–716):

> His glitterand armour shined far away,
> Like glauncing light of *Phœbus* brightest ray;
> From top to toe no place appeared bare,
> That deadly dint of steele endanger may:
> Athwart his brest a bauldrick braue he ware,
> That shind, like twinkling stars, with stones most pretious rare.
>
> And in the midst thereof one pretious stone
> Of wondrous worth, and eke of wondrous mights,
> Shapt like a Ladies head, exceeding shone,
> Like Hesperus emongst the lesser lights,
> And stroue for to amaze the weaker sights;
> Thereby his mortall blade full comely hong
> In yuory sheath, ycaru'd with curious slights;
> Whose hilts were burnisht gold, and handle strong
> Of mother pearle, and buckled with a golden tong.
>
> (*FQ* I.vii.29–30)

The discourse comes from the history of the sublime as Porter and others describe it: *glitterand … glauncing … shind … pretious … wondrous … mights … exceeding… stroue … amaze*. Yet Spenser is not describing a Platonic "vertical axis reaching in both directions infinitely" (Porter 2016, 575) but a human who miraculously comes to embody the energies of these axes: the divine on earth, the eternal in time. Spenser's achievement is to render the transcendent immanent, to make the human divine. This achievement is the very antithesis of Plato, who aims for transcendence, however much his terms come from the world of immanence (Porter 2016, 557–601). Conversely, Spenser's model is remarkably

consistent with that of Longinus, who values an author's ability to deliver a hero into a transcendent godhead, precisely so he or she can win earthly fame in literary competitions (see Longinus 1972, 175, 177).[18]

The source of Arthur's amazement is "armour," *made* by a *human*, in fact by Merlin the magician, himself a splendidly "ambivalent" figure of the sublime, trafficking with "cruell Feendes" (III.iii.8):

> Ne let it seeme that credence this exceedes,
> For he that made the same, was knowne right well
> To haue done much more admirable deedes (I.vii.36)

Arthur's magical armor emits a shattering brightness, the awe-inspiring beauty of overpowering light, which overwhelms the viewer's mind and senses, as it *strives* to materialize the immaterial—what Spenser calls in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* "the image of the heauens in shape humane" (in McCabe 1999, line 351). Spenser's images of value decorating Arthur's armor—"stones most pretious rare … yuory … gold … mother pearle"—present this mega-hero as a "wondrous" figure of excessive "might" whose "amaz[ing]" brilliance overcomes "weaker sights." The imagery of light, precious stones, astral bodies, and the astounding effect of the "exceeding" light work to identify Prince Arthur as Spenser's most magnificent figure of the heroic sublime.

The achievement of Spenser and his colleagues, from Parker and Lane to Marvell and Milton, might help us rethink English literary history, and come to speak of the sublime as the pre-eminent *Renaissance* aesthetic category. In "straines, conceits, and stile alike"—in "number, poynte, and time," "number, weight, and measure"—Renaissance poetry is sublime finally because the art itself is great.

Notes

1 Martin adds Tasso to her list. Lehtonen (2016a) focuses on the afterlife of the Tassoesque sublime in Spenser and Milton; see Lehtonen (2016b) on the Longinian sublime in the epic theory of both Tasso and Sidney.

2 See Porter (2016, 37–43), who expresses indebtedness to Cheney (2009). See also Cheney (2011, 2017). Influentially, Monk (1935) promoted Boileau as the starting point for the English sublime, a historiography now discredited (see Porter 2016, 9–11).

3 Halpern (2002) and Cefalu (2007), focusing on psychoanalysis, lie outside the sphere of this essay.

4 On the Miltonic sublime, see Weiskel (1976), Patterson (1993, 258–272), Norbrook (1999), Sedley (2005), Smith (2008), and Martindale (2012). In a landmark study, Marjorie Hope Nicolson singles Milton out as the starting point (Nicolson 1959, 273).

5 Porter cites the concept of "hevenly sublimitee" in the 1429 *The Mirrour of Mans Saluacioune* (Henry 1986, 210: line 4540) as "the first certain attestation of 'sublimity' in the English language" (Porter 2016, 37–38). The idea of a sublime universe in the Christian tradition comes out of St. Augustine, as well as such figures as St. Bonaventure and Richard of St. Victor, and it reaches Dante (see Boitani 1989, 250–278; Porter 2016, 19–23).

6 Quoted by *OED*, sublime *v*, 7b: "To transform (a person or immaterial thing) *into* something higher, nobler, or more refined."

7 On the Longinian sublime and "The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance" (subtitle), see Shuger (1988, 38). For the complexity of the sublime as a style and much more, see Porter (2016, 11–14).

8 On Longinus and Sidney's *Defence*, see Lehtonen (2016b); see also Alexander (2015, 89–90, 97–98, 99n).

9 Until "the beginning of the nineteenth century," the author was thought to be "Cassius Longinus, a famous rhetorician of the third century A.D." (Costa 1985, 224), but classicists no longer think so (Halliwell 2011, 327–328n).

10 Cf. Anderson (2008): Langbaine "reports that it was his old Oxford tutor [Rainolds] who urged him to publish his edition and that his attention was also drawn to a Cambridge manuscript of the treatise, 'probably that of Andreas Dudith who came to England with Cardinal Pole in 1554'" (384–385n, quoting Spencer 1957, 142).

11 Alexander calls Junius' English version, *The Painting of the Ancients* (1638), "one of the most important early seventeenth-century critical works," and discusses Junius' work on "*enargeia*" with respect to Jonson's *Discoveries* (Alexander 2015, 97). Invaluably, Judith Dundas discusses Junius' annotations of the works of Sidney in terms of Longinus (see Dundas 2007, 37–38, 100–101, 106–107, 134, 207).

12 For my discussion of several of these texts, see Cheney (2009, 39–42). Thanks to Paul Zajac for helping to compile the new list, as well as the one cited later on the seventeenth century.

13 See also the 1593 *Arcadia*: "For *Basilius* hauing past ouer the night more happie in contemplation then action, hauing had his spirits sublymed with the sweete imagination of embrasing the most desired *Zelmane* …" (Sidney 1593, 204).

14 Space limitations have led me to excise an important section on Donne. Paul Zajac's list of over one hundred uses of the word "sublime" between 1600 and 1640 includes many major authors, such as Ben Jonson, Fulke Greville, Sir John Davies, Francis Quarles, John Taylor, Thomas Heywood, George Wither, George Sandys, and Thomas Carew.

15 Burke quotes Shakespeare twice (see Burke 1990, 72, 112); Spenser, twice (77, 157); and Milton, five times (55, 57, 73, 74, 159).

16 In Cheney (2017, ch. 2), I trace the history of criticism on the Spenserian sublime linking Prior (1969) to Campana via Fletcher.

17 On "a free state" as "one that is able to act according to its own will, in pursuit of its own chosen ends," see Skinner (1990, 301). For Elizabethan England as a "Monarchical Republic," see Collinson (1997).

18 Porter agrees: after emphasizing the interchange between Longinus and Plato, he usefully distinguishes between them (see Porter 2016, 616–617), in terms similar to those used here. For Spenser's commitment to literary "fame," see Cheney (1993).

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